The culture of connectivity on archaic and classical Rhodes

THE CULTURE OF CONNECTIVITY ON ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL RHODES

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Doctor of Philosophy in

Classical Archaeology and Ancient History

Birkbeck, University of London – British Museum

ABSTRACT

This thesis assesses the role of maritime connectivity in shaping the material culture of Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods. It brings together and evaluates archaeological material from the settlement of Kamiros, now kept in the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum, offering the first comprehensive study of Rhodian material culture in the context of the island's maritime network, which stretched throughout the Aegean and beyond. In doing so, the finds from the pioneering nineteenth-century excavations of Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmann at Kamiros are sorted into their original find-spots using archive documentation. These finds have not previously been studied in their archaeological contexts, comprising of over 300 grave assemblages and two votive deposits.

Focusing on small votives, pottery, and terracottas produced on the island, this thesis argues that Rhodes developed a material culture in which consumer choice proliferated, storage became a conspicuous practice, and division in consumption patterns came into being across territorially defined units known as *ktoinai*. This material culture, which was part of a wider shared material culture of an insular arc running through the eastern Aegean, witnessed four developments that were encouraged by Rhodes' maritime connections: the innovation of locally made votives, the agglomeration of pottery workshops, the tradition of paired grave goods, and the distinction of female grave assemblages at Kamiros. The cumulative effect of the island's maritime network during the Archaic and Classical periods was to stimulate, sustain, and constrain local production, on the one hand, and to accentuate local consumption patterns, on the other. These maritime connections also contributed to the eventual decision to temper island division and progress new political structures through the synoisicm of Rhodes in 408 BC.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr Christy Constantakopoulou, Dr Caspar Meyer, and Dr Alexandra Villing for their advice, patience, and support during time spent researching and writing this thesis, which was generously funded by the AHRC. Their combined expertise made this project possible. In London, I am grateful to everyone at the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum, who went above and beyond in helping me to document the Rhodes collection. Several volunteers have also provided essential assistance throughout, including Rosemary Jeffreys, Dakota Jackson, Lucy Basner, Moa Taylor Hodin, Terry Mandenholm, Rachel Aucott, Camille Acosta, and Gibran Ahmed. On Rhodes, I am thankful to the 22nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the Fondation Marc de Montalembert, and the University of the Aegean for helping to make my research trips so fruitful. I am also grateful for the stimulating discussions with many friends and colleagues including Manolis Stefanakis, Vasso Patsiada, Matteo D'Acunto, Giorgos Bourogiannis, Alan Johnston, Fani Seroglou, Anne Coulié, Virginia Webb, Stine Schierup, Susan Langdon, Agnes Schwarzmaier, Sanne Hoffman, Christian Mazet, Michael Kerschner, Stella Skaltsa, Juli Zachhuber, Hal Orrell, and Mario Iozzo. Dr Corinna Riva and Professor Alexander Mazarakis Ainian provided me with helpful comments following my viva voce examination in January 2019. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to my parents and my sister for their support.

This thesis is dedicated to Lara, for putting up with me and putting in much of the donkey work.

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Fig.276 Standing Woman 3; BM 1864,1007.1382; H. 18.4 cm (author).

Fig.277 Standing Woman 3; BM 1948,0502.4; H. 15.2 cm (author).

Fig.278 Female Protome 1; Left to right: BM 1856,0902.54; 1885,1213.41; H. 17.8-26.5 cm (author).

Fig.279 Female Protome 1; BM 1951,0307.2; H. 9 cm (author).

Fig.280 Female Protome 1 (miniaturised); BM 1864,1007.1380; H. 8.5 cm (author).

Fig.281 Female Protome 2; BM 1895,1027.6; H. 36 cm (author).

Fig.282 Female Protome 2; BM 1864,1007.1379; H. 12.7 cm (author).

Fig.283 Female Protome 2; BM 1864,1007.1928; H 14.6 cm (author).

Fig.284 Female Protome 3; BM 1864,1007.1368; H. 28 cm (author).

Fig.285 Standing Woman; BM 1863,0330.13; H. 21 cm (author).

Fig.286 Female Protome; BM 1867,0506.47; H. 40 cm (author).

Fig.287 Female Protome; BM 1885,1213.40; H. 34.5 cm (author).

Fig.288 Female Protome; BM 1948,0502.5; H. 11.5 cm (author).

Fig.289 Dates of Fikellura graves containing female terracottas [29] (author).

Fig.290 Total figural scenes from Fikellura cemetery [211] (author).

Fig.291 Dates of Fikellura graves containing female narrative scenes [28] (author).

Fig.292 Contents of Fikellura graves containing female narrative scenes [182] (author).

Fig.293 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.1677; H. 33 cm (British Museum Collections Online).

Fig.294 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.192; H. 17.78 cm (British Museum Collections Online).

Fig.295 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.107; H. 17.8 cm (author).

Fig.296 Glass stands; BM 1864,1007.2006-2007; H. 1.2 cm; Glass aryballos; BM 1864,1007.1198; H. 8.2 cm (British Museum Collections Online).

Fig.297 Bronze stands; BM 1864,1007.390-393; H. 1.2 cm (author).

Fig.298 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.119; H. 35.5 cm (author).

Fig.299 Kylix; BM 1864,1007.91; H. 10.1 cm (author).

Fig.300 Lekythos; RHODES 11966; H. 25 cm (author).

Fig.301 Bronze mirror; BM 1864,1007.344; H. 21 cm (British Museum Collections Online).

Fig.302 Glass alabastron; BM 1864,1007.1213; H. 11.7 cm (author).

Fig.303 Lekythos; BM 1864,1007.172; H. 9.5 cm (author).

Fig.304 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.189; H. 19 cm (British Museum Collections Online).

Fig.305 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.89; H. 8.25 cm (author).

Fig.306 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.204; H. 8.25 cm (author).

Fig.307 'Temple boy' figure; BM 1864,1007.1910; H. 7.6 cm (author).

Fig.308 'Temple boy' figure; BM 1864,1007.1909; H. 9 cm (author).

Fig.309 Corinthian kothon; BM 1864,1007.324; H. 5.3 cm (author).

Fig.310 Corinthian kothon; BM 1864,1007.325; H. 5 cm (author).

ABBREVIATIONS

Museum collections

BERLIN	Berlin, Antikensammlung
BM	British Museum
COPENHAGEN	Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark
KOS	Kos Archaeological Museum
RHODES	Rhodes Archaeological Museum

Archives consulted

All archives consulted are kept at the British Museum's Department of Greece and Rome, unless otherwise stated.

Biliotti Diary	Alfred Biliotti's diary of excavations at Kamiros between October 1863 and June 1864.
Original Letters	Original correspondence with the Keeper of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum.
Parliamentary Report	Printed reports submitted annually by the Trustees of the British Museum to Parliament.
FO	Original correspondence with the Foreign Office (kept at The National Archives, Kew).

Catalogues cited

Bailey	Bailey, D. *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum. 1, Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London, 1975)
Higgins	Higgins, R. A. *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1954)
Marshall	Marshall, F. H. *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911)
Webb	Webb, V. *Archaic Greek Faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects in East Greece 650-500 BC* (Warminster, 1978)
Walters	Walters, H B., Forsdyke, E J; Smith, C H, *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, I-IV,* (London, 1893)

Excavation reports

Agora XII	Sparkes, B. A. and Talcott, L. *The Athenian Agora XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (Princeton, 1974)

Agora XXIII	Moore, M. B. and Philippides, M. Z. P. *The Athenian Agora XXIII: Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986)
Agora XXX	Moore, M. B. *The Athenian Agora XXX: Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton, 1997)
ClRh I	Maiuri, A. and Jacopi, G. *Rapporto generale sul servizio archeologico a Rodi e nelle isole dipendenti dall'anno 1912 all'anno 1927* (Bergamo, 1928)
ClRh II	Maiuri, A. *Monumenti di scultura del Museo archeologico di Rodi I* (Bergamo, 1932)
ClRh III	Jacopi, *G. Scavi nella necropoli di Jalisso 1924-28, Clara Rhodos III* (Bergamo, 1929)
ClRh IV	Jacopi, G. *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro I. Scavi nelle necropolis camiresi 1929-1930, Clara Rhodos IV* (Bergamo, 1931)
ClRh VI-VII	Jacopi, G. *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro, II. Scavi nelle necropoli camiresi, Clara Rodos VI-VII* (Bergamo, 1932-1933)
ClRh VIII	Laurenzi, L. *Necropoli ialisie. Scavi dell'anno 1934, Clara Rodos VIII* (Bergamo, 1936)

Delos X	Dugas, C. *Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École française d'Athènes. fasc 10, Les vases de l'Héraion* (Paris, 1928)
Exochi	Friis Johansen, K. *Exochi: ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld* (Copenhagen, 1958)
Kerameikos IV	Kubler, K. *Kerameikos Band IV: Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1943)
Kerameikos VII,2	Kunze-Gotte, E., Tancke, K. and Vierneisel, K. *Kerameikos Band VII,2: Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts: Die Beigaben* (Munich, 2000)
Kerameikos IX	Knigge, U. *Kerameikos Band IX, Der Südhügel* (Berlin, 1976)
Lindos I	Blinkenberg, Chr. *Lindos, Fouilles de l'acropole, 1902-1914, Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931)
Thera II	Marinatos, S. *Excavations at Thera II (1968 season)* (Athens, 1969)
Vroulia	Kinch, K. F. *Vroulia* (Berlin, 1914)

Journals & Standard Reference Works

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ABV	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956)
AETHSE	*Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας*
ArchDelt	*Αρχαιολογικον Δελτιον*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
ARV²	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963)
ASAtene	*Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
CRAI	*Competes rendus des séances de l'Académie*

CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)*
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
P.Cair.Zen.	Edgar, C. C. et al. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Museé du Caire: Zenon Papyri,* 4 vols. (New York, 1925-931, 1940)
RdA	*Rivista di archeologia*
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. Wissowa, G., Mittelhaus, K., and Ziegler, K. 83 vols. *(*Stuttgart, 1893-1980)
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*

SIG	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*

1

INTRODUCTION

What was the relationship between the material culture of Rhodes and its maritime network? This thesis is about the material culture of the island during the Archaic and Classical periods, and the role of maritime connectivity in forming that culture. It argues that Rhodes developed a material culture in which consumer choice proliferated, storage became a conspicuous practice, and division in consumption patterns came into being across territorially defined units known as *ktoinai*. This material culture, which was part of a wider shared material culture of an insular arc running through the eastern Aegean, witnessed four developments that were encouraged by Rhodes' maritime connections: the innovation of locally made votives, the agglomeration of pottery workshops, the tradition of paired grave goods, and the distinction of female grave assemblages at Kamiros. The cumulative effect of the island's maritime connections during the Archaic and Classical periods was to stimulate, sustain, and constrain local production, on the one hand, and to accentuate local consumption patterns, on the other.

My discussion focuses on over two thousand objects from sanctuaries and cemeteries, imported to and locally produced on Rhodes, dating between 720 BC and 400 BC, and made from a range of materials such as bronze, bone and ivory, faience, and terracotta. Particular attention is given to ceramics. Most of these objects were excavated at the site of Kamiros on the west coast of Rhodes by Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmann in the mid-nineteenth century and are now kept in the British Museum. Further material from Biliotti's and Salzmann's work in other collections is also considered, as well as finds from Italian excavations conduced in the 1920s and 1930s, along with material excavated from other sites across the island, including Ialysos, Lindos, Vroulia, Exochi, Monolithos and Siana, as well as neighbouring islands in the

Dodecanese, particularly Chalke, Karpathos, Kos, and Astypalaia. Kamiros is a particularly important site for the archaeology of Rhodes because it is the only site at which extensive remains of sanctuaries as well as cemeteries, dating from the Geometric to the Classical periods, have been excavated and published. To date, however, the archaeology of Kamiros remains poorly understood. Many of the finds from the pioneering nineteenth-century work of Biliotti and Salzmann remain unknown and unstudied, having seldom been considered in their archaeological contexts. These finds include some of the most significant discoveries ever made on Rhodes, which, if assessed in conjunction with archival documents, can be provide valuable evidence for the island's social and economic history.

This project has involved a substantial amount of practical work at the British Museum and on Rhodes. The documentation of the Kamiros collection at the British Museum required many hours working in the storerooms with the objects first-hand, gathering images and contextual information. Extended research trips to Rhodes involved close study of objects in Rhodes Archaeological Museum and visits to numerous archaeological sites including Ialysos, Lindos, Mount Attavyros, Vroulia, and especially Kamiros, where I carried out GPS surveying to better understand the find-spots of material discussed in this thesis. My participation in the excavation of Kymissala with the University of the Aegean in 2016 and 2018 developed my understanding of the Rhodian countryside. I have visited other islands in the Dodecanese, including Symi, Chalke, Nisyros, and Kos, and studied Rhodian antiquities in other European museums, including the Louvre in Paris, National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, and the Altes Museum in Berlin. These experiences have developed my appreciation of Rhodes' wider geographical and historical context, specifically with regards to its position in the south-east Aegean and its significance to the collecting of antiquities in Europe during the nineteenth century.

This thesis has two aims. The first aim is to accurately describe what archaeological evidence has been found at Kamiros in terms of findspot, object type, date, and production place. This is achieved through identification and quantification of the Kamiros collection in the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum. Before it can be considered together with material from Rhodes Archaeological Museum, the quantification of the British Museum's collection requires a preliminary stage of reconstructing of individual votive and burial contexts using archive documentation. The overall purpose of this quantification is to accurately chart the maritime network of Rhodes and to illustrate the relative quantities of imports and locally made goods among the finds. The quantification also makes it possible to reconstruct the development of Kamiros' acropolis and cemeteries over time.

The second aim of this thesis is a synthetic analysis of the archaeological evidence that comes from a range of burial and votive contexts, is made of a variety of materials, and originates from different places. The overall purpose of a synthetic analysis is to understand the relationship between maritime connectivity and the island's material culture during the Archaic and Classical periods, including methods of production and modes of consumption. Before outlining my approach to the material discussed in this thesis, it is first necessary to review the existing literature on Archaic and Classical Rhodes.

1.1 Material culture and connectivity

The study of material culture is the study of human social and environmental relationships thorough the evidence of people's construction of their material world.[1] Above all, material culture is a set of social relationships between people and things: it is a way of communicating and enabling.[2] This definition is different from the culture-historical approach that was popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which viewed material culture, alongside language and traditional practice, as a reflection of cultural identity: i.e. a potter made pots according to a cultural blueprint.[3] This definition also differs from the processual approach adopted by archaeologists in the 1950s and 1960s, which regarded culture as an 'extra-somatic mechanism' that allowed humans to adapt to the changing conditions of their environment.[4] The basis for the understanding of material culture adopted in this thesis holds that personal identities and material worlds are mutually constitutive within the cultural, political, social, and material conditions in which they historically occur. This approach draws on postprocessual archaeological traditions developed in the 1980s and early 1990s. Postprocessual archaeology incorporates theories of structuralism and post-structuralism, emphasising the importance of individual actors in generating cultural forms, as well as the Marxist philosophy highlighting the centrality of human productive power (modes of production).[5] Anthony Giddens' structuration theory and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice (*habitus*), arguing that 'object and subject are indelibly in a dialectical relationship', are key elements of postprocesssual theory.[6] It stresses the importance of context and the practices that lie behind the formation of subjects and objects, rather than seeking to establish universal rules for reconstructing social

[1] Miller 1987: 5.
[2] Hurcombe 2007: 7.
[3] Fowler 2010: 335. See especially Childe 1936.
[4] Fowler 2010: 357. See especially White 1959.
[5] Hodder 1985; Hodder 1992; Hodder and Hutson 2003; See Johnson 2010: 89-121.
[6] Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984.

organisation and characterising social forms. Material culture studies, which developed out of postprocessual archaeology in the 1990s and 2000s, has further informed the understanding of material culture adopted in this thesis, especially in the context of reseaching artefacts in museum collections.[7] Daniel Miller's emphasis on the role of consumers and the way social life is constituted through the material world has particularly influenced my approach.[8] The notion that culture is dynamically constructed through consumption is especially relevant to the issue of cross-cultural interaction, not least connectivity in the Mediterranean, as discussed below.[9]

The term connectivity describes the various ways in which microregions cohere, both internally and amongst each other, in aggregates that may range from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean.[10] There are many aspects of the physical environment that facilitate the choice of paths of interaction: relief, vegetation, sea current or coastline frequently delimit channels of communication that are available to people, ships and goods.[11] The value of studying connectivity within the context of the Mediterranean and the Aegean in particular is twofold. First, in producing an account of what may be described as a 'definite place' it is possible to demonstrate that the characteristics of microregions are best captured through an understanding of highly complicated and always changing interactions of human productive opportunities, rather than simply through their topographical and climactic features.[12] Secondly, by studying island communities it is possible to demonstrate their enhanced exposure to interaction and, in doing so, overturn the perception that islands are

[7] For recent summaries see Olsen 2010 and Hicks and Beaudry 2010.
[8] Miller 1987 and 2010.
[9] See section 1.2.5.
[10] Horden and Purcell 2000: 123. On Mediterranean connectivity see Horden and Purcell 2000: 123-172.
[11] Horden and Purcell 2000: 130.
[12] Horden and Purcell 2000: 124.

isolated.[13] The sea – 'the medium of all human intercourse from one region to another'[14] – is an inevitable focus of a thesis on the material culture of Rhodes, an island that lies on two major shipping routes: one running north to the area of Antioch and along the Lycian coast, and another running west to the south coast of Cyprus.[15] The term 'maritime connectivity' is therefore used throughout to describe the island's connections via these shipping routes. However, this term is not intended to denote the underlying reason for this trade, whether commercial or otherwise, nor is it intended to denote the identity of those importing material to Rhodes. As Jane Waldbaum's discussion of 'Greeks in the East or Greeks and the East?' has shown, while there is evidence of material being imported, there is often not enough evidence to confidently establish who was shipping that material throughout the Aegean.[16] Among the range of possible candidates are Greek, Phoenician, and Egyptian traders or itinerant mercenaries and travellers, among others.

1.2 Literature review

Rhodes is the most easterly island in the Aegean Sea and the largest in the Dodecanese, with a coastline spanning over 200 km **[Figs.1-4]**. It is situated on a major sea route between the Levant, Cyprus, and the Aegean, making it a significant anchorage for ships sailing to and from the Eastern Mediterranean. This strategic position, which occasioned the island's siege by Demetrios Poliorketes and the Knights of St. John, among others, also encouraged the development of its overseas connections and commercial activities that are archaeologically

[13] Constantakopoulou 2007.
[14] Horden and Purcell 2000: 133.
[15] On Mediterranean shipping routes see Horden and Purcell 2000: 141, map 12.
[16] Waldbaum 1997.

attested from the Mycenaean period onwards.[17] In particular, the increasing density of trade and establishment of Greek *emporia* in the first half of the first millennium BC shaped a diverse material culture across Rhodes' three city-states: Ialysos to the north, Kamiros to the west, and Lindos in the south.[18] This material culture is reflected in one of the richest archaeological records of Archaic and Classical Greece. Indeed, archaeological exploration and exploitation of Rhodes has scarcely ceased since beginning in the nineteenth century: the Anglo-French excavations of 1859-64 that focused on Kamiros were followed by the work in Ialysos and by excavations in the area of Siana in the 1880s;[19] the Danish archaeologists Karl Frederik Kinch and Christian Blinkenberg worked at Lindos, Vroulia and Exochi from 1902 to 1914, directly after which the Italian occupation allowed Amadeo Maiuri and Giulio Jacopi's extensive fieldwork at Kamiros and Ialysos between 1920 and 1931.[20] The recent activities of the 22nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities have made further discoveries, with excavations at Kymissala uncovering graves first opened in the nineteenth century.[21] Owing to the detailed publication of at least some of these excavations and a scholarly interest in cultural interaction, Archaic and Classical Rhodes has increasingly become a focus of research over the past two decades, among both ancient historians and classical archaeologists, even though much of this attention has been rather selectively focused on certain periods, notably the Hellenistic, and on historical rather than archaeological questions and material. In this literature review, I will outline the extent of this research and show that, for all its thoroughness, a change in approach is required if we are to understand the relationship between Rhodes' maritime connections and its material culture.

[17] Marketou 2013.
[18] Kourou 2014a; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993: 366-370.
[19] Coulié 2014b; Villing 2019.
[20] Danish excavations: *Vroulia*; *Lindos I*; *Exochi*. Italian excavations: Maiuri 1923-1924; Maiuri 1925; *ClRh* I; *ClRh* II; *ClRh* III; *ClRh* IV; *ClRh* VI-VII; *ClRh* VIII.
[21] Papachristodoulou 2007; Stefanakis and Patsiada 2009-2011; Stefanakis 2018.

1.2.1 Political history of Rhodes

Much has been written on the political history of Rhodes based on the evidence from ancient literary sources.[22] I will only summarise the most important events down to the Hellenistic period, which have been covered extensively by Cecil Torr, Richard Berthold, and Vincent Gabrielsen, among others.[23] Pindar's seventh Olympian Ode is the most often quoted classical text referring to the island. In it, Rhodes was made to rise out of the sea supposedly because the god Helios needed a land to worship him. Helios therefore came to be considered the *archegos*, or primordial founder, of the island (Pindar *Olympian* 7.54-63).[24] The transition from the foundation of the 'land' to the foundation of a political community comes with the grandsons of Helios, the eponymous founders of the three Rhodian cities: Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos. Pindar mentions that 'They [Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos] divided their inherited land into three parts and separately held their allotment of cities, places that still bear their names' (Pindar *Olympian Ode* 7.74-76, transl. Race). Additionally, Homer (*Iliad* 2.653-67, transl. Rieu) reports that the Dorian Tlepolemos, a son of Herakles, fled from Argos after having killed his uncle and founded Rhodes, where 'his people settled in the three divisions by tribes.' Pindar also describes Tlepolemos as 'the founder of the land' (*oikistes*). The Dorian status of the island is further confirmed by Herodotus' account of the Dorian Hexapolis, which included the three Rhodian cities (Herodotus 1.144).[25] During the seventh century BC, the 'Rhodians of the Sea' (Pindar *Olympian* 7.13-14) reportedly founded colonies at Phaselis, in southern Asia Minor, and in Sicily. In relation to the latter, Thucydides mentions that 'Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete led colonists and founded a joint colony at Gela…[t]hey adopted a constitution of the Dorian type' (Thucydides 6.4.3, transl. Warner). In

[22] Malkin 2011: 65-95; Gabrielsen 1997; Gabrielsen et al. 1999; Berthold 1984; Torr 1885; Van Gelder 1900.
[23] Torr 1885; Gabrielsen 1997; Berthold 1984; Constantakopoulou 2007: 187-195.
[24] Malkin 1996a and 1996b.
[25] See section 1.2.2.

the sixth century BC, Rhodians also participated in the founding of Gela's own colony, Akragas (Strabo 14.2.10), and in the second colonial immigration to Cyrene, led by Battos II (Herodotus 4.159). Along with Phaselis, Rhodes features as a member of the Hellenion at Naukratis, Egypt: '[T]he best known and most visited temenos is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by….the Dorian poleis of Rhodes…' (Herodotus 2.178.2, transl. Sélincourt). From the time of Darius I to the defeat of Xerxes, the Rhodian poleis paid tribute to the Great King (Aeschylus *Persians* 852-895); thereafter, in the fifth century BC, Rhodes joined the Delian League and paid tribute to Athens (Herodotus 9.106.4).[26] Thucydides states that the Rhodians sided with Athens in the Peloponnesian War until the oligarchic uprising of 411 BC, which was masterminded by a Diagorid general, Dorieus (Thucydides 8.39.1-43.2). The most important moment in Rhodian political history occurs shortly after in 408 BC: the synoicism of the Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos and the establishment of the Rhodian federal state (Strabo 14.2.5).

What do these events, reported in ancient literary sources, tell us about Rhodes? Three main themes can be identified: that Rhodes was a Dorian settlement; that it engaged in activities overseas, such as the foundation of settlements and the establishment of trading posts; and that its *poleis* founded a federal state at the end of the fifth century BC. These sources do not report on the relationship of Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos prior to the synoicism, nor do they mention anything about the island's material culture. Taking these absences as a starting point for this literature review, I will aim to show that literary sources have sometimes been used as evidence for a material culture when they should not, and that scholarship on Rhodes' material culture

[26] Meiggs 1973: 55-56 and 414-415.

during the Archaic and Classical periods has itself tended to be fragmentary, often lacking consideration of the original archaeological contexts.

1.2.2 Placing Rhodes: Dodecanese and East Doris

Scholarship on the pottery of Rhodes frequently uses the term 'Dodecanese' or 'Dodecanesian' to describe its motifs and, by extension, to denote a pottery *koine*. This term implies that a common 'ceramic identity' existed between Rhodes and the other thirteen islands in the Dodecanese. Skevos Zervos' *Rhodes: Capitale du Dodécanèse,* published in 1920, was the first archaeological study to describe Archaic Rhodes in the context of its neighbouring islands:[27]

> Les Rhodiens, qui habitaient la plus grande, la plus belle et la plus florissante des îles du Dodécanèse et qui étaient, parmi les Dodécanèsiens, les plus riches et les meilleurs marins, se sont mis, dès le VII^{e} siècle avant Jésus-Christ à la tête de tous les habitants de ce groupe d'îles, et ils ont commençé à exécuter, à bord de leurs navires, de très longues et très dangereuses traversées d'Asie en Afrique et de Phénicie jusqu'en Espagne.[28]

Although his book explores the island's history from antiquity to the present, Zervos' survey of the material excavated by Auguste Salzmann and Alfred Biliotti was the most exhaustive at the time, and provided scholars like Robert Cook and Wolfgang Schiering with descriptions and illustrations for their subsequent classifications of Rhodian pottery.[29] Schiering, in

[27] Zervos 1920.
[28] Zervos 1920; 125.
[29] Zervos 1920: 1-157; Schiering 1957; Cook (1933: 3) cites Zervos' book, along with *Clara Rhodos* and *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, as a key publication that enabled his classification of pottery found on Rhodes.

particular, identified a Dodecanesian group of pottery based on decorative motifs.[30] Nicolas Coldstream outlined a local style in his *Greek Geometric Pottery*, arguing for an 'indigenous Dodecanesian tradition' in which 'the potters pursued a more independent course' from those on mainland Greece.[31] This style is characterised by the prominence of rectilinear motifs, cross-hatched triangles, and the hour-glass design comprising two cross-hatched triangles meeting at apices. Furthermore, Coldstream identifies four regional shapes that are not found in Attica: plain glazed cups with a flat base and straight walls, the duck vase, one-handled pilgrim flasks, and kalathoi.[32] Recent scholarship has continued to explore a Dodecanesian pottery production, with Black on Red wares among its repertoire of products.[33]

But there are problems with the term 'Dodecanesian' and even conceiving that such a region could have existed in ancient Greece. To begin with, when Coldstream and other scholars refer to 'Dodecanesian' pots they are actually referring to pots made on Rhodes and Kos. This is understandable since the archaeology of the Dodecanese is almost entirely comprised of remains from these two islands.[34] Yet there is a danger of equating the ceramic industry of Rhodes and Kos with that of the Dodecanese at large. More importantly, the Dodecanese is itself a modern geographical region, making its application to ancient Greece problematic. The accounts of travellers prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, such as Ludwig Ross and Henry Tozer, do not collectively refer to the islands off the coast of Asia Minor.[35] Earlier Byzantine sources refer to each island with its own individual history and, when they do use the term 'Dodecanese', it normally designates a group of islands that includes Samos, Chios,

[30] Schiering 1957: 109.
[31] Coldstream 2008: 264, 273.
[32] Coldstream 2008: 262-281
[33] Kourou 2003; Bourogiannis 2009 and 2013.
[34] Dietz and Papachristodoulou 1988; Papachristodoulou 2007.
[35] Ross 1843; Tozer 1890. On Theodore and Mabel Bent's travels in the Dodecanese see Brisch 2015.

and parts of the Cyclades.[36] It was not until the Young Turks took over the islands of the south-eastern Aegean in 1909 and their subsequent annexation by Italy in 1912 that 'Dodecanese' and 'Dodecanesian' became regular parlance. This was chiefly owed to demonstration against their occupation which spawned a number of Dodecanesian associations, including the Dodecanese Association in Athens, the Central Executive Committee of Unions of Dodecanesians in Egypt, and the National Union of Dodecanesians of America.[37] It is unsurprising, therefore, that Zervos, himself president of the Délégation du Dodécanèse in Paris, published a book that glorified Rhodes' (supposed) contribution to the Dodecanese in the ancient times, at a time when lobbying was at its strongest prior to the Treaty of Sèvres.[38] I would argue that the initial, patriotic use of this term led to its adoption by classical archaeologists, who used it to denote a pottery *koine*. As John K. Papadopoulos has noted, the way we conceive of the Greek world is affected by the process of (ceramically) carving up various regions of Greece into broad entities.[39] Rhodes may have fostered a strong relationship with its neighbouring islands, but this assertion should not be based on the production of ceramics alone, especially when that evidence is restricted to Rhodes and Kos. Other islands need to be considered – Chalke, Nisyros, Astypalaia, and Karpathos have all yielded tombs dating to the Archaic and Classical periods; other material groups need to be considered, such as terracottas figures and protomes; and wider aspects of material culture need to be accounted for, such as evidence for burial practices.

A second grouping that Archaic and Classical Rhodes has been connected with comprises the Dorian settlements of East Greece, on the south-western coast of Asia Minor and some

[36] Koutrakou 2004: 406-409.
[37] Divani and Constantopoulou 1997: 20-32.
[38] Divani and Constantopoulou 1997: 19.
[39] Papadopoulos 2015: 186.

neighbouring islands. These 'East Dorian' settlements, whose common genealogy is described by Herodotus (7.99), comprise Kos, Knidos, Halicarnassos, Kalymnos, Nisyros, Tilos, Syme, and, further west, Karpathos and Kasos. Elizabeth Craik's *The Dorian Aegean* was the first attempt to isolate the collective achievements of East Doris using literary sources and epigraphic evidence, claiming that 'there was undoubtedly some feeling of solidarity with an ethnic basis…otherwise the Dorian Hexapolis could scarcely have existed'.[40] Classical archaeologists have since tried to discern material traits of East Dorian culture, in which Rhodes was a major contributor and participant. Elena Walter-Karydi believes that a regional school of art constituted part of East Dorian cultural identity. According to her, a school of sculpture may be identified on the basis of 'a certain harsh angularity…that is unmistakably Dorian', and East Dorian pottery is characterised by certain shapes, namely segment plates, as well as by a 'much greater interest in human figures and mythological scenes than the South Ionians'.[41] G. Kokkorou Alevras has also stylistically contrasted Dorian sculpture with Ionian sculpture on Rhodes in the Archaic period.[42] Moreover, Regina Attula's analysis of finds from the sanctuary of Apollo from Knidos has raised the issue of 'genuine Dorian art' based on the narrative content of segment plates, the production of which she contends may 'correspond to linguistic-dialectical borderlines'.[43]

I believe there is a problem with both the methodology of this debate and the debate itself. The process of assigning regional artistic styles to Dorian or Ionian *ethnē* has its origins in early nineteenth-century scholarship, including the romantic work of Karl Müller.[44] Müller believed

[40] Craik 1980: 5.
[41] Walter-Karydi 1998: 287-300.
[42] Kokkorou-Alevras 1994: 150-156.
[43] Attula 2006: 90.
[44] Müller 1830: especially 389-390. On this method see Raeder 1993.

an objective knowledge of the Dorian race could be arrived at through empirical induction, not least through the observation of sculpture. Classical archaeologists who later sought to define ethnic categories of Greek art were ostensibly less concerned with tracing the *Volksgeist* of Dorians or Ionians, yet the basis of their categories was nevertheless founded on similar positivist principals. Published in 1936, R. Jenkins' *Dedalica: A Study of Dorian Plastic Art of the Seventh Century BC* categorised stone sculpture on these grounds and makes clear the underlying motivation for his approach:

> [The sculptures are] examples of a closely self-consistent style evolved at their period by that remarkable division of the Greek race, a style which in its most exact representatives was capable of great beauty, and which moreover exhibits by its very simplicity more clearly than any later and more confused tradition the character of the people whose expression it was. Fundamentally coherent, yet at the same time strongly individual, [there were] four great centres of Dorian artistic activity in the seventh century – Corinth, Rhodes, Crete, and Sparta.[45]

To be sure, Walter-Karydi and other contemporary scholars use ethnic categories in a more art historical sense, denoting place of production and stylistic similarities, e.g. statues from Samos are described as Ionian, with drapery rendered 'like chocolate sauce'.[46] From the perspective of material culture, however, any attempt to comprehend an ethnic or cultural identity through focusing on a particular place risks viewing that identity as an essentially self-contained entity. This approach is even more problematic when the objects found at that particular place are not produced there, as is often the case on Archaic and Classical Rhodes.[47] Provenance studies on East Greek Pottery have shown that Archaic Rhodes imported a range of vessels from Ionia

[45] Jenkins 1936: 1.
[46] Boardman 1978: 70.
[47] See section 1.2.3.

and elsewhere (see below). In fact, objects that may be classified as 'East Dorian' account for a minor proportion of the excavated material, which is largely imported from sites throughout the Mediterranean. [48] A more constructive approach is to try to understand a community through modes of production and consumption, considering, for instance, channels of transmission between producer and recipient, and the diverse ways of using and adapting an imported object or idea. Such an approach allows for progress to be made not only in understanding small scale events at a definite place, but it also allows for these events to be contextualised as part of larger patterns across a wider geographic region. For Rhodes, where there is often a lack of understanding of individual contexts and how these relate to a certain settlement, not to mention to other sites across the island and neighbouring islands, there is much scope for progress to be made through focussing production and consumption and ultimately avoid essentialising its diverse material culture.

It is also difficult to endorse the pursuit of identifying East Dorian cultural identity when the major source underpinning the entire debate, Herodotus 1.144, does not refer to an ethnically based culture *per se*. The passage reads as follows:

> ... Something similar can be seen in the case of the Dorian Pentapolis (or Hexapolis as it used to be), where the Dorians are careful to exclude their neighbours from the use of their temple, the Triopium, and even went so far as to put a ban upon some of their own body who failed to observe the proprieties in regard to it. It used to be customary at the Games of the Triopian Apollo to give bronze tripods as prizes, and the winners were not allowed to take them away, but were required to dedicate them on the spot to the god. This ancient custom was openly defied by a

[48] For a summary of imported goods see Kourou 2014.

> Halicarnassian called Agasicles, who, after winning his tripod, took it home and fastened it up on the wall of his house. In punishment for this offence the five cities of Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros, Cos and Knidos excluded Halicarnassos (which was the sixth) from the temple privileges.
>
> (Herodotus 1.144, transl. Sélincourt)

Herodotus refers to religious customs, not to artistic tradition. He also refers to a religious amphictyony, not to East Dorian ethnicity. By describing a shared practice at a federal sanctuary, he suggests that consumption and shared religious rites within a specific context bonded the Dorian Pentapolis. He does not insinuate a regional culture with a distinct artistic tradition. As Catherine Morgan has pointed out, 'literary traditions should not be treated as patterns to shape the archaeological record' – the issue here is not so much that the literary tradition *should not* but that it *cannot* shape modern notions of an East Dorian culture.[49]

Overall, then, there are two fundamental problems with the regions in which Archaic and Classical Rhodes has been implicated over the past century. First, the adoption of 'Dodecanesian' and 'East Dorian' by classical archaeologists as descriptive categories encourages an 'organicist' notion of ancient culture when, in fact, cultural systems change more or less continuously.[50] Rather than trying to isolate a set of cultural essences, we need to focus directly on production and consumption, comparing for instance the importation of goods with the development of religious practices on Rhodes. Secondly, and most importantly, an attempt to contextualise Rhodes as part of a region demands an understanding of the processes that shaped its own culture. The remainder of this literature review will demonstrate that an

[49] Morgan 2003: 76.
[50] Clifford 1988: 35.

assessment of the relationship between the island's material culture and its maritime network is much needed. I will discuss the current state of the research on production on Archaic and Classical Rhodes, before reviewing the evidence for a Phoenician presence on the island, and research on local modes of consumption. A major publication that is considered throughout the following sections is the catalogue of the recent Louvre exhibition *Rhodes – Une Île Grecque aux Portes de l'Orient*, which includes detailed commentaries by a range of authors on local production from the Mycenaean to the Archaic periods.[51]

1.2.3 Production

The detailed publications of Italian and Danish excavations have led to sustained and rigorous research into the provenance of material found on Rhodes, from both its cemeteries and sanctuaries. The typological categories constructed by archaeologists and their shifting geographical attribution of these categories continue to affect our perception of the island, as producer and consumer of goods that were imported from, and exported to, settlements throughout the ancient Mediterranean. Pottery, above all other materials, has attracted the most attention due to the abundant finds at the cemeteries of Kamiros, Ialysos, and Exochi. I will therefore begin by reviewing provenance studies on pottery before outlining those of metals and other materials. Despite the lacuna left by the reattribution of much of the East Greek pottery found on Rhodes to other centres, a wide range of goods may still be associated with production on the island. Briefly, there are three main methods of how objects can be assigned to Rhodian production: stylistic analysis, which includes analysis of their distribution;

[51] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014.

archaeometric analysis – including Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) and Particle Induced X-Ray Emission (PIXE); and through the location of identifiable workshop remains. So far, there is little evidence for workshops on Archaic and Classical Rhodes, apart from some terracotta moulds from Kamiros and clump of glass beads and five magnifying lenses from Ialysos acropolis.[52] This thesis will therefore focus on stylistic and archaeometric analysis as the two main determinants for production place.

The majority of East Greek pottery datable to the seventh and sixth centuries BC found on Rhodes comprises three typological categories: Bird bowls and related 'Kalottenschalen' decorated with birds and filling ornaments such as rays, dots and cross-hatched triangles; Wild Goat Style pottery, consisting of vessels covered in a cream white slip and commonly decorated with animal friezes and filling ornaments; and Fikellura pottery, a version of the 'black-figure' style using reservation instead of incision, the decoration of which is varied in composition and often includes human figures, along with filling ornaments, such as double cables and meander crosses.[53] The excavations of Biliotti and Salzmann on Rhodes, along with those of Flinders Petrie, Ernest Gardner and, later, David Hogarth at Naukratis, stimulated scholarship in East Greek pottery in the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, Cook's article on 'Fikellura Pottery', which is named after the Kamiros cemetery at which the pottery was so ubiquitous, along with the monographs of Walter Schiering and Chrysoula Kardara, cemented a scholarly consensus that much of East Greek pottery was produced on Rhodes.[54] It was not until the 1980s that Pierre Dupont's archaeometric analysis conducted at the Laboratoire de Céramologie in Lyon as well as the analyses by Richard Jones at the British School at Athens

[52] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 316, cat. 189,1 (terracotta mould); 276, cat. 126 (glass beads); 260, cat. 101 (magnifying lenses).
[53] Cook and Dupont 1998: chapters 6, 8 and 10.
[54] Cook 1933; Schiering 1957; Kardara 1963.

and the University of Oxford refuted this consensus; analyses that have since been corroborated also by Hans Mommsen's work at Bonn University.[55]

Archaeometric analysis of pottery with the aim of determining production centres works by comparing elemental composition of pottery with the results from reference material of known provenance.[56] Its results are based on two assumptions: first, that all wares that have the same chemical composition are made from the same clay paste prepared according to a certain recipe; and second, that raw clay has not been traded between settlements. Briefly, the chemical groups established by Mommsen using NAA (NAA) show that Wild Goat style pottery in its early phases as well as Fikellura pottery was mostly produced in Miletos; Ionian cups in both Miletos and Samos; while settlements in North Ionia (Klazomenai, Teos), Chios, and Aeolis (Kyme and Larisa) manufactured Wild Goat style and black figure vessels; in addition, some grey ware ('bucchero') vessels were made in most of these centres.[57] Bird bowls are also predominantly North Ionian.[58] It should be noted that this is a schematic summary of the current research and the complete situation is more complex, including other production centres for Wild Goat Pottery, such as Ephesos, and various production centres in the 'hinterland' of the East Greek cities, including Caria, Lydia, and Sardis.[59] Regarding the figured 'segment' plates previously often attributed to Rhodes, the examples analysed so far predominantly belong to the chemical groups of Kos and to a much lesser extent Knidos.[60] Only two major categories of seventh- and sixth-century BC East Greek painted pottery are still attributable to Rhodes: brownish-black

[55] Dupont 1983; Jones 1986; Akurgal et al. 2002; Mommsen et al. 2006.
[56] On the archaeometric analyses of pottery see Akurgal et. al. 2002; Mommsen et al. 2006: 105. See also Villing and Mommsen 2017: 101-109 (on NAA).
[57] Kerschner 2017; Kadıoğlu et al. 2015; Coulié 2014a: 41-62; Schlotzhauer 2014; Posamentir 2010; Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005; Käufler 2004.
[58] Akurgal et al. 2002; Kadıoğlu et al. 2015.
[59] Cook 1993: 109-115; Coulié 2014a: 47-48; Coulie 2013: 185-186.
[60] Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006: Group EmeB; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 109-117 (NAA Group KosB).

glazed cups decorated with floral patterns known as 'Vroulian' cups, after the settlement on the southern coast of the island where finds were concentrated, as well as other cups; elongated vessels with a wide open mouth called 'situlae', mainly found in Tell Defenneh in Egypt; as well as several other shapes (stamnoi and amphorae) made in a similar style.[61] There was also some local production of plates, albeit seemingly of a lower quality. An example of a segment plate decorated with a rabbit and a stemmed plated resembling South Ionian wares were recently found to match the chemical composition of Rhodian clay.[62]

But this is not the case for the late Geometric period. Recent analyses by Anne Bouquillon at the C2RMF (Paris) using PIXE and by Hans Mommsen at University of Bonn using NAA has attributed a range of vessels to Rhodes.[63] From Mommsen's analysis these include a pedestalled krater,[64] a two-handled flask of Cypriot shape,[65] a kantharos with multiple running spirals,[66] and a small jar with hatched triangles.[67] From Bouquillon's analysis these include a two-handled amphora,[68] a kantharos,[69] and an oinochoe.[70] The latter three shapes, which share similar ratios of silicon and aluminium, have been attributed to workshops located at Kamiros. A further three vessels dating from the seventh century BC were identified as Rhodian, including a lekythos with curved neck,[71] a banded oinochoe,[72] and a crater in the Protovroulian style.[73]

[61] Dupont 1983; Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 126-134.
[62] Coulié and Villing 2014: 315, cat. 186 (BM 1885,1213.7); Coulié 2015.
[63] Coulié and Villing 2014: 117, fig. 63; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 102-104, table 1.
[64] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 122-123, fig. 18 (BM 1860,0404.9).
[65] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 122-123, fig 17 (BM 1864,1007.1582).
[66] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 117, fig. 12 (BM 1864,1007.2095).
[67] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 122, fig. 19 (BM 1864,1007.1349).
[68] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 300-301, cat. 167 (Louvre AM 1043).
[69] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 300-301, cat. 168 (Louvre A 288).
[70] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 302, cat. 169 (Louvre CA 3033).
[71] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 305, cat no. 174 (Louvre A 336).
[72] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 306, cat. 176 (Louvre AM 1042).
[73] Unpublished (Louvre AM 1780).

In *Greek Geometric Pottery*, Coldstream also supported Friis Johansen's attribution of a group of oinochoai and a cylindrical pyxis decorated with motifs similar to Near Eastern ivory carving to the island, as well as a range of Cypriot and Phoenician inspired unguent vessels that may suggest a Phoenician presence on Rhodes (see below), including those decorated in the so-called 'spaghetti' style.[74] Although no archaeometric analysis has been carried out on these groups, I would argue that their virtual exclusivity to the island – as opposed to inter-regional 'abundance' – allows us to accept their attribution for the moment. Rhodian imitation of Corinthian and Melian pottery has also been suggested (and is in fact likely),[75] as well as the production of incised hemispherical bowls, many of which have been found on the island of Astypalaia.[76] Denise Kallipolitis-Feytmans and more recently Eva Simantoni-Bournia have discussed the giant, relief-decorated pithoi produced on Rhodes from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC.[77] Finally, the Classical production of epinetra (and pyxides) on Rhodes has been discussed by Frauke Heinrich, elaborating on earlier observations made by Furtwängler and Hopper.[78] I will come back to these groups and the question of their production in the course of this thesis.

Besides pottery, Rhodes produced goods in bronze, terracotta, and possibly in vitreous materials from the late eighth to the sixth centuries BC. Robert Laffineur's book on Rhodian gold jewellery explored the iconography of the 'Potnia Theron' plaques and other gold products found in graves at Exochi and Kamiros.[79] Recent analysis at the Louvre has shed light on the techniques used by local gold smelters, including the production of their own alloy.[80] Using

[74] *Exochi* 148-154; Coldstream 1968: 274.
[75] Archontidou 1977 and 1983.
[76] Michalaki-Kollia 1988.
[77] Kallipolitis-Feytmans 1950 and 1952; Simantoni-Bournia 2004.
[78] Heinrich 2006: 154-156; Hopper 1949: 213, n. 17; Furtwängler 1886: 152.
[79] Laffineur 1978.
[80] Blet-Lemarquand et al. 2014: 93-99.

stylistic analysis, Chiara Bernardini has catalogued the locally made (and imported) bronze wares excavated from Kamiros, such as fibulae, double-goat protomes, and bird figures, dating to the late Geometric period.[81] Virginia Webb and Günther Hölbl have argued that faience unguent vessels, and possibly some amulets, were produced on Rhodes, based on their style and distribution.[82] Archaeometric analyses of faience found on Rhodes have so far proved inconclusive due to small datasets and poor preservation of material.[83] Andree Gorton has also identified a group of faience scarabs made on Rhodes, possibly at Kamiros, according to style and distribution.[84] So too, glazed unguent vessels once thought to have been imported from the Levant may also have been produced on Rhodes based on a results from PIXE analysis.[85] The concentration of core-formed glass vessels dating to the sixth century BC, which were also used as unguent vessels, has led Pavlos Triantafyllidis and others to attribute their production to the island.[86] Extensive work on Rhodian terracottas has been carried out by Reynold Higgins at the British Museum, identifying many series of female terracotta figures and protomes as locally made, dating from the seventh to the fifth century BC – although these results require some revision in light of more recent research as discussed in Chapter 6.[87] Matteo D'Acunto has also identified a group of locally made Geometric and Daedalic figures from the Italian excavations in the necropolis of Ialysos.[88] In addition, there have been finds of terracotta moulds on Rhodes,[89] and elemental analysis carried out by Richard Jones of terracotta figurines from Rhodes in the collections of the British Museum and Ashmolean Museum revealed a chemical pattern that he associated with Rhodes.[90] More recent analyses carried out at the

[81] Bernardini 2006.
[82] Webb 1978; Hölbl 1983 and 2014.
[83] Tite, Freestone and Bimson 1983.
[84] Gorton 1996: 172-185.
[85] Coulié 2015: 1335, fig. 13 and 1339, fig. 14 (Louvre A 346 and A 348). For outline of distribution see Peltenburg 1969: 76-78 and Von Bissing 1941: 98-113.
[86] McClellan 1984; Triantafyllidis 2014a.
[87] Higgins 1954 (especially 19-24 on Rhodes terracottas).
[88] D'Acunto 2014a.
[89] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 319, cat. 189,1.
[90] Jones 1986: 668, table 8:8.

British Museum have identified a Classical terracotta protome as having the same chemical composition as the some of the vases identified as Rhodian by Mommsen.[91] Another female protome found at Naukratis in Egypt also displays a Rhodian elemental pattern.[92] Finally, Louise Schofield and Maria Martelli have identified a group of locally carved bone and ivory 'naked goddess' figurines, based on their stylistic analyses. These are thought to date from the late Geometric period through to the early seventh century BC.[93]

When considered together, the diversity of materials produced on Rhodes from the late eighth to the fifth centuries BC demonstrates that while the island imported much East Greek painted pottery, it did not rely entirely on its commercial network to provide goods for its inhabitants. Furthermore, the concentration of Rhodian situlae in Tell Defenneh, some with a clearly Egyptianising iconography, shows that local potters could and did produce pots specifically to be exported abroad, if only for a brief period in the sixth century BC, along with Rhodian spaghetti aryballoi in the seventh century BC.[94] The exact extent of these general patterns is unknown, however, because there has so far been no attempt to identify the production centres on the island and to chart and quantify their output.

[91] Higgins 1954: 89, cat. 238, pl. 43; Thomas 2013-2015a: 8; Coulié and Villing 2014: 118, fig. 64; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 119.
[92] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 119, fig. 22.
[93] Schofield 1992; Martelli 2000.
[94] Weber and Cowell 2006. On the distribution of spaghetti aryballoi see *Exochi* (155-156) and Grasso, Pappalardo, and Romano 2004.

1.2.4 Phoenicians on Rhodes

The first book to explore the immigration of people from the Near East into Greece during the Iron Age was T. J. Dunbabin's *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* (1948).[95] Evidence for such a movement on Rhodes, he argues, is provided by ivories and bronze objects that display 'specific eastern forms' as well as Egyptian(izing) objects such as faience.[96] It was not until 1969, however, that Nicolas Coldstream published his influential article entitled 'The Phoenicians of Ialysos'.[97] His contention that Phoenician craftsmen and merchants resided on the island from the eighth century BC is based upon literary sources and Levantine pottery types, including mushroom-lipped jugs, Black-on-Red wares, and unguent flasks decorated with human faces.[98] From this evidence, he infers that Phoenicians established 'factories' on the island to produce both scented unguents and the bottles in which these were sold and exported throughout the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the diverse body of orientalising material found on Rhodes (i.e. ivory plaques, faience wares, and metal bowls) has led scholars to endorse the idea of Phoenician *metoikoi* on the island: Virginia Webb believes Phoenicians were involved in the island's faience industry;[99] Gail Hoffman discusses the evidence for eastern immigrants on Rhodes and Crete;[100] Nota Kourou highlights the Levantine pottery and Phoenician inscriptions found on the island;[101] and Giorgos Bourogiannis, while noting that Black-on-Red ware should be recognised as a Cypriot product, believes that the 'absence of an experimental stage' in Rhodian imitations of mushroom-lipped jugs is a sign of Phoenician

[95] Dunbabin 1957.
[96] Dunbabin 1957: 49.
[97] Coldstream 1969: 1-8.
[98] Literary sources: Diodorus 5.58; Athenaeus 8.360. On Rhodian unguent production see Pliny *Natural History* 13.2.
[99] Webb 1978: 10.
[100] Hoffman 1997: 55.
[101] Kourou 2003: 249-262.

presence.[102] Indeed, the notion is sufficiently established for the socio-economic motivation of a Phoenician unguent factory on Rhodes to be a point of discussion.[103]

The major flaw in the argument for a Phoenician presence on Rhodes is a general (though not complete) reliance on the notion that pots equal people. In other words, Coldstream used a 'culture history' approach, which identifies an archaeological culture – in this case though unguent vessels, faience, and metalware – before equating the area in which this archaeological culture is found with a specific population. Recent anthropological studies have cast doubt on the assumption that an archaeological culture is a material expression of an ethnic group. For instance, ceramic similarities between communities are more often related to the availability of resources than to an ethnic affiliation.[104] In the case of Al Mina, Joanna Luke and Jane Waldbaum have emphasised the need to consider evidence beyond (fine-ware) ceramics in order to establish a foreign (in this case, Greek) presence, including the style of burials, inscriptions, architecture, and kitchenwares.[105] At Ialysos, grave goods at Zambico cemetery, dating to the seventh century BC, consist of Phoenician-style unguent vessels along with Greek shapes, such as stamnoi and lekythoi; no architectural remains have been found except for a fourth-century BC temple; and vessels that may be regarded as dining wares include skyphoi, oinochoai and Ionian bird bowls, but, crucially, no kitchen wares such as cooking pots and related vessels have been found so far.[106] Some Phoenician inscriptions on votives and a pottery fragment have been found at Ialysos and Vroulia,[107] These are isolated examples that

[102] Bourogiannis 2013: 139-189; Schreiber 2003: 286-305.
[103] Jones 1993: 293-303.
[104] Hall 1997: 128-130.
[105] Luke 2003: 5; Waldbaum 1997.
[106] Maiuri 1923-24: 257-341.
[107] Kourou 2004; Bourogiannis 2009: 121; D'Acunto 2017: 465.

demonstrate the mixed character of commerce on seventh century BC Rhodes, but do not suggest a Phoenician settlement *per se*.

There are three further difficulties with the methodology of this debate. First, the phenomenon of Phoenician presence abroad has also been discussed in relation to Cyprus, Crete, and Cos, resulting in a tendency to study the imported material found on these islands on equal terms.[108] We must recognise, however, that contact with the Levant is highly likely to have differed across islands according to their geographic location as well as their economic and political position within the Aegean. Related to this is a second issue of terminology: what exactly is meant by "Phoenician"? Bourogiannis has noted the vagueness of this term, meaning sailing merchants or craftsmen from the eastern Mediterranean without a specific origin when used by ancient Greeks in written texts.[109] Such a lack of clarity poses the danger of danger of mistaking the transporters of objects for their makers and consumer. What connection did the faience vessels found on Rhodes have with Egypt, for instance? It is problematic that a Rhodian faience industry is used as evidence for a Phoenician presence, when specialists in Aegyptiaca view it as evidence for Egyptian influence.[110] Equally, the use of the term "Levant" is too generalising to gain a useful understanding of the significance of the material imported from the region. It is now established that the Iron Age cities and communities of Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia possessed distinct cultures, which impacts on the way this material should be assessed within an Aegean context.[111]

[108] E.g. Hoffman 1997: 117-180 and Bourogiannis 2013.
[109] Bourogiannis 2012a: 37-41.
[110] Hölbl 1983.
[111] Feldman 2014.

The main problem with the debate over the Phoenician presence on Rhodes is that establishing an ethnic presence has become an end in itself, when we should instead focus on contexts of use and the impact that imported material had on production and consumption. What was the exact status of imported objects? Can we determine local selections in their functions? These sorts of questions have been raised by Richard Fletcher, James Whitley, and Thomas Brisart with respect to the Orientalising period.[112] They have stressed the need to re-theorize how we view contact between Greece and the Near East, not as a seventh century BC phenomenon but as a continual process in which 'cultural filters' played a vital role. Rather than simply identifying the transfer of stylistic motifs and techniques, we need to explore how the use and meanings of imported objects were received within the Eastern Mediterranean.[113] More widely, this debate falls under the subject of cultural interaction. Recent scholarship has sought to provide a theoretical framework that can better articulate cross-cultural activities in the ancient world. However, terms like 'hybridity' and 'creolisation', often used in discussions of Greek colonisation, have been criticised for assuming that we can recognise fixed forms of identity.[114] Christoph Ulf has, alternatively, proposed different types of 'contact zones' in which different forms of interaction may occur.[115] For example, 'open contact zones' are spaces in which the producers and recipients of a given object do not come into contact, whereas in 'closed contact zones' both parties are always in direct contact. Although his framework is more nuanced, its strict application to the Mediterranean risks underestimating the region's fragmented and ever-changing environments as described by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, and Cyprian Broodbank.[116] A recurring problem with new theories of cultural interaction is that they are too essentialising, enforcing zones and identities to gain analytical traction on the archaeological

[112] Fletcher 2011: 11-42; Whitley 2012: 409-426; Brisart 2010;
[113] Arrington 2015; Cline 2005: 45-51; Riva 2010: 39-71; Riva and Vella 2006
[114] Gosden 2004: 69-71.
[115] Ulf 2014: 469-506.
[116] Horden and Purcell 2000: 175; Broodbank 2013: 65-71.

material. This can be overcome by an approach that acknowledges two factors: first, that cultures are dynamic systems that are continuously recreated and, second, that objects do not simply represent culture but actively constitute it.[117] I will use this notion of culture as creative process to articulate the effect of Rhodes' maritime connectivity throughout this thesis.

Given its favourable position within the Aegean, it is unsurprising that Rhodes has featured in network studies, which address questions of interaction as well as connectivity. Irad Malkin's *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2011) considers the impact that Rhodes' involvement in trading ports or settlements in Egypt (Naukratis) and Sicily had on its identity.[118] Literary sources that mention 'Rhodes' as opposed to individual poleis – i.e. Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos – are used to argue that the 'distinct *poleis* become less relevant when colonists travel overseas', creating in a regional 'Rhodian' identity.[119] Malkin's reliance on texts offers a view of colonisation as a state enterprise, which is misleading as 'stories of origins lend themselves to being 'performative' utterances', i.e. colonisation is portrayed is a state organised event with immediate results instead of a long-term organic change.[120] Furthermore, his insistence that Rhodes' convergence was a fractal of a wider convergence of Greek *poleis* (forming a Hellenic identity) essentially sees the Mediterranean as an endlessly repeating network.[121] This view is difficult to reconcile with the fragmented nature of the Mediterranean.[122] I do not discount the possibility of 'Rhodian' identity, not least because

[117] Canepa 2010: 7-19; Hodos 2009: 3-31.
[118] Malkin 2011: chapter 2.
[119] Malkin 2011: 75 (e.g. 'Antiphemos of Rhodes' (Thucydides 6.4.3)).
[120] Osborne 1998: 251-269, 265.
[121] Malkin 2011: 76.
[122] Constantakopoulou 2011: 116.

Archaic inscriptions occasionally refer to 'Rhodians', but literary sources are not the only place to look for it.[123] The archaeological record needs to be consulted.

1.2.5 Consumption on Rhodes

Scholarship relating to consumption on Rhodes has focused on contexts rich in artefacts: sanctuaries and cemeteries. Votive deposits from sanctuaries across Rhodes constitute a significant proportion of the excavated finds, yet these deposits have received little attention as offerings. Louise Schofield's stylistic analysis of the ivories found in Kamiros well noted influences from the Near East.[124] Antoine Hermary has compared votive deposits across the island with those found on Cyprus and Crete during the late Geometric and Archaic Periods, concluding that 'Rhodes offers the clearest idea of exchanges with the outside world: local Athena receives objects originating from various parts of the Mediterranean'.[125] Nota Kourou, in addition, has discussed two inscribed basalt figures discovered at Kamiros acropolis as evidence of foreign 'pilgrimage' to Rhodes' sanctuaries.[126] The latter two articles confirm the island's primary position in Mediterranean exchange, both religious and economic. But what is lacking is a consideration of the material in accordance with recent developments in the study of votive offerings. Barbara Kowalzig's recent discussion of religious practices on Rhodes, moreover, focuses on the literary sources and devotes little attention to the extensive evidence from the acropoleis of Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros.[127]

[123] Constantakopoulou 2007: 243-245.
[124] Schofield 1992.
[125] Hermary 1998: 265-276.
[126] Kourou 2004: 11-30.
[127] Kowalzig 2007: chapter 5.

Not content with typological surveys, publications such as Clarisse Prêtre's edited volume entitled *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse* (2009) and Ioanna Patera's *Offrir en Grèce ancienne* (2012) have shown that votives may be used to understand the concerns of worshippers as well as the characteristics of cults in different contexts.[128] J. D. Baumbach's comparison of deposits from Hera sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia, and Western Greece offers an archaeological approach towards the latter issue.[129] By combining literary, architectural, and funerary evidence with votive offerings, he traces the development of Hera cults in sanctuaries throughout Greece. It is noteworthy that economic and social context is often relegated to the background in these publications. For example, Patera discusses the names of offerings in relation to Greek mythology and literature (e.g. *agalma*), and Baumbach analyses votive deposits in terms of six cult aspects without accounting for exterior developments. The consideration of wider economic and social context, such as the relationship between the volume of imported material and the development of votive practices at a particular settlement, are important factors in assessing the role of maritime connectivity at Aegean anchorages, like Rhodes, which need to be addressed.

Rhodian burial practices have received comparatively more attention than votive practices. Edward Gates' PhD thesis remains the most extensive discussion on this subject.[130] By comparing graves found, primarily by Italian excavators, at Kamiros and Ialysos based on six criteria – grave goods, age and sex, imported goods, disposition of skeleton and offerings, and the growth of the cemeteries – he observes that during the mid-Archaic period (625-525 BC) the two *poleis* 'were by no means identical'. Gates' conclusions are no longer reliable due to

[128] Prêtre 2009; Patera 2012.
[129] Baumbach 2004; See also Lindström and Pilz 2013; Simon 1997: 125-143.
[130] Gates 1979 and 1983.

subsequent developments especially in East Greek Pottery studies, affecting our knowledge of provenance and chronology. Moreover, his analysis rarely moves beyond describing burial practices. For instance, one of the most dramatic changes he observed at Kamiros was that the 'small pouring vessels [that] consistently constituted the most popular class of grave offering during the years from 625-550 BC…suddenly appeared less frequently thereafter.'[131] No attempt is made to explain these changes or to place them within their wider social and historical context. This oversight was addressed in relation to Vroulia by Ian Morris, who used the site's cemetery as an example of grave analysis in *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (1993).[132] His observation that the richest burials also tended to be the oldest led him to conclude that Vroulian society was organised around kinship groups. Bruno D'Agostino has since provided further evidence for this claim in his article on Rhodes' Geometric burials (2006).[133] In his opinion, the different cemeteries located within a vast territory of each centre [i.e. Kamiros and Ialysos] display a form of 'particularism' that can be explained by communities organised along kinship lines. The size of graves and quantity of grave goods may be important criteria for determining social patterns, but these criteria belittle what may be learned from the actual contents of the graves. What do the choices made in the deposition of objects tell us about local perceptions of these objects? How did these change over time, and why? Moreover, attempts to detect differences between the burial practices of Rhodes' *poleis* have led scholars to ignore the rich variety of cemeteries at Kamiros alone: Papatislures, Kechraki, Makri Langoni, Fikellura, and the acropolis hill provide scope for a detailed analysis of this polis. A wider comparison has recently been attempted by Eva Mohr in her *Eisenzeitliche Nekropolen im westlichen Kleinasien: Struktur und Entwicklung zwischen dem 9. und 6. Jh. v. Chr*, in which she compares the Rhodian cemeteries with those from the

[131] Gates 1979: 288.
[132] Morris 1993: chapter 7.
[133] D'Agostino 2006: 57-69.

western Asia Minor.[134] However, her assessment of the cemeteries of Kamiros and Ialysos are based on Gates' analysis, which excludes extensive collections of material excavated from Kamiros in the British Museum. Moreover, the survey does not engage with the contents of graves, i.e. what they contain and how much of it is imported material versus locally produced. This contrasts with Matteo D'Acunto's recent commentary on the Protogeometric and Geometric cemeteries of Ialysos, highlighting the significance of Euboean, Cypriot, and Phoenician connections during these periods, with pottery from these areas occurring in graves.[135] More relevant for later periods is Anna Lemos' survey of Attic black-figure pottery on Rhodes during the late sixth and fifth centuries BC, focusing on finds from Italian excavations in the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kamiros.[136]

1.2.6 Summary: a problem of sorts

In reviewing the present state of research on Archaic and Classical Rhodes, two main difficulties are apparent. Firstly, literary sources have been employed as a guide (to varying degrees) for studies on Phoenician presence, East Dorian culture, and the island's colonial and trade network. It is necessary to assess literary traditions pertaining to Rhodes, but they must not be used as a starting point for research, especially when they are applied to material that dates to a much earlier period. Secondly, and more importantly, scholars have been largely preoccupied with establishing the typology and tracing the origin and distribution of imported artifacts. What has been termed the 'fetishism of artifact' can, on the one hand, be linked to a

[134] Mohr 2015: 252-247.
[135] D'Acunto 2017.
[136] Lemos 1997 and *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10].

disciplinary trend and, on the other, to the nature of the material excavated from Rhodes.[137] As noted by Robin Osborne, classical archaeology's traditional concern with the "corpus" has led to the privileging of objects over assemblages, a notion that has only recently been acknowledged for its shortcomings.[138] The continued debate over the provenance of East Greek pottery has, more specifically, prolonged these sorts of discussions with respect to Rhodes. So too has the diversity of the material, which lends itself to sophisticated exercises of classification, i.e. Orientalia, Aegyptiaca, East Dorian, Dodecanesian.[139]

A more analytical approach is needed to understand the island's material culture in a wider social and historical context. My analysis of the evidence therefore has two main objectives: first, to develop our still partial understanding of production on the island, and second, to consider production and consumption together, from votive and burial contexts dating to the Archaic and Classical periods. How much was being made on the island *vis-à-vis* being imported? How did this balance change over time? What sorts of processes were encouraged by the island's maritime connections? Are these processes manifested in different ways across Rhodes? These sorts of questions are associated with economic geography, which has received attention in macro-studies of the Mediterranean, such as Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*, Broodbank's *The Making of the Middle Sea*, and Alain Bresson's *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy*.[140] However, more focused studies on smaller areas of the Aegean, including Rhodes and the Dodecanese, are lacking, specifically those that engage with archaeological evidence. Despite the previous scholarship discussed above, there has so far been no quantification of votive and burial material from any one site on Rhodes – an oversight

[137] Olsen 2010: 24.
[138] Osborne 2004; Lucas 2012: chapter 2.
[139] E.g. Karageorghis 1991-1999.
[140] Horden and Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013; Bresson 2015.

that may be explained through a discipline-wide lack of engagement with the main debates of economic geography, but also by the problems of the wide dispersal of the relevant evidence and the methodological challenges presented by quantitative analysis. Processes of innovation and technological diffusion are addressed by the *longue dureé* studies of Horden and Purcell, Broodbank, and Bresson, but there is seldom a use of archaeological data-sets to understand how and why these processes took shape in the Greek world.[141] It is these sorts of processes, resulting from geographic proximity and connectivity, that this thesis will investigate using archaeological evidence on Archaic and Classical Rhodes. My analysis will focus on grave assemblages and votive deposits, moving away from individual artefacts.

[141] On recent network analysis using archaeological data see Donnellan 2016 and 2017.

1.3 Evidence and Methodology

To outline my approach to the archaeological evidence considered in this thesis, it is necessary to consider the history of excavation on Rhodes, the publication of those excavations, and my methods of recontextualising antiquities excavated at Kamiros in the mid-nineteenth century using archive documentation and analysis from the standpoint of 21st-century scholarship. I will also summarise my theoretical and methodological approaches towards economic process and death and burial.

1.3.1 Kamiros and the archaeology of Rhodes: sample and strategy

Kamiros is the most appropriate Rhodian settlement on which to base a study of the island's culture during the Archaic and Classical periods for two reasons. Firstly, it is historically important to the island. Along with Ialysos and Lindos, Kamiros is one of the three cities of Rhodes referred to by Pindar in the seventh Olympian Ode. Later epigraphic evidence indicates that Kamiros was the central administrative unit of the *ktoina* of Kamiros, a territorially defined unit that also included the neighbouring island of Chalke.[142]. Secondly, it is one of the most extensively excavated sites on Rhodes. Though Vroulia is perhaps the most completely known settlement on the island, with evidence for houses, sanctuaries, and a cemetery, it was in abandoned after 575 BC and the exact status of this site – whether a town or military garrison – remains uncertain;[143] Exochi has yielded an interesting cemetery but, again, its archaeological record shows a hiatus from around 575 BC;[144] Lindos has not yet produced a corresponding cemetery to match the votive deposits on its acropolis;[145] and while the cemeteries of Ialysos

[142] See section 2.3.
[143] *Vroulia*; Morris 1993: 174-178; Sørensen 2002.
[144] *Exochi*.
[145] *Lindos I.*

are published, the same cannot be said of the extensive votive deposit found on its acropolis, known only through preliminary reports.[146] Kamiros, on the other hand, has yielded remains of two sanctuaries, five major cemeteries, and substantial remains of a Hellenistic settlement (not considered in this thesis). Chronologically, the sanctuary material ranges from the late Geometric period through the late sixth century BC, and the grave goods from the cemeteries stretch from the Protogeometric through the Hellenistic periods. No other settlement on Rhodes has yielded such a range of contexts spanning such a broad chronological range.

The early archaeological exploration of Kamiros is documented through archival material relating to the activities of antiquarians during the nineteenth century, including Felix von Luschan and Otto Benndorf,[147] not to mention Charles Newton, who conducted excavations throughout the island and acquired material from local inhabitants.[148] Chief among these are Alfred Biliotti and August Salzmann, whose extensive exploration of Kamiros between 1859 and 1864 is discussed in further detail below. Later Italian excavations led by Giulio Jacopi and Luciano Laurenzi under the Italian Historical and Archaeological Institute in the Dodecanese and the Orient were conducted between 1929 and 1932. The exploration of this settlement should be understood as part of the wider exploitation of Rhodes for its antiquities during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The west coast of the island, in particular Fanes, Kalavarda, Kamiros, Siana, Kymissala, and Monolithos, appear to be have been focal points of its thriving antiquities trade. Alfred Biliotti, for instance, notes in 1904 that ‘digging for antiquities has become so general among peasants in Rhodes that in many places they so to say neglect their usual occupations. Exportation of pottery found in tombs is carried on in broad

[146] Martelli 1988, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2003, and 2009.
[147] Szemethy and Zhuber-Okrog 2016: 259.
[148] Szemethy and Zhuber-Okrog 2016, 259. On Charles Newton and Rhodes see section 1.3.2.

day light, though strictly forbidden.'[149] As a consequence of these diverse activities, Rhodian antiquities, besides being held in the museum of Rhodes, now feature in museum collections across Europe, including the British Museum, the Louvre, Berlin Antikensammlung, the National Museum of Denmark, the National Archaeological Museum of Florence, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and many other collections. Of these, the British Museum holds the largest collection from Biliotti and Salzmann's fieldwork, while Rhodes Archaeological Museum holds the complete collection from the Italian fieldwork, including a large number of finds from Kamiros. These two collections are complementary in terms of chronological and geographical coverage, best demonstrated by the graves excavated across its cemeteries **[Fig.5]**. Together, they form a large body of material that is as representative as one could expect considering the site's history of excavation. These collections are of particular relevance as the archaeological context of the material is either know (Rhodes Archaeological Museum) or can be reconstructed using archives (British Museum material from Biliotti and Salzmann's 1863-84 season).

The total sample of archaeological material that forms the basis of this thesis consists of 2,332 objects excavated from Kamiros. Of these, 1,229 (53%) are held in the British Museum and 1,103 (47%) in Rhodes Archaeological Museum **[Fig.6]**. These objects have been included in my sample on the basis that they represent known votive or grave contexts, and that their production place can be established with reasonable confidence using stylistic or archaeometric analysis. Most of them come from grave contexts, accounting for 1,810 objects, while the remaining 522 objects are from votive contexts on Kamiros acropolis. The maximum chronological range of the sample is 800-775 BC to 325-300 BC. Most of the sample, however,

[149] Original Letters, 21 October 1904.

ranges between 725-700 BC and 425-400 BC. The British Museum collection, excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann, accounts for a large portion of the Classical material, especially between 500-475 BC and 425-400 BC, while the collection from Rhodes Archaeological Museum, from Italian excavations, accounts for much of the sample prior to 500 BC. This material has not been studied previously. The collection from the British Museum is virtually unknown, having been very selectively published. These publications seldom account for archaeological context. The collection from Rhodes Archaeological Museum has also been little considered. This is because the *Clara Rhodos* publications are not conductive for systematic investigations in terms of their organisation and quality of images. The overall aim of this thesis is to fill this gap in scholarship by bringing together a comprehensive body of robust data, and integrate it, to see what this data can tell us about the people of ancient Kamiros and their role in the wider context of Rhodes and the Mediterranean world.

The methodology used to gather my data consisted of several related elements:

Examination of the British Musuem material. First-hand examination of the material, primarily from Biliotti and Salzmann's 1863-1864 season, much of which is previously unstudied. This material was documented and assessed to create a complete catalogue of finds on the Museum's Collection Online database (COL).

Documentation of achival records. Gather, document, and assess archival records relevant to Biliotti and Salzmann's excavation as well as museum documentation; and correlate the two so as to reconstruct as completely as possible the original archaeological context.

Examination of Rhodes Archaeological Museum material. Assess and analyse the material from the Italian excavations at Kamiros based on publications, with first-hand study of as much material as possible in Rhodes Archaeological Museum.

Examination of material in other museum collections. Study and examine first-hand further relevant material in other collections, from Biliotti and Salzmann's excavations but also from Danish excavations and other sources. Collections consulted include the Louvre in Paris, National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, and Altes Museum in Berlin.

Site visits to Rhodes. Study and examine the topography of the island, particularly at Kamiros, including sight lines between sanctuaries and cemeteries, and locate excavated areas and map them as far as possible using GPS.

Excavation at Kymissala. Participation in ongoing excavation of chamber tombs in Kymissala on Rhodes with the University of the Aegean has allowed me to gain a better understanding of Rhodian Archaeological contexts, their finds and condition, and the relationship between tomb construction and the surrounding topography. Excavating a site within the wider region of Kamiros also developed my ability to conceptualise the regional connectivity between settlements on the south-west coast of Rhodes and nearby islands, including Chalki and Alimia, as well as wider sea routes operating in the Dodecanese.

In the following, I will set out the key background for, and strategies and tools employed in, this thesis: the recontextualization of legacy data, the chronological frameworks for dating the material, and my approach to economic process and assesement of burial in the ancient world.

1.3.2 Alfred Biliotti and the British Museum

Alfred Biliotti (1833-1915) was an Italian Levantine who worked in the British Consular Service on Rhodes between 1849 and 1873, and afterwards at Satala in Eastern Turkey, Crete and Salonica. Recently described as 'one of the most singular figures in nineteenth century British diplomatic history',[150] his distinguished career oversaw the end of Ottoman rule in Crete and mediated clashes between Christians, Turks and Muslims in Salonica – actions that earned him a knighthood from Prime Minister Lord Salisbury and the animosity of King George I of Greece.[151] Closely connected to this public career is his pioneering work as an archaeologist during the second half of the nineteenth century. His excavations on Rhodes, first at Kamiros and later at Ialysos, yielded extensive collections of antiquities. To understand how Biliotti came to manage these excavations, sometimes employing over one-hundred workmen at a time, it is necessary to outline the general nature of the British Consular Service in the Aegean and Biliotti's relationship with another archaeological pioneer, Charles Newton.

Newton's first recorded encounter with Biliotti dates to 1853, when he became acting Consul at Rhodes, before in early 1854 returning to Mytilene;[152] in June 1853, Newton and George Finlay, the historian and veteran of the Greek War of Independence, travelled to Chios accompanied by Biliotti, who was then Vice-Consul at Rhodes. What prompted Newton to train Biliotti as an archaeologist remains unknown – he simply describes him as a 'credible person' in his *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*.[153] By the time Newton was appointed as Consular General in Rome in 1859, however, Biliotti had evidently become a competent

[150] Barchard 2006, 1.
[151] For Biliotti's diplomatic career see Barchard 2006.
[152] FO 195/370, June 1853. It is likely Newton met Biliotti before 1853 since he visited Rhodes prior to becoming acting Consul.
[153] Newton 1865: 359.

surveyor and field archaeologist.[154] On 27 June 1859, Biliotti wrote to Consul Robert Campbell informing him of the discoveries that he and Auguste Salzmann, the French photographer and archaeologist, had made near the village of Kalavarda on the west coast of Rhodes:

> You will appreciate no doubt sir, the archaeological importance we attach to our discovery, as it will open up a branch of Archaeology hitherto little known, more particularly by the discovery of beautiful and well preserved Phoenician vases, together with ornaments in gold and silver, the fruits or our excavations, a collection of which Mr Newton has lately taken home with him in HM's Ship "Supply" for the British Museum.[155]

Not long after his departure from the Aegean, Newton himself wrote to Edward Hawkins, Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, to request a firman to allow Biliotti to continue his excavations at Kamiros:

> I have always been of the opinion that the cemetery from which these vases were obtained was that of the ancient Camirus, one of the three original cities of Rhodes. Circumstances not permitting me to explore this locality, I pointed it out to Mr Alfred Biliotti, the British Vice Consul at Rhodes who is exceedingly active at all times in obtaining antiquities for the British Museum. […] The official position of this gentleman in the British Consulate at Rhodes and the protection afforded by a firman are circumstances singularly favourable to the success of the excavations and I think that such an opportunity of obtaining a fine collection of

[154] Cook 1997: 13.
[155] Original Letters, 27 June 1959.

> earliest Greek antiquities in the Archipelago should by no means be thrown away, for an experience of some years residence in Turkey leads me to think that it is not all likely to recur.[156]

Three months later, in January 1860, Newton was appointed as Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities following the division of the Department of Antiquities.[157] The influence of his new position, paired with his friendship with Biliotti, ensured that excavations continued at Kamiros for five years, until May 1864. Newton also helped Biliotti to retain his post as Vice Consul on Rhodes throughout this period. That a simple 'recommendation…in my favour' was enough to secure his post, despite the 'great obstacle' of his foreign nationality, shows the extent to which the British Museum influenced the appointment of Consuls in the Aegean.[158]

It should be stressed that the British Museum was practically and financially involved with the excavation of Kamiros from the outset. A vizierial letter to protect Salzmann and Biliotti's discoveries was obtained through the request of the Trustees, as was a set of six wheel-barrows (supplied from Malta), along with shovels, pick-axes, cranes and a set of huts for the workforce. Batches of antiquities were regularly purchased by the Museum, which had '[first] choice of every article of antiquity found.'[159] It was also at the behest of the Trustees that in 1863 Earl Russell, while serving as Foreign Minister, agreed to advance Biliotti five-hundred pounds to continue his excavations at Kamiros 'on the condition that all the antiquities discovered should

[156] Original Letters, 9 October 1859.
[157] Cook 1997: 13-14.
[158] Original Letters, April 1862 and May 1863.
[159] Original Letters, June 1859.

be sent to the British Museum.'[160] In other words, Biliotti and Salzmann had to relinquish their status as antiquities dealers operating in an open market and work for a single institution. Everything discovered over the following eight months, from November 1863 to June 1864, was shipped to the British Museum – a collection totalling 2,400 objects, ranging from pottery to terracotta and limestone figures, jewellery, bone and ivory fittings, as well as glass and faience vessels. Importantly, these finds were numbered and logged in a field diary kept by Biliotti, corresponding to paper stickers or incised numbers on the antiquities themselves. His chief motivation for keeping the diary was to ensure favour with his patrons. A copy was sent to London each month, keeping Earl Russell updated with how the government's money was being spent and Newton informed of recent discoveries at Kamiros. Throughout this period, Biliotti's correspondence with Newton shows a concern with satisfying his expectations, stating that 'I take great pains for [the diary], and trust you will pardon any deficiencies…which I should be glad to correct if you point them out to me.'[161] This concern reflects a meticulous attitude to his archaeological work as well as a desire to sustain the financial benefit it offered.

1.3.3 Reconstructing contexts

There have been previous attempts to link the British Museum's collection from Kamiros with its original archaeological contexts. Reynold Higgins studied the Fikellura graves containing terracotta figures, publishing around 50 assemblages in his *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* published in 1954.[162] His personal notes also reveal an attempt to reconstruct the contents of Kamiros Well, with the assistance of Virginia Webb **[Fig.7]**.[163] During the same

[160] FO 78/1768, no. 34 (3 September 1863) outlines the full terms and conditions of their financial arrangement.
[161] Original Letters, March 1864.
[162] Higgins 1954, 25-31. Reynold Higgins was Assistant Keeper 1947-1965.
[163] Webb 1978 (Appendix I) refers to faience objects from Kamiros well and Deposit D&E.

period, Donald Bailey created a card index of the Fikellura grave assemblages. But these efforts were incomplete. By focussing on certain elements of the Kamiros material and not making use of all the existing documentation, many mistakes and erroneous attributions to individual contexts have been made over the years. A more systematic, forensic approach was required that not only considers all forms of evidence for these attributions but also presents that evidence in a clear, consistent manner that is beneficial for future archaeological research.

The approach I developed for attributing objects to specific contexts started with identifying and compiling documentation kept in the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum. It was then possible to create a database of context attributions mentioned in each type of documentation. There are five sources of documentation, including Biliotti's diary, the Museum Register, Kamiros Tomb List, and Kamiros Card Index, as well as excavation numbers that were often marked on the objects.

Excavation numbers. Each object was examined and photographed to record its excavation number. These numbers are normally located on the underside of the object, appearing as an incised mark or as a paper sticker, e.g. '79' for Fikellura grave 79 **[Fig.8]**. Many objects from graves or votive deposits do not have an excavation number, either because Biliotti and his team chose not to number them, or because their paper stickers were removed or lost after arriving at the British Museum. Objects that were excavated from Kamiros acropolis are marked with the letter 'C' followed by a number, which indicates the day that object was excavated during Biliotti and Salzmann's campaign on Kamiros acropolis between 24 March and 19 April 1864. For example, a terracotta figure with a paper sticker marked 'C4'

corresponds to work carried out on Monday 28 March 1864, i.e. the fourth day of excavation on Kamiros acropolis. **[Fig.9]**.

*Biliotti Diary***.** Organised as a day-to-day list of the material excavated from Kamiros, Biliotti's diary is divided into two main sections. On the left side is a series of columns that provide quantitative data about the excavation, including the number of workmen on site, the number of the graves opened, and the quantity of entire, broken or fragmentary objects uncovered **[Fig.10]**. Descriptions of objects are provided on the right side of the diary, which vary in detail according to an object's context, ornamentation, size or scarcity. As a continuous list, it is difficult to understand how the excavation of certain contexts progressed over time. Once the diary had been transcribed into a digital format, however, it was possible to divide the transcription into separate localities of excavation, such as Fikellura and Papatislures cemeteries. This provided a clearer insight into how the excavation of specific areas developed, and into the contents of individual graves and votive deposits. Biliotti's descriptions could then be matched to objects in the museum that lack an excavation number altogether, provided the texts are sufficiently detailed.

Museum Register. Objects acquired by the Department of Greece and Rome are recorded in its Acquisition Register. Each record includes a description, usually accompanied by a small sketch, dimensions, circumstances of purchase and price paid, catalogue number, and miscellaneous observations. Every object receives a registration number, composed of the year, month and day of its registration, followed by a specific object number. The objects excavated from Kamiros between October 1863 to June 1864 have the registration number '1864,1007.[…]', meaning that their registration began on 7 October 1864. In most instances, the grave or votive deposit from which an object was excavated was also recorded in the

Museum Register. For example, the entry for BM 1864,1007.1380, a terracotta female protome, includes 'F11', indicating that it comes from Fikellura grave 11 **[Fig.11]**.[164]

Kamiros Tomb List. Produced by Arthur Smith, the Kamiros Tomb List is arranged by archaeological context **[Fig.12]**. It matches the descriptions of grave assemblages and votive deposits in Biliotti's diary with the registration numbers of objects in the British Museum. It was written in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, when Smith was Assistant Keeper and, later, Keeper of the Department.[165]

Kamiros Card Index. Like the Tomb List, Donald Bailey's Card Index matches Biliotti's descriptions of grave assemblages and votive deposits with specific registration numbers of objects **[Fig.13]**. Each card records a single context from Biliotti's diary and the corresponding registration number, where possible. In many instances, however, Bailey was not able to identify entries with objects. The Card Index was probably created around the time of the publication of Higgins' *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*.[166]

Of the five varieties of documentation outlined, the latter three were created at the British Museum following Biliotti and Salzmann's excavation. Often, additions and corrections have been made to them, indicated by different handwriting and coloured pen. For instance, pencil corrections have been added to the Kamiros Tomb List and additions in purple writing are visible on the Kamiros Card Index. It was important to note these amendments as one further step in the process of reconstructing grave assemblages and votive deposits. Once all

[164] BM 1864,1007.1380.
[165] Arthur Smith was Assistant Keeper 1885-1909 and Keeper until 1925.
[166] Donald Bailey was Museum Assistant 1955-1964 and Curator until 1996.

documentation had been gathered, the following information could be compiled for each object: registration number, object name, grave number, date excavated, Biliotti's diary description, the type of excavation number – incised or as paper sticker –, followed by attributions mentioned in the Register, Kamiros Tomb List, and Kamiros Card Index **[Fig.14]**. By cross-referencing the attributions mentioned in these documents, it was possible to identify discrepancies between them and to address when, how, and why these may have arisen.

1.3.4 Process and problems

There are three recurrent problems with the British Museum's Kamiros collection and its documentation, which have previously caused incorrect attributions to archaeological contexts. First, Biliotti sometimes confuses the names of objects in his diary. For instance, he describes finding three kykikes with black ornaments in Fikellura 252, when in fact these are three lekythoi, each with F252 incised on the base **[Fig.15]**.[167] Similarly, Biliotti records six spindle-whorls in Fikellura grave 193, five in terracotta and one in lead.[168] Here the object name is correct, but the material is wrong. Only one terracotta spindle-whorl is labelled with F193, and while the lead spindle rings are not marked with a grave number as such, the fact (a) that only five exist in the Kamiros collection and (b) Biliotti does not record lead spindle-whorls elsewhere in his diary allows them to be securely attributed to this grave.

[167] Biliotti Diary, 5 April 1864. BM 1949,0220.8; BM 1949,0220.9; BM 1949,0220.10.
[168] Biliotti Diary, 18 March. BM 1864. BM 1864,1007.1837; BM 1864,1007.1877; BM 1864,1007.1878; BM 1864,1007.1879; BM 1864,1007.1880; BM 1864,1007.1881.

Another source of confusion is illustrated by graves 15 and 16 from Papatislures cemetery. On 17 March 1864, Biliotti records having '[c]leared two sepulchral chambers in one of which […] we found: Porcelain [i.e. faience] spindle ring'.[169] If this grave only contained a single faience spindle ring, how do we explain an oinochoe and Corinthian aryballos with stickers marked 'P15', i.e. Papatislures 15?[170] The answer lies with a group of objects noted a week later from Papatislures 16.[171] In this instance, Biliotti seems to have conflated the contents of these graves, marking objects from Papatislures 16 as belonging to Papatislures 15. The confusion did not end there, though, as a Milesian oinochoe of the Plain Body Group, which belongs to Papatislures 16 according to Biliotti's diary, was somehow marked with 'P11' as well as 'P16' on its foot **[Figs.16-17]**.[172]

Incorrect grave numbers on objects have created problems for making attributions elsewhere. For example, an Attic small bowl is marked with 'F55' on the base **[Fig.18]**, but there is no corresponding description for this object in Biliotti's diary under Fikellura 55, which was excavated on 8 December 1863.[173] The description of 'Cup without handles black varnish (1 entire)' in the contents of Fikellura 53 shows it belongs to this context instead, which was excavated on the same day.[174] Biliotti and Salzmann were opening as many as ten graves a day during the final eight months of their campaign at Kamiros, which may explain these errors made on-site.

[169] BM 1864,1007.891. Biliotti Diary, 17 March 1864.
[170] BM 1864,1007.1792; BM 1864,1007.2092.
[171] Biliotti Diary, 23 March 1864: 'Cleared the sepulchral chamber discovered yesterday: Oinochoe archaic (1 entire), Alabastron (1 entire), Alabastron with globular body (1 entire), Aryballos large black and crimson ornaments on cream colour ground, Cotoliski – brown ornaments – shells, Oinochoe – small – black glaze, Aryballos, black ornaments on cream colour ground, Bottle enamelled – black bands on blue ground.' BM 1864,1007.173; BM 1864,1007.1792; BM 864,1007.1155; BM 1950,1027.1; BM 1864,1007.2089; BM 1864,1007.2092; BM 1864,1007.1148; BM 1864,1007.211; BM 1864,1007.149.
[172] *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 13] pl. 573,4. On the Plain Body Group see Käufler 2004, 131-137.
[173] BM 1864,1007.1482.
[174] Biliotti Diary, 8 December 1863.

Some errors, though, were not caused through conflating the contents of graves, but simply by problematic handwriting. A good example of this problem is an Attic small bowl seemingly marked with '191' that belongs to Fikellura 151 **[Fig.19]**.[175] How do we explain this error, especially given that nearly a month separates the excavation of Fikellura 151 (25 March 1864) and 191 (17 April 1864)?[176] This is a symptom of a wider problem in which the number five has been mistaken for the number nine because the person who incised the objects – presumably a member of Biliotti's team – wrote these numbers in a very similar fashion.[177] In these cases, the diary descriptions are crucial to exposing and resolving incorrect grave attributions. It is also worth noting that objects excavated from Kamiros acropolis and marked with 'C' numbers were later sometimes incorrectly interpreted as originating from Casviri cemetery, even though Biliotti only records the excavation of two graves from this cemetery, each of which contained a modest assemblage of grave goods.[178] This mistake occurred prominently when the Museum's paper registers were transferred onto its digital database, another example of erroneous attribution caused through a lack of cross-referencing of evidence, both material and archival.

Problematic handwriting in the Museum Register caused further difficulties for the British Museum's Collections Online database: a black-figure amphora here was previously attributed to Fikellura grave 203, when Biliotti tells us that it comes from Fikellura 283.[179] So too, a kylix

[175] BM 1864,1007.1466. Biliotti Diary, 25 February 1864: 'Shallow vessel without handles black varnish (1 entire)'.
[176] Biliotti Diary, 25 February 1864; Biliotti diary, 17 March 1864.
[177] See also Rhodian stamnoid pyxis (BM 1864,1007.1770) incised with '269' but belonging to Fikellura '265'.
[178] Biliotti Diary, 30 May 1864; Biliotti diary, 1 June 1864. A total of 400 objects from Kamiros acropolis were listed in the British Museum's collections database with the findspot of 'Cazviri cemetery' until May 2017, attributed to fictional grave contexts.
[179] Biliotti Diary, 23 May 1864: 'Olpe black figures with white and crimson accessories on red ground (1 broken)'.

by the Haimon painter was thought to belong to Fikellura 149, when it is Fikellura 143.[180] Similarly, a terracotta figure had been assigned to Fikellura 259 but Biliotti records it as coming from Fikellura 253.[181] There is a clear pattern of errors in this instance: zeros mistaken for eights, and nines for threes. It is a result of problematic handwriting in the Museum Register, whose entries were the main point of reference for digital documentation. Such an error is easily made when consulting handwritten documents, and again demonstrates the pitfalls of referring to a single archive for deciding specific grave attributions.

By cross-referencing the types of documentation outlined above and working through the problems discussed, it has been possible to reconstruct the contents of two votive deposits and 310 graves excavated at Kamiros between October 1863 and June 1864; a total of over 1,700 objects dating from the early seventh to the late fifth centuries BC. The British Museum's Collections Online database has been updated to reflect this outcome. For each object belonging to a specific context there is now an attribution note on its corresponding record, along with two curatorial comments: one summarising the evidence on which the attribution is based and another describing the archives used to make that attribution. For example, an Attic kylix was attributed to Fikellura grave 143 based on evidence from Biliotti's marking on the object – grave number incised, Biliotti's Kamiros diary, Kamiros Tomb List, Museum Register, and Kamiros Card Index. It is described in Biliotti's diary [as]: [a] Cylix with black figures placed on the mouth of the amphora.[182]

[180] Biliotti Diary, 23 February 1864: 'Cylix with black figures placed on the mouth of the Amphora'.
[181] Biliotti Diary, 7 April 1864: 'Terracotta upright female (1 entire)'.
[182] Biliotti Diary, 23 February 1864. BM 1864,1007.293.

Above all, the process of sorting this material into its original find-spots demonstrates that working with archives is not simply about identifying one trustworthy, 'original' source of evidence. Rather, it is about layering up as many sources as possible to achieve the most informed conclusion possible. Through this method, the British Museum's collection from Kamiros can now be considered in context alongside material from the Italian excavations, published in *Clara Rhodos* and outlined in **Appendix 2**.

The contents of the reconstructed graves and votive deposits may be accessed via the hyperlinks in **Appendix 1**.

1.3.5 Chronology

Four main relative chronologies are used to date pottery in this thesis. The first is Nicolas Coldstream's stylistic dating for Geometric pottery. In particular, Coldstream's chronology for East Greek late Geometric vessels is adopted, which includes Rhodian imitation of Levantine and Cypriot work, the Bird-kotyle workshop, and the Bird and Zig-Zag Painter.[183] For the East Greek pottery, I have based my assessments on Michael Kerschner and Udo Schlotzhauer's new system of chronological classification, replacing Cook's previous system.[184] The two underlying principles of this system are division according to production places or region, and separation according to chronological periods and phases. For instance, South Ionian Archaic Id (SiA Id) refers to pottery made in South Ionia the belongs to the chronological phases Archaic Id, or 610-580 BC. This thesis uses the four main phases in the 'Archaic I' chronological system: Archaic Ia (670-650 BC), Archaic Ib (650-630 BC), Archaic Ic (630-

[183] Coldstream 2008: chapter 12.
[184] Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005. See also Cook and Dupont 1998: 32-63.

610 BC), and Archaic Id (610-580 BC).[185] The relative chronology of these phases is based on stratigraphical sequences excavated in Miletos and Ephesos, as well as closed deposits in other sites in the Mediterranean and Black Sea. Three absolute dates are used to anchor these chronologies. Firstly, the destruction of Ashkelon in 604 BC (Babylonian Chronicle BM 21946, lines 18-20; Herodotus 1.105) provides an idea of the pottery productions commonly used during that period.[186] Secondly, material excavated from Assesos has been dated earlier than the destruction of the sanctuary commonly thought to have occurred in 608 BC (Herodotus 1.19), a context that hinges on the reading of cuniform texts and is probably somewhat less certain.[187] Many examples of stemmed dishes decorated with rays were found here, along with some vessels decorated in the style related to and just preceding the so-called Plain Body Group made in Miletos. And thirdly, the destruction of Miletos in 494 BC (Herodotus 9.104) appears to have put an end to Milesian Fikellura pottery production. The dating of Kerschner and Schlotzhauer's phases are dependent on Corinthian pottery found in stratified contexts with East Greek pots, including a group of bothroi at Miletos. The chronology used for dating Corinthian pottery in this thesis is drawn from D. A. Amyx's *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (1988), which developed Humphrey Payne's chronology outlined in *Necrocorinthia*: *A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic period* (1931).[188] The main phases in this chronology are Transitional Corinthian (630-620 BC), Early Corinthian (625-600 BC), Middle Corinthian (600-575 BC), Late Corinthian I (575-550 BC), and Late Corinthian II (after 550-500 BC). Protocorinthian chronology is generally linked to the foundation dates recorded by ancient authors for colonies at Syracuse in 733/732 BC (Thucydides 6.4.2), Gela in 688 BC (Thucydides 6.4.3), Selinus in 628 BC (6.4.2), and especially grave 325 from Pithekoussai that

[185] Käufler's (2004) chronology of Milesian pottery has five phases, from MilA Ia-Ie. However, Kerschner and Schlotzhauer's chronology is used throughout this thesis.
[186] Stager 1996; Waldbaum and Magness 1997
[187] Kalaitzoglou 2008.
[188] Amyx 1988; Payne 1931.

includes a scarab with the cartouche of pharaoh Bocchoris (718-712 BC). Neeft has shown that the absolute dating of Corinthian pottery during the sixth century BC rests on two main contexts. The first is the destruction level of the Athena temple at Smyrna that is associated with its capture by Alyattes (607-560 BC) around 595-590 BC (Herodotus 1.16.2). The second is Rifriscolaro necropolis at Kamarina, founded in 598/7 BC (Thucydides 6.5.2), which includes pottery belong to the start of Middle Corinthian phase.[189] In addition, Amyx's chronology relies on comparisons and associations with Attic fine wares to provide dates for the Middle to Late Corinthian I periods.[190] Finally, the chronology for Attic pottery that is adopted throughout this thesis is that of the Athenian Agora, which included ten wells (at least) that were filled with pottery, plain, black-glazed, black-figure, and red-figure wares, following the second Persian sack of Athens in 479 BC (Herodotus 9.13).[191] While probably in need of some slight revision, there are currently no signs for a major readjustment being needed[192]. In addition, pottery finds from graves excavated in the Athenian Kerameikos are used as a source of comparison.[193] Unless otherwise stated, when the date of a grave is referenced in this thesis I am referring to the date of internment, which is based on the youngest finds in the assemblage.

1.3.6 Economic process

A major factor in understanding the relationship between the material culture of Rhodes and its maritime network is economic process. This thesis will explore how imports from the

[189] On the absolute and relative chronology of Corinthian pottery see Neeft 2008.
[190] Amyx 1988: 428.
[191] See especially *Agora* XII, XXIII, and XXX.
[192] Rotroff 2009; Gaunt 2017: 85; Kunisch 2016: 69-70; Tuna-Nörling 1996: 27-9.
[193] See especially *Kerameikos* VII,2, and IX.

Aegean and beyond affected processes of production and consumption on Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods. It is therefore necessary to outline my approach to studying the Rhodian economy and explain why I have adopted this specific approach. Any modern study of the ancient Greek economy must operate under two important constraints. First, the primary evidence for the Greek economy is patchy because ancient writers to not often discuss the issue explicitly.[194] Secondly, there is a methodological problem in that historians cannot avoid using at least some anachronists concepts around which to organise their own research.[195] These constraints led ancient historians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to adopt contradictory viewpoints on the ancient Greek economy which were eventually subsumed under the designations of primitivism and modernism.

The 'primitivist' view argues that the ancient Greek economy was qualitatively and quantitatively different from the modern economy. Its earliest proponents – and Karl Bücher, Max Weber, and Johannes Hasebroek – argued that the ancient economy was characterised by domestic production, which tended to meet the immediate needs of the family. Mercantile exchange played only a limited role and, conversely, the process of transferring gifts usually occurred through gift giving or states of war.[196] Moses Finley's *The Ancient Economy* (1973) remains the definitive primitivist account of the ancient Greek economy, highlighting the absence of features associated with the modern economy such as technological innovation, economic rationality, and large-scale industrial enterprises.[197] He offers a powerful characterisation of the ancient economy as 'embedded' in ancient society and culture, i.e. it can only be understood in the context of ancient society, unlike the modern world, in which it

[194] Morley 2004: 34.
[195] Morley 2004: 34.
[196] Bresson 2016: 2.
[197] Finley 1973.

operates as a separate sector of society. The main theme in the primitivist viewpoint is the limit on ancient economy performance: 'there was low demand, low productivity, low investment, and not much trade.'[198] By contrast, the 'modernist' view argues that there were only quantitative differences between the modern and ancient economy. There was less trade and a lower volume of industrial production in antiquity, but trade and industry were of the same nature, as were the forms of economic organisation and the underlying structures and processes. First championed by Edward Meyer, who made comparisons between antiquity, the middle ages and modern times, the modernist view holds that the economy of ancient Greece had all the characteristics of a developed economy.[199] As Bresson remarks, for modernists the ancient Greek economy is 'all about mercantile exchange, money, division of labour, industrial types of production, even competing states seeking to conquer export markets.'[200]

How could the observation of the same reality end up producing two such contrary images of the ancient Greek economy? Herein lies the problem with the primitivist-modernist debate. Each of these two positions depends an optimistic or pessimistic view of the evidence, where the former tends towards modernist arguments and the latter towards primitivism.[201] More seriously, as Bresson has noted, their main proponents selected only the observed features that they could bring to bear in the service of their model, leaving the rest of the evidence aside.[202] Such a selective approach towards the available evidence is not helpful for producing clear, integrated studies of the ancient Greek economy. Furthermore, the primitivist and modernist viewpoints essentially arise from what is a negative analysis. It is an analysis of defects that

[198] Morley 2004: 42.
[199] Bresson 2016: 2.
[200] Bresson 2016: 2.
[201] Morley 2004: 38.
[202] Bresson 2016: 3.

compares ancient Greece (to a greater or less extent) with the modern capitalist world. This fails to recognise its own internal constitution, regardless of comparisons to the modern world.[203]

Since the mid-1990's there has been a general acceptance about the stale nature of the primitivist-modernist debate by ancient historians, leading to more nuanced approaches to the study of the ancient Greek economy. These studies have ranged from those focussing on Classical Athens to those studying the Mediterranean as a whole: Cohen's discussion of Athenian banking has shown that the Athenian economy as more commercialised than Finley perceived;[204] Nafissi has argued for the 'inability of any single camp [of primitivists or modernists] to address [the Athenian economy], whose studies have 'overused, conflated and confused…multifaceted concepts of class, status, embeddedness, and modernity' – including comparisons to 'capitalist modernity', 'post-Christian modernity' and 'modernity of the fourtheen and fifteenth century';[205] Horden and Purcell see a dualism in Mediterranean trade, with 'both commerce and shifting webs of casual, local, small-scale contacts radiating from different areas';[206] and most recently, Harris, Lewis, and Woolmer have explored the full range of types of markets (physical and abstract) that lie between the extremes of the world market and the household self-sufficiency in necessities.[207] All these studies have successfully challenged the simplistic dichotomy of primitivism and modernism, which omits that full range of possibilities between the two viewpoints. I have adopted a similar approach as in these recent debates in discussing the economy of Archaic and Classical Rhodes. Local 'embedded'

[203] Bresson 2016: 14.
[204] Cohen 1992.
[205] Nafissi 2004.
[206] Horden and Purcell 2000: 144.
[207] Harris, Lewis, and Woolmer 2016.

institutions, such as a periodic market for votive offerings, are explored alongside wider economic processes that affected by the Rhodes's maritime network, such as innovation (of votives) and agglomeration (of pottery workshops). These kinds of processes have been discussed in a similar manner by ancient historians, including Zosia Archibald and Penelope Goodman.[208] To be sure, I do not wish to force specific understandings of modern economic concepts onto the ancient Greek economy. Rather, through consultation of the archaeological record, I want to explore how certain economic processes – recognised in the broadest possible terms – may have flourished in the ancient Mediterranean. In doing so, I intend to present a view of the Rhodian economy as an integrated system in which maritime connectivity serves to stimulate economic processes that, in turn, affects the workings of institutions embedded within the island's economy. This economy involves oscillations between local, regional, and inter-regional markets in terms of distribution of goods, both locally produced and imported.

At this juncture, I will briefly define what I mean by 'production' and 'consumption'. The validity of these terms has recently been called into question by David Graeber, who thinks that 'we should be suspicious of importing the political habit of seeing society as divided into two spheres, one of production and one of consumption […]. Doing so almost inevitably forces us to push almost all forms of nonalienated production into the category of consumption or even 'consumer behaviour''.[209] Moreover, the common academic usage 'consumption' has come to mean 'any activity that involves the purchase, use or enjoyment of any manufactured or agricultural product for any purpose other than the production or exchange of new commodities', leading many anthropologists to claim that the term has been falsely portrayed

[208] Archibald 2013; Goodman 2016.
[209] Graeber 2011: 501.

as passive when in fact it is more often an important form of creative self-expression.[210] Throughout this thesis, I use 'production' to refer to the manufacture of goods, specifically of small votives, pottery, and terracotta figures, and 'consumption' to refer to the usage of such objects in the context of sanctuaries, cemeteries, and sometimes in households. I have chosen to maintain a division between productive and consumptive practices because the dichotomy is helpful in gaining analytical traction on the archaeological remains from Kamiros, which frequently involves addressing questions of production place, date, and findspot. Yet I do recognise that productive and consumptive practices form part of a single spectrum. For instance, chapter 3 discusses how the consumption of imported pottery directly informed the production of Rhodian pottery workshops, including the production of imitative wares.[211] The term 'consumption' is used throughout this thesis to refer to the practice of dedicating votive offerings, depositing grave goods, and domestic use of objects. This definition is distinct from the archaeological definition of deposition as 'the process of laying-down or accumulation of sediments and materials to form an archaeological context' in that it is concerned with a broad range of post-manufacture behaviours.[212] I do not endorse the more specific understanding of consumption advocated by Appadurai, who focusses on means of exchange, for two main reasons.[213] Firstly, my discussion is not centred around the status of objects as either gifts or commodities, but rather on how and what is made on Rhodes, and why certain objects came to be deposited together. Secondly, my discussion is derived from, and focuses on, the empirical analysis of objects and archaeological assemblages in museum collections, as opposed to a comparative analysis of exchange between different societies.

[210] Graeber 2011: 491.
[211] See chapter 3.
[212] Joyce and Pollard 2010 (on deposition) and Dietler 2010 (on consumption).
[213] Appadurai 1986. See also Kopytoff 1986.

1.3.7 Death and Burial

A combined total of 450 datable grave assemblages are considered in this thesis and form the basis of analyses conducted in Chapters 5 and 6.[214] In focussing on burial on Rhodes, my discussion is intended to contribute to debates surrounding burial practices in Classical Archaeology. Parker Pearson, in his study of *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (2010), notes that 'the provision of a final resting place for someone's mortal remains is a carefully thought through procedure which may have taken days...[b]urial is thus a deeply significant act imbued with meaning.'[215] As such, the archaeological traces of burial practices can reveal much about social, ritual, and ideological mechanisms with a particular society. This sociological approach to funerary archaeology within Classical Archaeology is exemplified in the work of Ian Morris in *Burial and Ancient Society* (1987).[216] His central argument is that the ideology of the Greek city-state, the polis, can be identified in changes in the structure of the archaeological evidence. In doing so, he asserts that those who were or were not entitled to formal burial in Attic during different periods in the seventh and sixth centuries BC can be identified with certain identifiable social strata which did or did not have access to the means of production (i.e. land and political privileges).[217] Subsequent approaches broadly following Morris' cue include Houby-Nielson's '"Burial language" in the Archaic and Classical Kerameikos' (1995) and, more recently, Riva's analysis of *The Urbanisation of Etruria* (2010).[218] In developing relevant methodologies mortuary variation can be analysed with a view towards comprehending wider social structures; this area of research has undoubtedly broadened the horizons of what can be extrapolated for the archaeological record. However, this thesis will only partly adopt this sociological (or representational) standpoint to material

[214] See section 2.4.2; Chapters 5 and 6.
[215] Parker Pearson 2010: 5.
[216] Morris 1987. See also Morris 1992.
[217] For a summary of Morris' arguments see Humphreys 1990 and Papadopoulos 1993.
[218] Souby-Nielsen 1995; Riva 2010.

culture in discussing funerary archaeology on Rhodes. There are three motivating reasons behind this decision, including two that pertain specifically to the Rhodian evidence and one general criticism of the sociological approach. I will explain the latter before moving onto the former. My critical focus tends towards Morris simply because his subject matter is closely related to that of this thesis, i.e. synthetic analysis of Archaic and Classical Greek cemeteries.

Firstly, Morris' work approaches burial as a model that reflects class dynamics, which downplays its role in actively negotiating the identity of a person. Although he adopts a more contextual approach to burial than Binford and Saxe, who sought to establish universal relationships between material remains and social structures, their common ground is often all too apparent.[219] An excerpt from Morris' discussion of the cemetery of the settlement of Vroulia serves to demonstrate this point: [220]

> The paucity of the gifts given to the gods in the sanctuaries [at Vroulia] when compared to those given to the founders of the new tombs could hardly fail to underline the point. We might see in this peculiar site an attempt in the rapidly changing world of the late seventh century to set up at the end of the island, if not exactly of the earth, an ideal peasant world, preserving the proper stable relations between men in spite of the disruptive forces of birth, marriage and death - age, family, descent, all themes which crop up in the ideologies of peasant societies all over the world, but here articulated in a remarkably powerful form.

Is Vroulia like really like 'peasant societies all over the world'? What exactly constitutes a peasant society? (The answer to this question is not in Morris' book.) As Fahlander and

[219] Binford 1971; Saxe 1971.
[220] Morris 1993: 198.

Oestigaard have pointed out, how a burial is performed and by whom, and how we should interpret different properties of a grave are complicated and difficult questions.[221] Furthermore, as John K Papadopoulos notes, the sociological approach to funerary archaeology presents a straightforward problem: 'can we attribute observed variation within a cemetery or grave plot [in Athens] to diachronic changes in symbolism or structure on the one hand, or to a conscious or unconscious status differentiation on the other? Surely, in order to argue the latter, as Morris does, one cannot first use mortuary variation to establish changes through time.'[222] Overall, the 'top-down' approach to funerary archaeology championed by Morris has been used to highlight dominant characteristics of burial practices, while downplaying their nuances and irregularities.

Secondly, the issue of chronology, discussed below, has also informed my approach to burial on Rhodes. Numerous examples of uncertain chronological subdivisions, omissions and misinterpretations have been identified in Morris' classification of the evidence from Athenian cemeteries.[223] To be sure, Morris does discuss his criteria for assigning evidence to specific chronological phases.[224] My point here is that even approaching such well-known and well-published evidence as that of the Athenian cemeteries from a sociological standpoint has proven chronologically problematic in the past. This problem is amplified for the Rhodian evidence, for which there are no internal 'fixed-points' besides the island's synoecism and of 408 BC, which can be used as a chronological yardstick for excavations at Rhodes town – but not at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos. Much of this thesis will therefore focus on the essential task of establishing an accurate chronology for cemeteries on Rhodes, specifically at Kamiros.

[221] Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008.
[222] Papadopoulos 1993: 185.
[223] D'Agostino and D'Onofrio 1993.
[224] Morris 1987: 10-14.

The issue of chronology is directly related to a further, final, issue that has contributed to my approach towards death and burial on Rhodes: the circumstances, and quality of, excavations. The nature of Biliotti and Salzmann and later Italian excavations are discussed elsewhere in this thesis.[225] It is worth reflecting here that my discussions are based on a dataset complied from two very different types of excavation, one by antiquarians in the mid-nineteenth century and another by an archaeological campaign forming part of the Italian appropriation of Rhodes and the Dodecanese in the early twentieth century.[226] There is a wide variety in terms of the detail in which graves were excavated, recorded, and published between these campaigns. For instance, the orientation of skeletons, the placement of grave goods, and the construction of tombs are only recorded in Biliotti's diary in certain instances and, even then, these are not recorded in a consistent manner.[227] Together with the general dearth of accurate plans of Rhodian cemeteries, discussed in Chapter 1, the analytical prerequisites for studying social structure through mortuary variability are lacking or simply unreliable for the Rhodian evidence.

In discussing Athens' cemeteries, Sally Humphreys rightly observed that we have 'excellent conditions in Attica for integrated research on changes in mortuary ritual that incorporates both archaeological and textual evidence. But such research requires high standards of excavation, publication, and interpretation of archaeological material, a critical awareness of the points at which earlier excavators and interpreters have been biased by their own cultural presuppositions, and a general training in sociological analysis, rather than the hit-and-miss application of generalization borrowed at second hand.'[228] These comments were levelled at

[225] Sections 1.3.2 and 2.1.
[226] See section 2.1.
[227] For examples of Biliotti's diary descriptions see sections 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, and 6.2.
[228] Humphreys 1990: 268

Morris' analyses, yet they also highlight important issues in how to address the funerary archaeological of Rhodes: standards of excavation have been variable, publication at times non-existent, and, consequently, any interpretation of the material should begin with the fundamental tasks of establishing chronology and charting the production place and distribution of goods. I have therefore chosen to focus squarely on notions of production and consumption in this thesis without extending my analysis to social structure *per se*. Where applicable, however, I will refer to 'funerary ideology' as a heuristic tool for conceptualising broad patterns of consumer choice that are reflected in the archaeological record, specifically in choices made in the location and construction of graves and in the goods deposited inside them.[229] The quantitative approach used to highlight dominant characteristics of burial practices, downplaying their nuances and irregularities, will be overcome by adopting a mixture of broad quantifications (of cemeteries) and specific case studies (of graves) at Kamiros. Using this approach, I will analyse the material culture used in Rhodian funerary practices on its own terms, avoiding unjustified speculation on social structure and providing a coherent platform for future scholarship.

[229] My use of the term 'ideology' refers to systems of selection (within burial practices) as opposed to a set of beliefs, e.g. warrior ideology and household ideology discussed in Riva 2010. See also Johnson 2010: 97-99.

1.4 Chapter outline

The chapters of this thesis are arranged broadly chronologically. An overview of Kamiros and its topography and development sets the scene (Chapter 2). It is followed by a series of in-depth studies, starting with votive deposits dating from 720 BC onwards and finishing with grave assemblages belonging to end of the fifth century BC. Each chapter explores a specific area of production, starting with small votives (Chapter 3) before moving on to pottery workshops (Chapters 4 and 5), and finishing with the production of female terracotta figures and protomes of the fifth century BC (Chapter 6). Furthermore, each chapter addresses issues of consumption as well as production, referring to material from votive and/or grave contexts.

Chapter 2. *The Landscape of Ancient Kamiros.* Previous scholarship on Kamiros has been hampered by the lack of publication of nineteenth century excavations and by publications of the later Italian campaigns that are often difficult to work with. This chapter provides an overview of the topography and development of pre-Hellenistic Kamiros, including its acropolis and cemeteries. It also quantifies the number of imported and locally produced finds.

Chapter 3. *Innovative Gifts for Athena Kamiras.* This chapter reconstructs three votive deposits from Kamiros acropolis and argues that a strong votive culture existed on Archaic Rhodes. This culture formed relatively quickly, with varied modes of deposition, and provided a means of income for artisans. The innovation of locally produced votives – in bronze, bone and ivory, faience, and terracotta – was fostered by the geographic position of Rhodes on major shipping routes; by the cluster of three major sanctuaries on the island at Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros; and by the embeddedness of votive production in the island's local economy, which allowed artisans to trade across the island.

Chapter 4. *Island of Entrepreneurs.* This chapter focuses on the agglomeration of pottery workshops on Archaic Rhodes ranging from diverse workshops making Spaghetti,

Protovroulian, Vroulian, and Semi-slipped wares, to specialised workshops making subgeometric figural vessels, ivory imitation pottery, incised hemispherical bowls, jugs, and plates, monumental stamped pithoi, glazed vessels, and stemmed dishes and segment plates. The collective output of these workshops indicates that local potters exploited three main features of the island's market: the absence of certain shapes that were not being imported to Rhodes; the production of unguent vessels; and the participation in regional pottery trends.

Chapter 5. *Stamnoid pyxides and paired grave goods*. From the late sixth century BC, Rhodes pottery workshops began to focus on a specific pottery shape: the stamnoid pyxis. Following the importation of convex-sided pyxides from Corinth to Rhodes in the sixth century BC, local variations of this shape were produced by the island's potters. The funerary use of stamnoid pyxides should be viewed as part of a wider practice of depositing pairs of grave goods in a range of materials. This development can be traced throughout the Archaic period and becomes especially visible at Fikellura cemetery in the late fifth century BC. This change was facilitated by a thriving market that catered to the funerary needs of Kamiros, which was supplied by intensive trade with Attica, among other areas; consisted of a wide selection of materials, from the ubiquitous to the unique; and extended to the neighbouring island of Chalke.

Chapter 6. *Raising the profile of Kamirian women.* Away from pottery workshops, Rhodes was producing terracottas female figures and protomes in the fifth century BC. These include two series of seated women, three series of standing women, and three series of female protomes. The correlations between three samples of graves permit the reconstruction of the profile of goods commonly deposited in female graves at Kamiros during the fifth century BC. This 'burial profile' should be viewed against the background of the wider feminine culture, traceable in the production of female terracottas and wares associated with textile production and the cult of Athena Lindia. Along with the increased deposition of pairings in the late fifth century BC, the female burial profile was part of a symbolic use of material culture as a way

of articulating the growing importance of the *oikos*. This phenomenon is evident at the same time in Athenian cemeteries.

This thesis will show that between the eighth and fifth centuries BC Rhodes developed a material culture that included goods imported from throughout the Aegean and beyond as well as locally made goods across a range of materials. I argue that the material culture of Archaic and Classical Rhodes consists of three main elements: firstly, consumer choice proliferated, which facilitated sophisticated methods of displaying votives, including suspension, and selecting grave goods, involving pairing as well as distinctive sets for women. Secondly, storage was a conspicuous practice that often had a strong visual character, from the decoration of monumental stamped pithoi to prominent placing of chamber tombs in the landscape. And thirdly, there was division in consumption patterns across the island. More specifically, the distinct votive spectrums, production centres, and burial practices observable across Archaic and Classical Rhodes suggest that the Rhodian *ktoinai* referred to in later epigraphic evidence existed insofar as material culture was concerned. Lastly, I will argue that the material culture of Rhodes was part of a shared material culture of a group of islands, an ‘insular arc’, running through the eastern Aegean.

2

THE LANDSCAPE OF ANCIENT KAMIROS

Kamiros is located on the west-central coast of Rhodes, 37 km to the south-west of Rhodes town **[Fig.20]**. Directly inland, the region is bordered by a chain of mountain ranges that runs along the length of the island and is dominated by Mount Atavyros. The city itself possessed two small harbours: one that is shallow and rather exposed, at Mylantia, and another that is more protected but situated thirteen kilometres south-west of the city, at Kamiros Scala. Today, the extensive remains of a Hellenistic settlement, including houses and a monumental stoa, are the most visible and well-documented features of the archaeological site of Kamiros. The same cannot be said for its earlier cemeteries and sanctuaries. The location of most cemeteries is largely unknown. Moreover, the chronological range of material found at earlier sanctuaries and cemeteries has not been quantified. Not only is the spatial development of pre-Hellenistic Kamiros unknown, but also the relative quantities and origins of imported goods – and the extent of its maritime connections – have yet to be established. There has also been little consideration of the wider topographical context of Kamiros on Rhodes. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the landscape of Kamiros by contextualising it as part of the Rhodian countryside, establishing the spatial development of its acropolis and cemeteries, and quantifying imported goods *vis-à-vis* those produced on Rhodes.[230] The following is based on data gathered from the collections in the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum as well as site visits to Rhodes, including an extended stay at Kamiros.

[230] I use the term 'landscape' to denote both physical characteristics and temporal development (Ingold 1993).

2.1 Politics, Publications, and Maps

Two issues concerning the publication of Kamiros' sanctuaries and cemeteries have hampered previous studies of this settlement: the lack of reports from excavations carried out in the nineteenth century, and the poor presentation of graves discovered by Italian archaeologists between 1913 and 1937. The campaigns of Biliotti and Salzmann at Kamiros between 1859 and 1864 yielded a brief summary article and a book of 60 lithographic plates, both of which were produced by Salzmann.[231] Neither discusses the types of graves excavated or the context of the material presented. The lack of publications by Biliotti himself may be explained by his continued work for the Consular Service, which left little time to prepare excavation reports between his diplomatic commitments.[232] It was only in 1881 that his nephew, Edouard Biliotti, along with Abbé Cottret published a selection of his descriptions of grave forms at Kamiros.[233] The publication of cemeteries during the Italian campaigns could not be more different. Following Amadeo Maiuri's initial report of excavations at Ialysos in 1923, five volumes of *Clara Rhodos* – the journal of the Italian historical and archaeological institute in the Dodecanese and the Orient – presented material excavated from graves at Ialysos and Kamiros, as well as from Kos, Chalke, and Anatolia.[234] While these reports are ostensibly thorough, providing dimensions of individual graves, itemizing their contents, and describing the iconography of pots, they have nevertheless made it difficult for archaeologists to study individual archaeological contexts. This is due to four main shortcomings: first, the lack of consistency in the choice of criteria by which to order the presentation of the material, which varies from the types of grave to the locality in which they are excavated. For instance, the graves from Ialysos in *Clara Rhodos* III are divided into 'vase inhumations' and 'tomb

[231] Salzmann 1861 and 1875.
[232] Barchard 2006.
[233] Biliotti and Cottret 1881: 406-408.
[234] Maiuri 1923; Jacopi 1929, 1931, 1932; Laurenzi 1936.

inhumations', among other forms, while in *Clara Rhodos* VIII the graves are presented according to individual cemeteries, irrespective of grave form.[235] Second, the publication of the cemeteries is not comprehensive. For example, over 30 graves from Macri Langoni cemetery at Kamiros were not included in Jacopi's report.[236] The exact grounds on which graves were selected or omitted from this and other volumes of *Clara Rhodos* remain unclear, with Jacopi stating that '[a]bbiamo eliminato varie sepolture insignificanti per il tipo, il rito e la suppellettile'.[237] Third, contextual research is made difficult by a lack of images of graves and their surroundings, as well as by a discontinuity between the description of a grave's contents and its accompanying images, which sometimes appear up to 20 pages later. With the publication of cemeteries often split between two consecutive volumes, the result is an enmeshed series of reports that frustrate a systematic study of individual archaeological contexts on Rhodes.

These issues may partially be explained by the archaeological milieu of the early twentieth century, in which the rigorous methods of modern archaeology were still developing.[238] But the principal reason for *Clara Rhodos'* shortcomings lies with the underlying motivation for the journal, which was political, specifically fascist, rather than academic. This is made clear in the common abbreviation for the Italian historical and archaeological institute in the Dodecanese and the Orient: FERT, short for 'Fortitudo Eius Rhodum Tenuit' ('His strength conquered Rhodes') refers to the Italy's military and political power in the south-eastern

[235] *ClRh* III; *ClRh* VIII.
[236] *ClRh* VI 31-33.
[237] *ClRh* VI 30.
[238] Eberhardt 2008: 89-93.

Aegean.[239] Guilo Jacopi, who led the Italian excavations from 1924 to 1934, did not seek to conceal this political programme but, on the contrary, actively promoted it:

> Pubblico questo vario e complesso materiale con quella sollecitudine che comportano i tempi e l'abito fascista. L'archeologo militante deve infatti provvedere all'esposizione chiara e obiettiva dei fatti, conferendo loro una fisionomia ordinata e organica. Egli non puo, se non sacrificando la tempestività dell'opera, attardarsi in lunghe e macchinose elaborazioni, alle quali attenderà poi una schiera di specialisti.[240]

The campaigns at Ialysos and Kamiros and its publications should therefore be seen as part of Italy's 'moral possession' of Rhodes, which also involved architectural commissions, the urban reorganisation of Rhodes town, and the restoration of ancient buildings, notably the temple of Athena at Lindos.[241] These projects were intended to affect a sense of continuation between the island's occupation by the Knights of St. John and the contemporary Italian occupation, linking their fascist regime with a glorious chivalric past.[242] The conversion of the Knight's hospital into an archaeological museum, opened in 1915, is a good example of how Italian archaeology was specifically employed to this end.[243]

As part of this propaganda – and most importantly for our understanding *Clara Rhodos* – the Italian Ministry of Education periodically audited the activities of FERT, forcing its archaeologists to publish the outcomes of their excavations as quickly as possible.[244] The result

[239] Livadiotti 1996: 7.
[240] Beschi 1986: 118 (quoting Jacopi in *ClRh* VI-VII 5).
[241] Beschi 1986: 117-118.
[242] Beschi 1986: 118; D'Acunto 2014b: 54.
[243] *ClRh* I 18.
[244] Beschi 1986: 18.

of this pressure is not only visible in the number of publications produced, including ten volumes of *Clara Rodos*, but also in the content of its photographs: workmen busy digging in the cemeteries **[Fig.21]** and the pomp of public viewings are also captured **[Fig.22]**. Paired with the lack of publications from Anglo-French excavations, an accurate understanding of the landscape of Kamiros has been limited by the antiquarian and colonial incentives that oversaw its excavation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There is also a lack of accurate maps of Kamiros. During his excavations for the British Museum in 1863-1864, Biliotti produced a sketch outlining the position of Papatislures, Kechraki, and Fikellura cemetery relative to the Kamiros acropolis and two plans of the acropolis: one of the Athena temple and another of the area of the acropolis, including its Hellenistic structures **[Figs.56-57]**. In 1895, L. De Launey produced a further sketch of Kamiros cemeteries, marking individual tombs across the cemeteries excavated by Salzmann and Biliotti **[Fig.23]**.[245] During the Italian fieldwork, Raffaele Inglieri produced a volume of maps charting the location of cemeteries across Rhodes, including those of Kamiros.[246] The maps of Kamiros published in *Clara Rhodos* IV and VI-VII include separate plans for individual cemeteries **[Figs.24-26]**.[247] These were later simplified by Gates in his plans of the cemeteries of Kamiros and Ialysos.[248] All of these maps, however, are to a greater or lesser extent hand-drawn. They are difficult to reconcile with each other, let alone the physical topography of Kamiros, and provide only a basic understanding of how different areas of the settlement are visually related. Before outlining the location of Kamiros' sanctuaries and

[245] De Launey 1895: 181, fig.1.
[246] Inglieri 1936.
[247] *ClRh* IV and VI-VII.
[248] Gates 1983: plans 3-11.

cemeteries, and their spatial development over time, it is necessary to summarise its relationship to the topography of Rhodes in general.

2.2 The topography of Rhodes

Topographical surveys of Rhodes and the Dodecanese have been undertaken by Richard Hope Simpson and John Lazenby, whose focus is on prehistoric archaeological remains;[249] Ioannis Papachristodoulou, who explores the epigraphic evidence for Rhodian demes after the island's synoicism;[250] and most recently by Georgios Deligiannakis in his study of the Rhodian countryside in Late Antiquity.[251] In addition, the Danish Institute at Athens and the National Museum of Denmark conducted a field survey of the area of Kattavia in the 1970s.[252] These surveys focus on documenting the archaeological remains of their respective areas and periods. Much less is understood about how Kamiros and its environs relate to the wider countryside of Rhodes in terms of its natural features; an important factor in how wider regions of the island are conceived. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a full survey, three main aspects of the Rhodian countryside around Kamiros need to be considered: mountains, geology, and anchorages.

Mountains. The chain of mountains that runs through the centre of the island including Profitis Ilias, Atavyros, and Akrymitis, provides a natural division between the west and east coasts of Rhodes. Irrigated by mountain streams, the west coast is a fertile area with undulating hillsides where olive and fig trees and vineyards are traditionally cultivated. For example, Kymissala is

[249] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1962, 1970 and 1973.
[250] Papachristodoulou 1989.
[251] Deligiannakis 2016.
[252] *AR* 1972-1975; 60.

known to have produced wine that was exported to Ptolemaic Egypt;[253] and figs, which appear on the coinage of Kamiros dating to the sixth century BC, were regularly shipped from Rhodes to Alexandria.[254] By contrast, large parts of the east coast, especially between Archangelos and Lindos, are dry and arid. The area of Apolloakia and the southern part of the island (Katavia, Plimmyri, Mesangros, and Lachania) has traditionally been the bread basket of Rhodes, where a lot of grain is cultivated.[255]

Geology. Three main varieties of limestone occur on Rhodes.[256] First, a grey hard limestone that is found most commonly around the mountains of Atavyros and Akrymitis. This limestone was quarried at Kymissala (on Hagias Phocas) to make funerary monuments in the Hellenistic period **[Fig.27]**.[257] Second, a white chalky limestone occurs exclusively in the areas around Kamiros and Kymissala **[Figs.28-29]**. Its porous quality may explain the occurrence of chamber tombs at these two sites, where the rock could be easily carved, along with the geomorphology of these areas, where cemeteries extend to the hillsides. In addition, 'Lartios stone', a type of crystalline limestone that is similar in appearance to coarse grained marble and grey in colour, was quarried around Lardos near Lindos. It was used for Hellenistic and Roman funerary monuments on Rhodes and exported to other islands in the Dodecanese in Late Antiquity.[258]

Anchorages. The north-eastern part of Rhodes around Ialysos, which consists of flat coastal areas, offers the best anchorage for ships due to its prevailing winds and favourable currents.[259] The geographical position of Lindos, with two good harbours that provide access to the

[253] *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59684.4 (261-240 BC); Kruit and Worp 2000: 87-88; Papachristodoulou 1989: 73.
[254] *P.Cair.Zen* I 59110 (257 BC). See also Athenaios 1.27f on figs and raisins from Rhodes.
[255] Deligiannakis 2016: 60; Papachristodoulou 1972.
[256] On the geology of Rhodes see Bukowski 1889.
[257] Stefanakis 2018: 15-16, fig. 2.38a-b; Stefanakis and Patsiada 2009-2011: 76, figs. 18-19.
[258] Deligiannakis 2016: 95; Fraser 1977: 10.
[259] Deligiannakis 2016: 58.

maritime routes towards the Levant, has often led this area to be a centre for wealthy Rhodians.[260] By contrast, deep and sheltered harbours are not found on the west coast of Rhodes. Kamiros Scala is the main port near Kamiros. The safe harbours of two nearby islands, Chalke and Alimia, have played an important role in the maritime activities of this area.[261] During the Peloponnesian war, for instance, the Athenian fleet used the harbour of Chalke to attack Rhodes (Thucydides 8.44.3, 55.1, 60.3). Around Kymissala, the small bays of Glyphada, Kyrameni, and Fourni, though often buffeted by strong winds, were used as informal anchorages during the Hellenistic period.[262]

In terms of the island's natural features, Kamiros may be viewed as part of the wider region of the central west and south-west coast of Rhodes. This region, which is bounded inland by a chain of mountains, is characterised by its fertile hillsides, soft white limestone, and lack of anchorages. The latter has meant that Chalke and Alimia have historically constituted the 'maritime hinterland' of Kamiros.

2.3 Kamiros and Rhodian *ktoinai*

The word 'ktoina' is distinctively Rhodian.[263] The *ktoinai* of Rhodes were public units of a territorially defined character that existed before the synoicism, thought to be closely akin to

[260] Deligiannakis 2016: 59; Gabrielsen 1997.
[261] Deligiannakis 2016: 59.
[262] Gabrielsen 1997: 42, n.29.
[263] Fraser and Bean 1954: 95-96.

the later deme system which was instituted after the synoicism.[264] The members of *ktoinai* are called *ktoinatai*.[265] The most significant inscription relating to the system of *ktoina* dates to the late fourth or early third century BC and directly concerns Kamiros (Syll.³ = Tit. Cam. 109). It refers to the composition of a list, to be erected in the sanctuary of Athena Kamiras of 'the *ktoinai* of the Kamirians on the island [of Rhodes] and in the Peraia', except those on Chalke, which are to be dealt with by the Chalkeatai themselves. Two aspects of this inscription are important for the purposes of this thesis. First, the specification 'of the Kamirians' implies that the Ialysians and Lindians had corresponding units of their own before the synoicism.[266] And second, the participation of Chalke in the *ktoinai* of Kamiros suggests that these territorial units were at least loosely determined by the geography of the island. The geopolitical regions of Rhodes attached to the three cities – Kamiris, Ialysia, and Lindos – should only be taken as a rough guide for the system of *ktoinai* because their hypothesied boundaries are based on the distribution of Hellenistic inscriptions referring to the system of demes.[267] Having said this, it is probable that the area of Siana, Kymissala, and Monolithos fell under the Kamirian *ktoinai* not only due to its geographic proximity to Kamiros, but also because later epigraphic evidence attests to a close affiliation: Hellenistic funerary monuments from Kymissala refer to families that assumed high offices in the internal administration of Kamiros,[268] and an inscription from Kamiros refers to a 'Damagoras, son of Aristodamos, from the deme of Kymisaleis'.[269] An ancient road, which runs past fourth century BC chamber tombs at the base of Hagias Phocas, may also have connected Kamiros and Kymissala.[270] Beyond Chalke, the island of Karpathos, following its incorporation into Rhodian territory, is also known to have operated a system of

[264] Gabrielsen 1997: 151.
[265] Gabrielsen 1997: 151.
[266] Gabrielsen 1997: 151.
[267] Papachristodoulou 1989.
[268] Dreliossi-Herakleidou and Litinas 2018: 48-49.
[269] Dreliossi-Herakleidou and Litinas 2018: 67; *ClRh* VI-VII 378.
[270] Stefanakis 2018: 16-17.

ktoinai that was related to the Hellenistic deme of Karpathiopolitai.[271] While Rhodian *ktoinai* continued to exist in one form or another after the synoicism, with *ktoinatai* attested as members of private associations,[272] their earlier nature and extent remains at present unclear and, in the absence of inscriptions, can only be interrogated by assessing production and consumption on Rhodes and its neighbouring islands.

2.4 The settlement of Kamiros

Based on my analysis of the material from the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum, the following sections outline the spatial development of Kamiros, including the quantity and chronological range of votives from the acropolis and graves in its cemeteries. Particular attention is given to two aspects of the latter that have not been previously studied: the quantity of finds from Fikellura cemetery, and the evidence for multiple burial on Rhodes.

2.4.1 Acropolis

Kamiros acropolis is located half a kilometre inland from the port of Hagias Means. Crowning a hill roughly the shape of a horseshoe, the acropolis rises 120 feet above sea level and is topped by a triangular plateau **[Fig.30]**. Biliotti's map of the acropolis summit was first published by Reynold Higgins, who used it to illustrate his discussion of the votive deposits excavated by Salzmann and Biliotti, including votives found in the so-called Kamiros well and a deposit

[271] Constantakopoulou 2007: 189-190; Fraser and Bean 1954: 142-143.
[272] Gabrielsen 1997: 152-153.

between walls D & E. The exact locations of these deposits, however, were unknown to Higgins. By using this map as a guide when visiting the acropolis [**Fig.31]**, I have been able to identify the exact location of these deposits as well as the location of a child's grave on the acropolis, also excavated by Salzman and Biliotti. These contexts and their contents are discussed in Chapter 2. The building of Temple A, which also included a group of graves, is located 400 metres to the north of the summit of Kamiros acropolis **[Figs.32-33]**.

A total of 522 votives excavated from Kamiros acropolis can be assigned to a specific production place [**Fig.34].** This includes material from two specific deposits, Kamiros well and Deposit D&E, as well as material that was found strewn across the summit of the acropolis, published in *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII **[Fig.35]**. The earliest votives date to 750-725 BC and the latest to around 525-500 BC. The majority of votives deposited on Kamiros acropolis during the first half of the seventh century BC were produced on Rhodes – in bronze, bone and ivory, terracotta, and faience –, whereas the late seventh century BC sees as marked increase in Cypriot imports, specifically limestone statues. Objects originating from Egypt, including faience amulets, were consistently deposited in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Initially used as a cemetery, Kamiros acropolis was turned into a sanctuary some time around the late eighth century BC. This change in function and the votives there were then deposited on Kamiros acropolis are discussed in Chapter 3.[273] It is not possible to determine the spectrum of votives found at Temple A because they were published together with those from Kamiros acropolis.

[273] See section 3.3.1-2.

2.4.2 Cemeteries

A combined total of 450 datable graves have been excavated from Kamiros' cemeteries by Biliotti and Salzmann (271 graves) and later Italian campaigns (179 graves) **[Fig.5]**. These contained 1,810 grave goods that can be assigned to a specific production place **[Fig.36]**.

Among these graves, 16 can be dated to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods (900-700 BC); 231 can be dated to Archaic period (700-480 BC); and the remaining 203 can be dated to the Classical period (480-300 BC). Patelles cemetery, located approximately one kilometre to the north-east of Kamiros acropolis, comprises the earliest known burials, with one amphora burial dating to 900-850 BC; two cremation burials, one dating to 750-725 BC and another to 725-700 BC. A single cist grave also dates to 725-700 BC. The distance between Patelles and Kamiros acropolis and the early date of the burials at Patelles suggest that it may have served the inhabitants of a nearby village prior to the establishment of Kamiros as a nucleated settlement.[274] During the eighth century BC, two cemeteries were established on Kamiros acropolis. The first, at Temple A, is located 400 metres north from the summit of Kamiros acropolis.[275] The four datable graves from this cemetery include two chamber tombs, one dating 775-750 BC and another dating 725-700 BC. Two further burials, one in a pithos and a cremation burial, may also be dated to 725-700 BC. And second cemetery on Kamiros Summit is located next to the temple of Athena on Kamiros acropolis and includes a single chamber tomb dating to 775-750 BC and a cist grave dating to 725-700 BC.[276] Around the same time, two major cemeteries were established on the foothills surrounding Kamiros acropolis. The earliest known graves from Kechraki cemetery are located 500 meters north-west of Kamiros acropolis and comprises 23 datable graves dating from 725-700 BC to 500-475 BC, including

[274] *ClRh* VI-VII: 120-132; Gates 1983: 21.
[275] *ClRh* VI-VII: 193-203.
[276] *ClRh* VI-VII: 189-192; See section 3.3.1.

ten cremation areas, four chamber tombs, six pithoi, two stone-lined cist graves, and a single burial in an amphora **[Figs.37-38]**.[277] On the other hand, Papatislures cemetery occupies a hillside 200 meters south of Kamiros acropolis.[278] Its excavated graves date from 725-700 BC to 325-300 BC, although burials are sporadic here after 500 BC. In this cemetery 32 datable burials were excavated, including eighteen chamber tombs, five pithoi, three cremation areas, three amphora burials, two stone-lined cist graves, and a single unlined cist grave **[Figs.39-40]**. Maci Langoni cemetery, which is located 700 meters north east from Kamiros acropolis, directly behind Kechraki cemetery, is the first of two extensive cemeteries to have been established at Kamiros in the late seventh and sixth centuries BC.[279] A total of 124 datable graves were uncovered here, ranging from 625-600 BC to 400-375 BC. The most popular form of graves in this cemetery are stone-lined cist graves, accounting for 71 burials, followed by chamber tombs and pithoi, which each account for sixteen graves **[Fig.41-42]**. Slightly later, Fikellura cemetery was established on a hillside located 800 meters to the north-west of the acropolis.[280] The chronological range of its 259 datable graves extend from 550-525 BC down to 325-300 BC. Again, stone-lined cist graves are the most popular form of grave, accounting for 197 burials, followed by 57 chamber tombs, four pithoi, and one amphora burial **[Figs.43-44]**. Finally, two stone lined cist graves from Casviri cemetery located 400 meters to the south of Kamiros acropolis, directly behind Papatislures cemetery, indicate that another cemetery existed here at least between 475-450 BC and 375-350 BC, if not longer. Evidence for three smaller cemeteries not considered in this thesis – Viscia, Laerminaci, and Calatomilo cemetery – has been found on hillsides located roughly 800 meters to a kilometre from Kamiros acropolis.[281]

[277] *ClRh* IV: 341-383; *ClRh* VI-VII: 104-132.
[278] *ClRh* VI-VII: 18-132.
[279] *ClRh* IV: 43-340.
[280] *ClRh* VI-VII: 179-189.
[281] *ClRh* IV: 379-381 (Laerminaci); *ClRh* VI: 382-384; *ClRh* VI-VII: 151-155 (Viscia); *ClRh* VI-VII: 158-178 (Calatomilo).

This summary of the development of Kamiros' cemeteries allows for two preliminary observations about local burial practices. The first concerns the forms of burial used over time. Chamber tombs, cut into the porous white bedrock, are used throughout the cemeteries, the earliest example being Kamiros summit 80 and the latest being Fikellura 225. Cremation areas, however, are rarely used after 550-525 BC. The earliest example of a cremation area at Kamiros is Patelles 39 (5), dating to 750-725 BC. The latest example is Macri Langoni 188 (89), which belongs to the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Pithos burials are used for burying adolescents at Kamiros from 725-700 BC, as demonstrated by Temple A 84 (4), until around 475-450 BC, with Macri Langoni 165 (172) the latest example. Smaller amphora burials are used throughout the development of the cemeteries: Patelles 43 (9) and Papatislures 20 (25) are the earliest and latest examples respectively. Finally, stone-lined cist graves with flat or gabled lids are used from 550-525 BC onwards, with Macri Langoni 22 (33), 57 (231), and 93 (200) the earliest examples of this type. It is important to note that the lack of cremation after 550-525 BC at Kamiros corroborates Gates' assertion of a general change from cremation to inhumation after 550 BC at Kamiros and Ialysos.[282]

A second observation about Kamiros' burial practices concerns the close relationship between the development of its cemeteries and the overall topography of the site. That is, the cemeteries appear to have developed outwards in two directions from Kamiros acropolis that correspond to the form of the surrounding hillsides. To the south, Papatislures and Cazviri cemeteries may be regarded as a continuous burial ground that follows a natural S-curve of the hillside **[Fig.45]**. To the east, Kechraki cemetery eventually developed into Macri Langoni (or 'little valley') cemetery, following a valley that runs towards the coast **[Fig.46]**. Fikellura cemetery is an anomaly in this regard because it suddenly develops in the sixth century BC on the western

[282] Gates 1983: 41.

hillside, which displays no prior evidence of having been used a burial ground. Having said this, it is possible that the Fikellura and Macri Langoni developed as cemeteries that came to demarcate the polis of Kamiros, with one cemetery either side of the settlement that, crucially, was visible from the coast. The visibility of individual chamber tombs at Kamiros seems to have been an important factor in their positioning. Plotting the GPS co-ordinates of the remains of chamber tombs across the cemeteries of Kamiros, I noticed that they normally occupied the uppermost ridge (or 'lip') of the hillside **[Figs.47-49]**. This is often the most visible area in the surrounding landscape and would have meant that many chamber tombs were visible from Kamiros acropolis, if not further afield. Some of these chamber tombs, which face southwards towards Mount Atavyros, would have been visible to those approaching Kamiros from land, rather than by sea. Besides the visibility that a location on the ridge afforded, it may also have been the easiest area in which to carve out a chamber tomb from the local porous bedrock. The funerary ideology of Archaic and Classical Kamiros therefore seems to have been closely aligned to the landscape with regards to the positioning of tombs in relation to the settlement.

Overall, the settlement of Kamiros spans an area of around one kilometre and developed around a series of hillsides from the Protogeometric period onwards. Kymissala appears to have developed along similar topographical lines. The acropolis on the hill of Hagias Phokas dominates the wider area, at the base of which are remains of a cemetery dating from the late fifth century BC onwards. To the west of this hill is Kymissala hill, where extensive remains of chamber tombs dating from the seventh to the late sixth century BC have been discovered.[283]

[283] Stefanakis 2018.

2.5 Fikellura cemetery in figures

Fikellura hill is located approximately 800 meters from Kamiros acropolis. It is the furthest cemetery from the acropolis and the highest, rising approximately 200 meters above sea level **[Fig.50]**. Many of the graves still visible here occupy the western slope, facing towards Chalke. Chamber tombs can be recognised through their collapsed roofs and white stone slabs once used to seal their entrances **[Fig.51]**. Yet, scholarship to date has had little knowledge about what types of graves were found here, their chronological range, and what objects were found inside them. I will briefly quantify what Biliotti found based on what is recorded in his diary.

Of the 288 graves excavated on this hill between November 1863 and June 1864, 79% (224) were stone-lined cist graves, 19% (53) were chamber tombs, and the remaining 2% (6) consisted of inhumations in pithoi and amphorae. Biliotti often describes stone-lined cists as simply 'tombs', which makes it difficult to distinguish between those with a flat and gabled roof.[284] Gates' and, more recently, Mohr's study of burial practices at Kamiros and Ialysos have revealed there is little difference in how bodies are treated and objects deposited inside either type, and therefore no significance need be attached to this structural variation.[285] In all, a total of 948 objects may be attributed to graves from Fikellura cemetery. The chronological range of this material spans around two centuries, from 550 to 350 BC. Over half (616, 65%) can be dated to 500-450 BC, while just under a third (265, 28%) belongs to 450-400 BC. This cemetery therefore appears to have developed after Macri Langoni, whose early chamber tombs

[284] E.g. Biliotti diary, 3 November 1863: 'Cleared another tomb containing […]'.
[285] Gates 1983: 31. Mohr (2015: 254) notes that stone-lined cists with flat roofs are more common at Kamiros than Ialysos.

contained Milesian oinochoai belonging to South Ionian Archaic Id, 610-580 BC and Early Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra, e.g. Macri Langoni 3 (3) and 5 (5).[286]

During the period of Fikellura's use, pottery from Athens was imported on a large scale, accounting for 87% of the wares excavated **[Fig.52]**. A further 8% was perhaps made on Rhodes, while 3% came from Corinth, and around 2% from Miletos and elsewhere in Ionia. These figures dispel any misconception that Fikellura yielded large quantities of pottery in the so-called 'Fikellura style', named after the cemetery but produced in Miletos.[287] The association of this style with Rhodes possibly originated with pots found in the cemeteries of Papatislures and Kechraki, both of which were subjected to some undocumented excavations by Biliotti and Salzmann, among others, in the nineteenth century.[288] Only three Fikellura amphorae are known from published excavations of Papatislures cemetery, from Papatislures 3 (3) and Papatislures 5 (5).[289]

2.6 Multiple burial on Rhodes

Evidence for multiple burial has been found at Ialysos, Kamiros, and Vroulia. The evidence for Ialysos and Vroulia, however, is questionable because the excavators often relied on thick ash layers (for cremation burials) and a large number of grave goods to identify burials for

[286] *ClRh* IV 43-51, fig. 13, and 52-58, fig. 26; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005: 33-45.
[287] Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005: 46. Cook (1933: 1) uses the term Fikellura in a 'more neutral [sense] than Samian, which has a definite territorial significance'.
[288] Iozzo (2019) discussed clandestine excavations of Kechraki cemetery at a conference entitled 'Documenting Ancient Rhodes: The archaeological excavations and Rhodian antiquities in the nineteenth to early twentieth century' held at the National Museum of Denmark, 16-17 February 2017.
[289] RHODES 13681; *ClRh* VI-VII 20, fig. 13; RHODES 13692-13693; *ClRh* VI-VII 24-25, figs. 24-25.

more than one person.[290] It is therefore difficult to draw solid conclusions about the nature of multiple burials from these two sites.

The evidence from Kamiros is more substantial in terms of the quantity of multiple graves. Multiple burials in chamber tombs have been identified based on one of two scenarios: the presence of more than one skeleton or the large number of grave goods spanning a period of 50 years or more. As I will show, the former indicates the concurrent interment of several bodies, while the latter results from successive interments. There is conclusive evidence that at least ten graves contained more than one inhumation, including eight chamber tombs and two stone-lined cist graves. Seven of these contained more than one skeleton: Papatislures tombs 2 (2), 3 (3), 27 (35), 28 (36); Macri Langoni 20 (21) and 46 (187); Fikellura 75 (8) and Fikellura 1, excavated by Biliotti.[291] A further chamber tomb has been identified by Gates as a multiple burial based on the large number of grave goods spanning a period of 50 years or more: Macri Langoni 3 (3).[292] To this I would add Biliotti's Papatislures 8-10, a chamber tomb complex that Biliotti describes as having 'four doors, one on each side. The first is the entrance, and the others very likely lead to three other rooms, none of which we have been able to clear in consequence of the considerable depth at which they were underground'.[293] The assemblage, which was spread between three separate rooms inside the chamber tomb, consisted of a Koan segment plate, a Milesian stemmed dish, and a Milesian oinochoe. This assemblage suggests

[290] *Vroulia* 55; Maiuri identifies numerous Ialysos graves as multiple burials based on large quantities of graves goods, e.g. Zambico 53 (Maiuri 1923-24: 303-304). See discussion on the topic by Gates 1983: 32-34.
[291] *ClRh* VI-VII 18-19, figs. 3-11 (Papatislures 2 (2)); *ClRh* VI-VII 19-21, fig. 11 (Papatislures 3 (3)); *ClRh* VI-VII 84-98, fig. 90 (Papatislures 27 (35)); *ClRh* VI-VII 99-101, fig. 105 (Papatislures 28 (36); *ClRh* IV 90-91, fig. 77 (Macri Langoni 20 (21)); *ClRh* IV 137 (Macri Langoni 46 (187)); *ClRh* VI-VII 184-185, fig. 213 (Fikellura 75 (8)).
[292] Gates 1983: 34; *ClRh* VI 23-26, figs. 20-21 (Papatislures 5 (7)); *ClRh* IV 45-51, figs. 13-21 (Macri Langoni 3 (3)).
[293] Biliotti diary, 5-9 March 1864.

that bodies were interred sometime between 625 and 575 BC.[294] I would also add Papatislures 11 to the list of multiple burials at Kamiros. The chamber tomb 'contained several bodies as we found six human skulls in a row'.[295] The grave goods consisted of a small aryballos with incised decoration that is similar in shape to another aryballos with an incised band of zig-zags found in Zambico 397, datable to the seventh century BC;[296] a Middle Corinthian miniature skyphos decorated with a frieze of running Lions; a Rhodian stemmed dish with 'windswept' birds on its interior; and an alabaster alabastron.[297] The overall assemblage of Papatislures 11 may therefore be dated from seventh century BC to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. The earliest of the multiple burials from Kamiros, Papatislures 28 (36), dates to the last quarter of the seventh century BC, while that latest, Macri Langoni 20 (21) may be assigned to the third quarter of the fifth century BC based on its Attic black glaze stemless cup and fluted mug.[298] The method of deposition and the chronological range of grave goods in these contexts suggest a nuanced picture of multiple burial at Kamiros. I will discuss deposition before moving onto chronology.

There is a general lack on information about the deposition of grave goods excavated from Kamiros. For example, in only a few instances does Biliotti mention the placement of goods within the grave: Fikellura 22 included Attic oinochoai, drinking cups and leythoi that were 'found in…a group near the head of the dead';[299] Fikellura 155 'contained nothing [inside], but

[294] BM 1863,1007.132 (segment plate); Villing and Mommsen 2017: 115, fig. 11; BM 1864,1007.1411 (stemmed dish); Cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 387-8, cat. 344, pl. 60; BM 1864,1007.257 (Milesian oinochoe).
[295] Biliotti diary, 10 March 1864. Dr Vasso Patsiada (pers. comm) believes that such an arrangement of skulls in a chamber tomb foreshadows that of later burial complexes in the Hellenistic necropoleis of Rhodes town.
[296] RHODES 11665; *ClRh* III 87, fig. 79.
[297] BM 1864,1007.1799 (incised aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1427 (Corinthian skyphos); Cf. Payne 1931: 309, cat. 966, fig. 150; BM 1864,1007.131 (Rhodian stemmed dish); Villing and Mommsen 2017: 143, fig. 43.
[298] RHODES 12250; *ClRh* IV 90, fig. 77 (kylix); Cf. *Agora* XII 481, pl. 22; RHODES 12251; *ClRh* IV 90, fig. 77 (mug); Cf. *Agora* XII 214, pl. 11.
[299] Biliotti diary, 11 November 1863.

outside there was' two alabaster alabastra, next to a transport amphora and a lamp;[300] and the objects found in Fikellura 269 were deposited inside and outside the grave.[301] There is no clear depositional pattern here. There are, though, two chamber tombs used for double burials in which pairs of grave goods were seemingly split between its occupants.[302] In Papatislures 2 (2), one Ionian stemmed dish was found to the left side of the body inhumed on the left side of the chamber, while the other was found on the right side of the body inhumed on the right side of the chamber.[303] Likewise, in Papatislures 28 (36) a Milesian oinochoe was deposited above the head of each body, one at either side of the chamber.[304] Papatislures 8-10, excavated by Biliotti, reportedly included for chambers, each of which contained grave goods.[305] Macri Langoni 3 (3) also seems to have consisted of multiple chambers, with a vestibule followed by a main chamber with a depression floor, both of which contained a collection of grave goods. It therefore seems that there were many options for the deposition of pottery in graves containing more than one burial at Kamiros, which was often linked to the architecture of chamber tombs. Sometimes a collection of grave goods was divided within the same chamber between two bodies, sometimes goods were divided between separate chambers with a more sophisticated burial complex.

Can the broad chronological range of certain grave assemblages help to identify multiple burials? An analysis of the 450 graves from Kamiros is summarised in **Table 1**. Less that 2% of graves yielded assemblages that span more than a century. These include Fikellura 40, 90, and 91, and Macri Langoni 12 (3), 121 (149), 142 (49), and Kechraki 201 (4). The contents of

[300] Biliotti diary, 27 February 1864.
[301] Biliotti diary, 13 April 1864 (see above p.1).
[302] On paired grave goods see Chapter 5.
[303] RHODES 13675; *ClRh* VI-VII 17, fig. 5; RHODES 13680; *ClRh* VI-VII 19, fig. 5.
[304] RHODES 13834-13835; *ClRh* VI-VII 99.
[305] Biliotti diary, 5-9 March 1864.

these graves do not necessarily indicate more than one burial, but rather the deposition of heirlooms. For instance, Fikellura 40 includes an Attic black-figure kylix attributed to the Haimon Painter (490-460 BC) and a lekythos dating to the end of the sixth century BC,[306] which was deposited with an Attic bolsal belong to the second quarter of the fourth century BC.[307]

Date range	**25 years**	**50 years**	**75 years**	**100 years**	**125 years**	**150 years**
Total graves	264	118	47	14	5	2
% share	58	26	10	3	1	0.5

Table 1. Analysis of the chronological range of grave assemblages at Kamiros.

[306] BM 1864,1007.296 (kylix); *ABV* 561.534; Cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769, pl. 113; BM 1864,1007.214 (lekythos); Cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 80.1-2.
[307] BM 1952,0204.44. Cf. *Agora* XII 558, pl. 24.

Similiarly, Fikellura 91 includes an Attic black-figure kylix dating to 525-500 BC and a red-figure chous from the end of the fifth century BC.[308] The deposition of heirlooms is considered later in this thesis in the context of paired grave goods.[309] For now, a more useful avenue of investigation is the chronological range of assemblages found in graves at Kamiros is recorded as having contained more than one burial. In some instances, these assemblages are roughly contemporaneous and therefore suggest that two bodies belonging to one chamber tomb were inhumed at the same time.[310] For example, besides the Milesian oinochoai, Papatislures 28 (36) contained a Ionian cup with an everted rim, a Ionian stemmed dish, a banded bowl, a fragment of a Corinthian oinochoe, two Corinthian aryballoi, and a plain alabastron made from brown clay.[311] The Corinthian oinochoe is similar in shape and decoration to Late Protocorinthian and Transitional oinochoai.[312] Likewise, the stemmed dish probably belongs to the last quarter of the seventh century BC, based on finds from Assesos.[313] The Ionian cup is possibly later, around 580-570 BC, which would agree with Hopper's assessment of the aryballoi as Middle Corinthian.[314] Altogether, this assemblage can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. By contrast, however, the grave goods from the three chambers of Papatislures 11 are not contemporaneous. The fragments of electrum and the small aryballos with incised decoration may be broadly dated to the mid-seventh century BC, whereas the plate and stemmed dish were likely made in the early sixth century BC, around the same time as the Corinthian kotyle also

[308] BM 1864,1007.1624 (kylix); Cf. *Agora* XII 414, pl. 20; BM 1864,1007.122 (chous); Cf. *Agora* XXX 739, pl. 78.
[309] See section 5.3.2.
[310] Mohr (2015: 254) argues for simultaneous inhumation in Papatislures 2 (2), 27 (35) and 28 (36).
[311] RHODES 13838; *ClRh* VI-VII 100, fig. 105 (Ionian cup); RHODES 13833; *ClRh* VI-VII 99, figs. 105-106 (stemmed dish); RHODES 13837; *ClRh* VI-VII 100, fig. 105 (banded bowl); RHODES 13836; *ClRh* VI-VII 99, fig. 105 (Corinthian oinochoe); RHODES 13840-13841; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105 (Corinthian aryballoi); RHODES 13838; *ClRh* VI-VII, fig. 105 (alabastron).
[312] RHODES 13836; *ClRh* VI–VII 99, fig. 105; Cf. Payne 1931: cat. 38-38, pl. 10 no.3 and 118-131, pl. 13 no. 4; Hopper 1949: 235-236, no. 4.
[313] RHODES 13833; *ClRh* VI–VII 101, fig. 105; Cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 386, cat. 339, pl. 57; Coulié 2014a; 146, cat. 31.
[314] RHODES 13840–13441; *ClRh* VI–VII 101, fig. 105 (Corinthian aryballoi); Hopper 1949: 235, no. 4. NB: the Ionian cup is missing from the list of grave goods. Cf. Ionian cups of 'Type 9' in Schlotzhauer 2001: 409-414.

found in this grave. Although this is admittedly a small sample of graves, I would tentatively suggest that two bodies could be inhumed together with contemporaneous grave goods in a tomb with a single chamber, while tombs with multiple chambers could be used to inhume more than one body at different times with grave goods from different periods. The evidence for multiple burials at Kamiros suggests that there were no specific patterns governing inhumation in chamber tombs from the late seventh to the mid-fifth century BC. One possible explanation for this lack of uniformity is a funerary ideology that encouraged, rather than constrained, individual choice in death and burial. For example, chamber tombs could have been privately managed by one or more owners and were therefore treated as private spaces that could be designed, constructed, and used according to the specific wishes of those owners. Besides sporadic remains of what appear to be cemetery walls at Fikellura and Macri Langoni cemeteries, there does not appear to have been any overall planning in the placement of graves in Kamiros' cemeteries.[315]

2.7 Imports and Rhodian production

The finds in the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum provide an extensive body of data from which to profile how consumption of material culture evolved over time, including the nature and ratio of locally produced objects *vis-à-vis* those imported to the island. **Figs. 53-54** chart the imported and locally produced objects excavated from Kamiros from 800-775 BC to 325-300 BC. After 700 BC, Kamiros seems to have imported material from various parts of the Aegean and beyond, including faience amulets and vessels from Egypt; limestone

[315] For a map of Macri Langoni cemetery see *ClRh* IV.

statues from Cyprus; sporadic bronze statuettes from Samos, Assyria and Phrygia; pottery from Miletos and elsewhere in Ionia, Kos, Knidos, Corinth, and Laconia, among other areas. After 500 BC, however, Attic pottery is imported on a mass-scale.[316] These imports will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters. For the moment, it is important to notice the consistent and relatively copious level of local production on Rhodes throughout the Archaic and Classical periods **[Fig.55]**. Rhodian production accounts for a total 680 objects, which is 29% of the sample from Kamiros. Three main patterns may be identified. Firstly, Rhodes was producing a lot of small goods, used as votives, in bronze, gold, bone and ivory, glass, and faience from the last quarter of the eighth century BC to the first half of the sixth century BC. Secondly, there is an almost constant output of locally made pottery from around 700 BC to 400 BC, peaking in the early sixth century BC and first half of the fifth century BC. And thirdly, from 550-525 BC onwards there is significant level of terracotta production on the island.

These quantifications do not reveal anything that was not previously known about the types of objects produced on Rhodes. What these quantifications do reveal for the first time is the extent of production, and how it compares to the frequency of imports to the island. It also demonstrates the geographical reach of Rhodes' maritime network. It is this relative context, missing from previous scholarship, that provides the foundation for my analysis in the succeeding chapters, which focus on particular aspects and developments in the material culture of Rhodes. More specifically, the three main outputs identified in local production form the critical framework and chronological organisation of my chapters, starting with the production of small votives (Chapter 3) before moving onto pottery workshops (Chapters 4 and 5) and finishing with the production of female terracotta figures and protomes in the fifth

[316] On Attic pottery imports to Rhodes see Giudice et al. 2013 and Scicolone 2016.

century BC (Chapter 6). I have chosen to focus on these three main outputs because they provide an opportunity to further investigate and contextualise what was being made on Rhodes in relation to what was being imported and, by extension, to investigate the relationship between the island's material culture and its maritime network.

2.8 Conclusion

By producing a data set of 2,332 objects from the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum, which includes previously unstudied material from over 300 graves and two votive deposits, and in making site visits to Kamiros to record the position of votive deposits noted on Biliotti's map of the acropolis as well as remains of graves in the surrounding hillsides, it has been possible not only to reconstruct the spatial development of pre-Hellenistic Kamiros, but also to place it within a broader topographical context.

Kamiros is part of the wider region of the central west and south-west coast of Rhodes, which also includes the area of Monolithoos, Kymissala, and Siana. This region, which is bounded inland by a chain of mountains, is characterised by fertile hillsides and soft white limestone. In contrast to Ialysos and Lindos, there is a lack of deep and sheltered anchorages around Kamiros, which has led the nearby islands of Chalke and Alimia to constitute its 'maritime hinterland'. Furthermore, Chalke was part of the Rhodian *ktoinai* – public units of a territorially defined character that existed before the synoicism – that belonged to Kamiros. Monolithos, Kymissala, and Siana are likely to have also fallen within the Kamirian *ktoinai,* with epigraphic evidence suggesting close ties between the inhabitants of Kymissala and Kamiros during the Hellenistic

period. The island of Karpathos, further off the south-west coast of Rhodes, is also known to have operated a system of *ktoinai*.

The settlement of Kamiros spans an area of around one kilometre and developed around a series of hillsides. The first cemetery, Patelles, was established around 900-850 BC, and continued to be used until the late eighth century BC. It is at this point that the cemeteries active on Kamiros acropolis and at Temple A (from the mid to late eighth century BC) also fall out of use. The summit of Kamiros acropolis is then transformed into a sanctuary dedicated to Athena Kamiras. Subsequent cemeteries are established on hillsides radiating from the acropolis in two main directions. To the south, Papatislures cemetery emerges around 725-700 BC and remains in regular use until 500 BC, after which Casviri cemetery becomes the main southern cemetery, active until the fourth century BC. To the east, Kechraki cemetery appears around 725-700 BC and is used until the early fifth century BC. Further east towards the sea, Macri Langoni cemetery is regularly used from the last quarter of the seventh century BC to the early fourth century BC. Fikellura cemetery, the single cemetery established to the west of the acropolis, appears to have been used between 550 BC and 350 BC, with over half the burials found here dating to the first half of the fifth century BC. The so-called 'Fikellura' pottery, made in Miletos, is rarely found in this cemetery.

Rock-cut chamber tombs, used for inhuming the dead, occur throughout Kamiros cemeteries. The construction of these tombs at Kamiros and Kymissala was likely motivated by the geology and the geomorphology of the settlements, where cemeteries extend into hillsides of porous white limestone. Those at Kamiros occupy the ridges of the hillsides and are very visible from the acropolis as well as from the approaches to the settlement from land and sea. After 550 BC,

however, stone-lined cist graves with a flat or gabled roof are the most popular mode of inhuming the dead at Kamiros (and Ialysos). The use of cremation at Kamiros becomes less popular after 550 BC and is not used after the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Multiple burial in chamber tombs was also prevalent at Kamiros' cemeteries throughout the seventh to fifth centuries BC. Two main scenarios are evidenced: concurrent inhumations of multiple bodies in a single chamber containing contemporaneous grave goods, or successive burials in tombs with multiple chambers that contain grave goods spanning a broad chronological range.

Much of the material consumed on Kamiros acropolis and its cemeteries after 700 BC seems to have been imported to the island from other areas of the Aegean, Egypt, and the Levant. After 500 BC pottery is imported on a mass scale from Attica. Throughout the Archaic and Classical periods there was a consistent degree of local production on Rhodes, specifically of small votives, pottery, and terracottas. Each of these offer an insight to the relationship between Rhodes' material culture and its maritime network and provide the foundation for subsequent chapters of this thesis.

3

INNOVATIVE GIFTS FOR ATHENA KAMIRAS

This chapter is about votive offerings excavated from the sanctuary of Athena Kamiras on Kamiros acropolis. A votive offering is a 'voluntary dedication to the gods, resulting not from the prescribed ritual or sacred calendars but from the *ad hoc* vows of individuals or communities in circumstances usually of anxiety, transition, or achievement'.[317] Together with grave goods and remains from settlements and shipwrecks, votives constitute one of the main categories of archaeological remains from ancient societies.[318] This category is especially prominent on the island of Rhodes, whose three *poleis* – Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros – have yielded some of the most extensive votive deposits in Greek archaeology.[319] In this section, I will outline the importance of studying votive offerings as deposits, not as isolated objects or as collective categories, before discussing the votive deposits from Kamiros acropolis from the perspective of innovation. In doing so, I hope to expose the assumptions made by previous scholars in their treatment of votives and show that it is possible to explore how material affects society, as opposed to how society affects material. But first I would like to clarify some of the questions for this chapter by presenting the contents of a grave that was excavated by Biliotti and Salzman among the votive deposits on Kamiros acropolis.

[317] s.v. Malkin, I. 'Votive offerings' in Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 1612-1613.
[318] Osborne 2004: 2.
[319] For Rhodian votive assemblages see: *Lindos I*; *ClRh VI-VI*I (Kamiros); Martelli 1988 and 2000 (Ialysos).

3.1 A child's grave

While excavating Kamiros acropolis on Monday 4 April 1864, Biliotti and Salzmann made an interesting find:[320]

> We discovered today for the first time a tomb on the top of Kameiros. It is a child's tomb cut in the rock between the walls D&E. There was, as I have already stated, a kind of coarse white stucco covering the space enclosed between these walls. I cut through the whole of the stucco but found only the tomb in question, which consisted of a separate stone trough fitting in a square hole covered with stone slabs placed horizontally, as shown in the following sketch….

The shaft of the child's tomb is still visible on the east of Kamiros acropolis today **[Figs.56-57]**. Besides human bones, it contained a two-handled flask, a small oinochoe, a bronze ring, and some faience beads.[321] The flask is decorated with three friezes containing cross-hatched lozenges and vertical wavy lines, an ornament that Blinkenberg and Coldstream attributed to a local Rhodian workshop.[322] This attribution has now been confirmed by NAA, which placed the flask in group RhodF.[323] The cross-hatched square on the oinochoe suggests that it too was locally made.[324] Based on this ceramic evidence, the tomb can be dated to the late Geometric period. This grave assemblage on Kamiros acropolis raises questions about how this area was used as a cemetery and sanctuary in the second half of the eighth century BC. What was the relation between these two functions? And what does the change in function reveal about the development of votive practices at Kamiros? This chapter investigates the production and

[320] Biliotti diary, 4 May 1864.
[321] BM 1864,1007.1582 (flask); BM 1864,1007.1795 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.931 (faience bead); BM 1864,1007.2016 (bronze ring).
[322] *Lindos* I: 26 and 28, pl.35; Coldstream 2008: 265.
[323] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 122.
[324] Coldstream 2008: 271.

consumption of votives on Rhodes from the late eighth to the mid sixth centuries BC. It focusses on three votives deposits from Kamiros acropolis that may be reconstructed using archive documentation from Biliotti and Salzmann's excavations: Kamiros well, Deposit D&E, and the contents of a paving hole on the acropolis. An assessment of the similarities and differences between these deposits make it possible to establish when Kamiros acropolis was transformed into a sanctuary, how votives were deposited and displayed here, and what cult characteristics were significant in the worship of Athena Kamiras. Above all, I will show that a strong votive sector developed on Rhodes. This sector consisted of local artisans making votives across a variety of materials and was encouraged by the island's maritime connections.

3.2 The problem with votives

There has been much recent scholarship on votive offerings that focuses on archaeological deposits.[325] Previous analyses has often been conducted from either a total or singular perspective.[326] The four tendencies that account for this problem may be summarised as follows:

Votive categories and the search for meaning. An approach that divides the votive material into neatly demarcated categories has continued to influence contemporary scholarship.[327] However, votives need to be assessed on a case-by-case basis in order to appreciate the patterns in deposits, which may shed light on the meaning of artifacts and characteristics of deities.[328]

[325] Pakkanen and Bocher 2015; Jim 2014; Patera 2012; Prêtre 2009.
[326] On the problem of studying Greek votives in general see Osborne 2004.
[327] Rouse 1902; Boardman 2000; Mitsopoulou-Leon 2009; Baumbach 2004.
[328] Klebinder-Grauß 2015: 116.

Socio-political interpretations of votives. Votives have often been interpreted from a socio-political perspective.[329] Problems arise, however, with the assumption that every type of votive dedicated at every type of sanctuary can be used to illuminate social hierarchies. To suggest *a priori* that all votives 'competed with each other for attention'is to overlook that immediate context of offerings and ignore anthropological theories of what actually constitutes a gift. [330]

Biographies of votive offerings. Recent discussions of votive offerings often use individual artefacts as case studies for exploring methods of gift exchange in the Mediterranean.[331] This tendency to focus on object biographies neglects large sections of the votive record, however. Objects that have not travelled long distances prior to their deposition are not only worthy of study in their own right but may also contextualise those that do have a complex history.

The use of literary evidence. Many recent discussions of votive offerings still rely on literary evidence to contextualise the archaeological evidence.[332] The use of texts (excluding inscriptions) to understand votives is problematic because literary sources are inclined to report dedications that are relevant to their own narrative, which often coincides with dedications by the elite, and because the primacy given to literary sources and other texts can lead to a biased use of archaeological evidence that is intended to complement the writing of ancient authors.[333]

These four tendencies of scholarship on Greek votive offerings show a general reluctance to engage with what is 'archaeologically invisible':[334] we cannot assign meaning to individual

[329] Morgan (1998; 2007: 31-5 and 137-143) rightly applies socio-political interpretations to bronze tripod at Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries as conspious dedications. For socio-political interpretations of votives at Samos see: Kyrieleis 1988: 215.
[330] Mylonopoulos 2006: 87. On gifts and personhood see Mauss 1954: 9 and Fowler 2004: Chapter 3.
[331] Gunter 2009: 128 –130; Feldman 2014: 165-170.
[332] Patera 2012: Chapters 1 and 2. On Rhodian sanctuaries see Kowalzig 2007: 232
[333] For sanctuary inventory lists see Constantakopoulou 2017: 171-224; Prêtre 1999 and 2009.

[334] Morris 1986: 2.

votives out of context, we cannot always determine their socio-political significance out of context, and we cannot depend on literary evidence to fill these gaps in the archaeological record. A focus on deposition, however, allows for greater appreciation of context and facilitating comparisons between votives within a deposit as well as between separate votives deposits from one or more sanctuaries.

A cult deposit can be identified on the basis that it includes 'spatial patterning, such as the layout, distribution and choice of deposited items or artefacts'.[335] The cohesion in this patterning can range from formal deposits, such as the votive 'ensembles' found at Miletos, to less cohesive deposits of sacred rubbish, as with the deposits found on Kamiros acropolis.[336] Large numbers of votives have been recovered at Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, and Vroulia, and presented in catalogues, initially by Blinkenberg, Kinch and Jacopi, as well as recently by Chiara Bernardini.[337] But there has, so far, been no treatment of the votives from Rhodes in terms of their deposits. There has been no attempt to address what constitutes a deposit on Rhodes, how it may have been formed in relation to votive practice, and what transformations occurred prior to excavation.

[335] Pakkanen 2015: 34. On ritual deposits see Haynes 2013.
[336] Panteleon and Senff 2008: 43. On sacred rubbish see Hill 1995.
[337] *Vroulia* (Vroulia); *Lindos* I (Lindos); *ClRh* VI-VII: 279-365; Bernadini 2006 (Kamiros); Martelli 1988 and 2000 (Ialysos).

3.3 The innovation of votives on Rhodes

In exploring the votive assemblages excavated from Kamiros acropolis, I intend to show that the range of material resources available at Kamiros between 750-550 BC fostered a strong votive culture that involved many forms of production as well as specific modes of consumption. In doing so, I will describe the character of the votive assemblages from Kamiros Well, Deposit D&E, and from a paving hole on Kamiros acropolis, and consider what they can tell us about the significance of Kamiros acropolis as a sanctuary as well as a cemetery. This section will explore the votive deposits excavated by Salzmann and Biliotti on Kamiros acropolis in the context of innovation. The process of innovation, which can be broadly defined as the enhancement of production within a certain market or area, has previously been discussed in the context of Mediterranean history.[338] However, these discussions focus on theory without examining the archaeological evidence. I want to instead focus on votive deposits to better understand how the material resources that were imported to Rhodes affected votive production on the island, and what features of local consumption triggered the making of votives. It is important to bear in mind that there are several limitations to the archaeological study of votive deposits: first, not all the votive offerings dedicated at a sanctuary have survived. Objects often now lost to us include degradable votive offerings, such as foodstuffs and textiles, but also wooden objects, as well as metal offerings that may have been melted down.[339] Second, it is often difficult to distinguish between cult paraphernalia and objects that were deposited as votives, depending on their exact find-spot.[340] And third, a problem specific to the material excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann as well as other early excavations is that many objects, including fragments of pottery, were not recorded during the excavation of the

[338] Horden and Purcell 2000: 233, 243, 258, 289, 594; Archibald 2013; Bresson 2015: 11, 17, 76-79, 222.
[339] Bouma 1996: 24.
[340] Patera 2012: 193-248.

acropolis. This may account for the small amount of pottery in the votive deposits, outlined below.

3.3.1 Kamiros acropolis as a cemetery

The plateau of Kamiros acropolis is triangular in shape, measuring 200 meters long by 800 meters wide, and rises 120 meters above sea level.[341] Biliotti and Salzmann had previously conducted experimental investigations on the acropolis in 1860, but decided to return during their final season in 1864.[342] Between 25 March and 25 June, the pair excavated the site in concurrence with their operations at Fikellura, Papatislures, Kechraki and, later on, Casviri cemeteries. As well as recording the objects discovered on the acropolis, Biliotti's diary describes the structural elements uncovered. These include: the foundations of a peribolos wall, which marked the temenos of the sanctuary dedicated to Athena Kamiras **[Fig.58]**;[343] the remains of a peripteral temple orientated east-west; and a system of subterranean galleries that formed part of a complex water system. These structures were later dated to the Hellenistic period by Italian excavators, who uncovered a number of inscriptions assignable to the second and first centuries BC.[344] Jacopi's team also found a large cistern able to hold up to 600 m^3 of water; a building known as Temple A; and a Hellenistic stoa that spanned the full 200 meters of the acropolis.[345]

[341] *ClRh* VI-VII: 239-263.
[342] Biliotti diary, 17 March 1864.
[343] The dedication to Athena Kamiras is mentioned in inscriptions summarised by Bernardini 2006: 27.
[344] *ClRh* VI-VII*:* 239.
[345] *ClRh* VI-VII*:* 240–263.

Two votive deposits were uncovered by Biliotti and Salzmann on Kamiros acropolis in 1864. The first was the contents of a well situated under the foundation of the temple of Athena, which was discovered on 24 March and excavated until 19 April 1864. It took the form of a rectangular shaft about 35 meters deep, with an indentation in the rock towards the top 'such as to be seen in wells'.[346] It should be noted that the Italians revisited 'Kamiros well' in 1932 and found objects that had been left by Biliotti and Salzmann.[347] Another votive deposit was found between the foundations of the peribolos wall and the outer foundation wall of the temple. 'Deposit D&E', named after the letters that Biliotti used to refer to these walls, was discovered on 25 March and excavated until 5 April. As well as these two deposits, a number of objects were found in cavities in the paving of the acropolis and scattered across the plateau of the acropolis. Before outlining the character and contents of these deposits, it is first necessary to discuss the acropolis' use as a cemetery prior to its transformation into a sanctuary.

Besides the Child's tomb that Biliotti and Salzmann discovered on the summit of Kamiros acropolis (outlined at the beginning of this chapter), another mid- to late Geometric tomb was discovered during Jacopi's excavation on the eastern slope of the acropolis, although this was an adult cremation rather than a child's inhumation.[348] Tomb 80 contained seven oinochoai of various shapes and sizes; two pendant semicircle cups, a type commonly found on Rhodes, and one aryballos.[349] Furthermore, a group of tombs were found near the so-called Temple A: Tomb 82, a chamber tomb dated to the mid-eighth century BC, appears to have belonged to a warrior as it contained a rich set of weapons as well as a footed vessel, a large krater of Attic II type, a

[346] Biliotti diary, 24 March 1864.
[347] *ClRh* VI-VII: 279.
[348] *ClRh* VI-VII: 189-192. These tombs are referred to as 'Kamiros Summit' cemetery in section 2.4.2.
[349] *ClRh* VI-VII: 189-191.

carinated cup, a Euboean black cup, and two gold diadems.[350] Chamber Tomb 83 included two Attic cups, while in Tomb 84, a shaft grave, only a hydria was discovered.[351] The latest burial, Tomb 85, was a cremation area containing a pyxis and charred sherds of a Cypriot-type oinochoe, dating to the late Geometric period.[352]

These tombs confirm that the summit of Kamiros acropolis and an area 400 meters north of the acropolis were used as cemeteries for children and adults during the second half of the eight century BC. Bruno D'Agostino suggests that the late Geometric pottery found in the area around Temple A is further evidence of this function since it 'probably comes from destroyed tombs'.[353] As I will show, Geometric pottery is also present in the votive assemblages, so it is not necessarily evidence for additional tombs. I would also contest D'Agostino's assertion that this cemetery was restricted to a wealthy kinship group of Kamiros because of the range in the provision of grave goods, from 'heroic' to modest burials, and also because a handful of graves do not necessarily reflect the social organisation of a polis according to kinship.[354] The most important observation for our purposes is that a large number of votive offerings were eventually deposited next to a small child's tomb containing few grave goods, and not a particularly rich one like Tomb 82. Any continuity between earlier burial practices and later votive practices, including a hero cult, is therefore unlikely.

[350] *ClRh* VI-VII: 193.
[351] *ClRh* VI-VII: 202.
[352] D'Agostino 2006: 60–63; *ClRh* VI-VII: 203. Further tombs were found on Kamiros acropolis in the 1880s (Furtwängler 1886: 155-156) and in 1913 (Mangani 2007: 222-226).
[353] D'Agostino 2006: 63
[354] D'Agostino 2006: 63-65.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kechraki cemetery was established to the north-west of Kamiros acropolis in the last quarter of the eight century BC, around that same time as Papatislures cemetery to the south of the acropolis.[355] Between 750-700 BC the cemetery on the summit of Kamiros acropolis itself fell out of use and, within little more than a generation, the area was transformed into a sanctuary where votives were deposited.[356] This transformation from cemetery to sanctuary use is attested at other Geometric and Archaic sites, including Klopedi on Lesbos, Old Smyna, Xobourgo on Tenos, Plasi at Marathon, the Athenian acropolis, and the sancurary of Zeus at Pherai in Thessaly.[357] In addition, the Geometric cemetery at the West Gate at Eretria was turned into a sanctuary in 690 BC, yet it became the focus of a protective warrior cult thereafter.[358] It is the abrupt nature of the transformation of Kamiros acropolis, from a cemetery to a major polis sanctuary, that is important here because it provides a chronological context for the development of votive practices on Kamiros acropolis.

3.3.2 Kamiros acropolis as a sanctuary: deposits, dating, and display

The votive deposits uncovered in the Kamiros well and between walls D&E are situated within the foundations of the Hellenistic temple on Kamiros acropolis. It is difficult to determine their spatial relation to the Archaic temple because no remains of this temple have been found to date. Both deposits may be regarded as secondary as opposed to primary deposits, i.e. they do not reflect how votives were initially dedicated but rather a later clearing of votives at the

[355] See section 2.4.2.
[356] Snodgrass 1980: 54-64; de Polignac 1995: Chapter 1.
[357] Rouggou, Douloubekis, and Kossyfidou 2017 (with references).
[358] Walker 2004: 109-110.

sanctuary. This observation is based on the sequence in which dateable objects were found in Kamiros well, and on differences in the content of the deposits themselves, particularly in relation to how these objects would have been originally displayed within the sanctuary. It is remarkable that, of the three major sanctuaries on Rhodes, the votive deposits that can be reconstructed from Biliotti and Salzmann's excavations at Kamiros are the most discrete in terms of size, spatial differentiation, and content. By contrast, 'le grand depot' and 'le petit depot' excavated by Kinch on Lindos acropolis between 1902 and 1914 are much larger, with the former containing over one-thousand fibulae and terracotta figurines. Kinch's field notes also reveal a degree of ambiguity about the location and contents of each deposit that was later disregarded in Blinkenberg's publication.[359] The sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos, excavated by Jacopi between 1930 and 1933, yielded over 5,000 votives, the largest number from any one sanctuary on Rhodes.[360] However, a brief overview of these votives containing no information on their deposition is all that has been published to date.[361] By contrast, the well-documented cemeteries surrounding Kamiros acropolis, paired with the information recorded in Biliotti's diary, allow for a richer contextual understanding of Kamiros' votive deposits. A total of 702 votives may be attributed to Kamiros acropolis from the excavations of Biliotti and Salzman. Of these, 444 may be attributed to Kamiros well and 100 to Deposit D&E. The remaining 158 votives were found on Kamiros acropolis but cannot be attributed to a specific deposit. The production place of 270 objects can be established at present, including 173 from Rhodes, 51 from Cyprus, 22 from Egypt, 9 from East Greece, 7 from Greece (including Corinth), as well as individual objects from Phrygia, Melos, Ionia, and Assyria **[Fig.59]**. It should be noted that, as research progresses, the exact provenance of these votives may become clearer. For the moment, these votives reflect the connections of Rhodes throughout the Eastern Mediterranean

[359] Pers. comm. Dr Sanne Hoffman, National Museum of Denmark.
[360] *ClRh* I 1928: 74-82.
[361] Martelli 1988 and 2000.

at the beginning of the Archaic period. They also highlight the significant extent of local manufacture of votives, explored further below.

3.3.2.1 Kamiros well

Kamiros well is located towards the north-east corner of the Hellenistic temple **[Figs.60-61]**. It should not be considered a *bothros,* which is a sacrificial pit into which offerings are made directly and left open for successive offerings.[362] This is because it is far too deep (most measure around one metre in depth) and because there is little evidence of equipment that may have been used during a sacrifice;[363] and, most importantly, because there was no obvious stratigraphy in the deposit. It should, therefore, be considered as a well that supplied the sanctuary with water and was ultimately used to deposit votives, a common phenomenon in Greek sanctuaries, including the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe in Miletos**.**[364] The shaft itself is not symmetrical but forms an irregular pentagon, measuring two metres on its longest side. Its depth has been variously recorded by Biliotti, who recalls descending 30 yards or 27 m, and Jacopi, who supposedly dug 35 meters down.[365] In either case, the well is significantly deeper than that at the Aphrodite sanctuary at Miletos, which was seventeen metres deep.[366]

A total of 444 objects were excavated from Kamiros well **[Fig.62]**. These include 174 bone and ivory carvings, including decorated long bones,[367] flat plaques and pendants with circle

[362] Patera 2012: 214; Bouma 1996: 51.
[363] Higgins 1954: 23; Hutchinson 1935.
[364] For the use of wells see Brann 1961. For wells in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletos see von Graeve 2013; Panteleon and Senff 2008; Gans 1991:137-140.
[365] Biliotti diary, 14 May 1864; *ClRl* VI-VII 279.
[366] von Graeve 2013: 10.
[367] BM 1864,1007.530-596; BM 1864,1007.595; BM 1864,1007.608; BM 1864,1007.597; BM 1864,1007.598; BM 1864,1007.614; BM 1864,1007.599; BM 1864,1007.605; BM 1864,107.616; BM 1864,1007.609.

and dot decoration,[368] figures of standing women,[369] female heads,[370] figures of bulls,[371] bull's heads,[372] scarabs,[373] a mask,[374] a human leg,[375] a plaque depicting a horse and bird, [376] and other plaques depicting animals.[377] Two decorated seals made from bone were also found in Kamiros well.[378] 77 bronze objects were also found here, including many fibulae. Some of these are plain fibulae,[379] while others are surmounted by birds.[380] A further example is surmounted with four glass beads.[381] There are several bronze votive figures, including birds on wheel-stands,[382] double goat heads on wheel stands,[383] and a miscellaneous group of figures consisting of a monkey,[384] a siren,[385] a calf lying down,[386] and a woman standing on the head of a bull.[387] A group of bronze rings, including spiral hair-rings, were also found in the well.[388] 74 faience votives were deposited here, including figures of Egyptian deities,[389] such as Bes,[390] Pasht,[391]

[368] BM 1864,1007.646; BM 1864,1007.685; BM 1864,1007.619; BM 1864,1007.649; BM 1864,1007.681; BM 1864,1007.620; BM 1864,1007.629; BM 1864,1007.674; BM 1864,1007.654; BM 1864,1007.638; BM 1864,1007.618; BM 1864,1007.635; BM 1864,1007.648; BM 1864,1007.672; BM 1864,1007.686; BM 1864,1007.679; BM 1864,1007.680; BM 1864,1007.637; BM 1864,1007.664; BM 1864,1007.684; BM 1864,1007.663; BM 1864,1007.682; BM 1864,1007.662; BM 1864,1007.639; BM 1864,1007.647; BM 1864,1007.655
[369] BM 1864,1007.665; BM 1864,1007.633; BM 1864,1007.645; BM 1864,1007.671; BM 1864,1007.631; BM 1864,1007.632.
[370] BM 1864,1007.529; BM 1864,1007.754; BM 1864,1007.688
[371] BM 1864,1007.678; BM 1864,1007.690.
[372] BM 1864,1007.687
[373] BM 1864,1007.677; BM 1864,1007.1998; BM 1864,1007.973; BM 1864,1007.972.
[374] BM 1864,1007.753.
[375] BM 1864,1007.621.
[376] BM 1864,1007.969.
[377] BM 1864,1007.630; BM 1864,1007.666; BM 1864,1007.762; BM 1864,1007.756.
[378] BM 1864,1007.1109; BM 1864,1007.693.
[379] BM 1864,1007.380-387.
[380] BM 1864,1007.407-409; BM 1864,1007.411-415; BM 1864,1007.434; BM 1864,1007.436.
[381] BM 1864,1007.423.
[382] BM 1864,1007.404-405; BM 1864,1007.421-422; BM 1864,1007.457; BM 1864,107.486.
[383] BM 1864,1007.442-443; BM 1864,1007.471; BM 1864,1007.473; BM 1864,1007.487-488.
[384] BM 1864,1007.435.
[385] BM 1864,1007.444.
[386] BM 1864,1007.500.
[387] BM 1864,1007.1241.
[388] BM 1864,1007.401-402; BM 1864,1007.416; BM 1864,1007.441; BM 1864,1007.455-456; BM 1864,1007.467; BM 1864,1007.470; BM 1864,1007.474; BM 1864,1007.477; BM 1864,1007.489; BM 1864,1007.491; BM 1864,1007.492; BM 1864,1007.978; BM 1864,1007.979; BM 1864,1007.2010.
[389] BM 1864,1007.765; BM 1864,1007.766; BM 1864,1007.770; BM 1864,1007.805; BM 1864,1007.919; BM 1864,1007.933; BM 1864,1007.953.
[390] BM 1864,1007.774; BM 1864,1007.894; BM 1864,1007.920.
[391] BM 1864,1007.776; BM 1864,1007.779; BM 1864,1007.886.

Basht,[392] Ptah,[393] along with a group of seated figures,[394] female heads,[395] baboons,[396] scarabs,[397] wedjat eyes,[398] cowrie shells,[399] seated cats,[400] and aegises,[401] A faience perfume vessel in the form of a crouching lion was also found in the well,[402] along with two fragmentary examples of perfume vessels in the shape of kneeling figures.[403] Seven fragments of gold jewellery were deposited in the well, including a gold strip embossed with a goat rearing on its hinds legs.[404] The remainder of the deposit includes stone loom weights and spindle whorls,[405] as well as a group of beads made from glass, serpentine, steatite, cornelian, and rock crystal.[406] The only pottery that was kept from the well by Biliotti and Salzmann consists of six oinochoai and a plate.[407] Importantly, all of the bone and ivory carvings excavated from Kamiros acropolis come from the well.

[392] BM 1864,1007.782; BM 1864,1007.815.
[393] BM 1864,1007.790-793.
[394] BM 1864,1007.777-778; BM 1864,1007.845-846; BM 1864,1007.893.
[395]BM 1864,1007.852-853; BM 1864,1007.869.
[396] BM 1864,1007.783-784.
[397] BM 1864,1007.798; BM 1864,1007.895; BM 1864,1007.897-899; BM 1864,1007.902-905; BM 1864,1007.908; BM 1864,1007.916; BM 1864,1007.923; BM 1864,1007.929; BM 1864,1007.949; BM 1864,1007.954; BM 1864,1007.968; BM 1864,1007.1141.
[398] BM 1864,1007.817; BM 1864,1007.934; BM 1864,1007.939.
[399] BM 1864,1007.818; BM 1864,1007.962.
[400] BM 1864,1007.373; BM 1864,1007.419; BM 1864,1007.420; BM 1864,1007.499; BM 1864,1007. 974; BM 1864,1007.977; BM 1864,1007.1023.
[401] BM 1864,1007.840.
[402] BM 1864,1007.948.
[403] BM 1864,1007.932; BM 1864,1007.1334.
[404] BM 1864,1007.420;
[405] BM 1864,1007.1026; BM 1864,1007.1035; BM 1864,1007.1038; BM 1864,1007.1046-1047; BM 1864,1007.1051; BM 1864,1007.1187.
[406] BM 1864,1007.1018; BM 1864,1007.1124-1125; BM 1864,1007.1177-1180; BM 1864,1007.1184-1187; BM 1864,1007.1189; BM 1977,0623.2; BM 1977,06023.4 (rock crystal); BM 1864,1007.1029; BM 1864,1007.1028 BM 1864,1007.1030; BM 1864,1007.1034 (serpentine); BM 1977,0626.13; BM 1977,0626.9; BM 1977,0626.14; BM 1864,1007.988; BM 1864,1007.998; BM 1864,1007.1010; BM 1864,1007.991; BM 1864,1007.999; BM 1864,1007.992; BM 1864,107.984; BM 1864,1007.1246; BM 1864,1007.982; BM 1864,1007.993; BM 1864,1007.102; BM 1864,1007.983; BM 1864,1007.1015; BM 1977,0626.12; BM 1864,1007.986; BM 1864,1007.996; BM 1864,1007.989; BM 1864,1007.388; BM 1977,0628.8; BM 1864,1007.987; BM 1864,1007.1002; BM 1864,1007.997; BM 1864,1007.1009 (glass); BM 1864,1007.1245; BM 1864,1007.1042 BM 1864,107.1043; BM 1864,1007.1033; BM 1864,1007.1033; BM 1864,1007.1049 (steatite); BM 1864,1007.1021; BM 1864,1007.1006 (cornelian).
[407] BM 1864,1007.20 (plate); BM 1864,1007.1791; BM 1864,1007.1794; BM 1864,1007.1795; BM 1864,1007.1798; BM 1864,1007.1796; BM 1864,1007.1797 (oinochoai). Jacopi (*ClRh* VI-VII 279) later found pottery sherds left by Biliotti and Salzmann above Kamiros well.

Patera has suggested that votives could be deliberately deposited in wells by their dedicants. Her observation is based on a well's position in relation to the (supposed) circulation of dedicants on the lower slopes of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth.[408] Such speculations are not possible for a secondary deposit like Kamiros well, in which votives dating to different periods were excavated at a similar depth, indicating that they were not originally placed there sequentially by their dedicants. On the third day of the well's excavation, for instance, Biliotti records an 'earthenware plate' and '[Bronze] birds and animals on foot'.[409] The plate belongs to the Middle Corinthian 'Chimaera Group', dated to between 610-580 BC **[Fig.63]**.[410] The bronze bird figures, however, can be roughly dated to the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC based on their stylistic similarity to bronze figurines dedicated at the Argive Heraion.[411] Furthermore, two small oinochoai of Cypriot shape with late Geometric decoration were found on the sixteenth day of excavation, nearing the bottom of the well,[412] while two further late Geometric oinochoai were found on the first day of excavations, right at the top of the well **[Figs.64-65]**.[413] These are the few objects in the deposit with a relatively secure chronological bracket, and recommend a broader range of possible dates than the first half of the seventh century BC, as proposed by Higgins. A more generous bracket of 720-580 BC would account for whole spectrum of datable votives in the deposit. Additionlly, a wheel-made pottery lamp dating to the fourth century BC was found in the deposit.[414] This later find indicates that the well was not inaccessible following the initial clearance of votives.

[408] Patera 2012: 135-138.
[409] Biliotti diary, 26 March 1864.
[410] BM 1864,1007.20; Payne 1931, 313, cat. 1051; Amyx 1988, 174, cat. no .9.
[411] Bernardini 2006: 48, No. 15; Strøm (1995: 62-66) dates bronze bird figures from the Argive Heraion according to style and distribution, and by comparison to bronze birds from a stratified deposit at Kalapodi datable to 725-700 BC.
[412] BM 1864,1007.1796 and BM 1864,1007.1797; Coldstream 2008: 281.
[413] BM 1864,1007.1794 and BM 1864,1007.1798; Coldstream 2008: 281.
[414] BM 1864,1007.1817 (Bailey Q379).

It is notable that a chronological bracket extending to within the sixth century may coincide with the construction of a large cistern on the west side of the acropolis. Attic black glazed pottery fragments were found inside its basin, provide a *teminus ante quem* of the fifth century BC.[415] Assuming the lower bracket of the Kamiros well is roughly equivalent to the moment of deposition, it is possible that the well falling into disuse and being used for dumping votives and the construction of the cistern were connected: an increasing demand for water at the sanctuary may have required the construction of larger facilities and indirectly provided an opportunity for the clearance of votives on Kamiros acropolis.

Higgins proposed that '[f]rom the nature of the objects and from the position of the well there can be little doubt that they formed part of the contents of a store-room for votive offerings for the temple.'[416] The existence of a store-room is possible given the quantities of votives being deposited at the sanctuary, but it cannot be proved beyond doubt. It is, though, worth noting two properties of the votives that were preserved in Kamiros well: most are small dedications and over 90% of the objects that can attributed to this context are perforated, i.e. pierced with a small hole. The intended purpose for their perforation is variable. Some, including bone and ivory carvings, may have been perforated for application to furniture or tying onto other (sanctuary) fittings **[Fig.66]**; some are perforated for use in domestic work, such as the spindle-whorls and loom-weights **[Fig.67]**; and others were perforated for personal adornment, including the beads and faience falcons **[Fig.68]**. In my opinion, the small size of these objects and their consistent perforation suggest that they were originally suspended inside the temple of Athena or another structure on Kamiros acropolis before being cleared into the well at a later

[415] *ClRh* VI-VII: 240.
[416] Higgins 1954: 23.

date.[417] The phenomenon of suspending votives is not unknown in ancient Greece, with evidence from the Archaic temple at Tegea, in which votives were found amongst the debris of the temple's walls, and from the Hellenistic temple of Demeter at Priene, in which many rings for hanging votives were discovered.[418] This practice is also briefly noted by Pausanias when he describes the temple of Asklepios at Sikyon (2.10.2). In his context, the effervescent quality of most objects excavated from Kamiros well is notable: polished bronze and gold, sparkling faience, and white bone and ivory votives may have been selected for their material reflectiveness while suspended as well as for their significance to the dedicant or recipient deity.

3.3.2.2 Deposit D&E

Deposit D&E consists of 100 objects **[Fig.69]**. Many of these are figurines and statuettes, including ten made of bronze. These consist of a recumbent lion,[419] two deer figures,[420] a bull,[421] bird's leg,[422] a circular dish,[423] a pierced disk with curvilinear ornaments,[424] a spearhead,[425] and a rider mounted on the back of a crouching camel.[426] There are 49 faience objects, including figures Egyptian deities – Nefertum,[427] Bes,[428] and Bast[429] –, scarabs,[430]

[417] For evidence of sanctuary clearances see Patera 2012: 194-199
[418] Nordquist 2013: 103; Patera 2012: 110-111.
[419] BM 1864,1007.167.
[420] BM 1864,1007,399; BM 1864,1007.400.
[421] BM 1864,1007.397.
[422] BM 1864,1007.527.
[423] BM 1864,1007.2013.
[424] BM 1864,1007.509.
[425] BM 1864,1007.1405.
[426] BM 1864,1007.398.
[427] BM 1864,1007.801; BM 1864.1007.771.
[428] BM 1864,1007.819; BM 1864,1007.820; BM 1864,1007.772; BM 1864,1007.800; BM 1864,1007.821; BM 1864,1007.773
[429] BM 1864,1007.843; BM 1864,1007.816
[430] BM 1864,1007.915; BM 1864,1007.909; BM 1864,1007.911; BM 1864,1007.901; BM 1864,1007.906; BM 1864,1007.914; BM 1864,1007.907.

hawks,[431] a ram,[432] a figure carrying two hawks above its head,[433] and wedjat eyes.[434] There is also a group of faience perfume vessels in the form of kneeling figures and monkeys,[435] as well as more traditional shapes, such as aryballoi,[436] alabastra,[437] and pyxides.[438] Most of the terracotta figures found in Deposit D&E represent women,[439] alongside a single figure of three reclining sphinxes,[440] and a votive in the form of a booted foot.[441] A number of terracotta spindle-whorls were also found here.[442] A further 15 figures are made of Cypriot limestone, including standing males,[443] draped women,[444] seated women,[445] sphinxes,[446] and seated lions.[447]

The area of Deposit D&E, which lies adjacent to the northern wall of the Hellenistic temple, is an irregular polygon measuring eight meters on its longest side and seven and one and a half meters on its shortest side **[Figs.70-71]**. The child's grave is located within the area of the deposit, approximately one and a half meters from is western most tip. The objects found in Depost D&E are larger than those found in Kamiros well, and few of them are perforated –

[431] BM 1864,1007.810; BM 1864,1007.811; BM 1864,1007.812; BM 1864,1007.838; BM 1864,1007.941; BM 1864,1007.799.
[432] BM 1864,1007.804.
[433] BM 1864,1007.797
[434] BM 1864,1007.822; BM 1864,1007.823
[435] BM 1864,1007.796; BM 1864,1007.786; BM 1864,1007.794; BM 1864,1007.943; BM 1864,1007.795; BM 1864,1007.913;
[436] BM 1864,1007.834; BM 1864,1007.832
[437] BM 1864,1007.940
[438] BM 1864,1007.807; BM 1864,1007.808
[439] BM 1864,1007.1235; BM 1864,1007.1247; BM 1864,1007.1279; BM 1864,1007.1269; BM 1864,1007.1270; BM 1864,1007.1306; BM 1864,1007.1277; BM 1864,1007.1926; BM 1864,1007.1250; BM 1864,1007.1320; BM 1864,1007.1268; BM 1864,1007.1280; BM 1864,1007.1271; BM 1864,1007.1272; BM 1864,1007.1825.
[440] BM 1864,1007.1339.
[441] BM 1864,1007.1827.
[442] BM 1864,1007.1867; BM 1864,1007.1849; BM 1864,1007.1873
[443] BM 1864,1007.315; BM 1864,1007.2037; BM 1864,1007.317; BM 1864,1007.313; BM 1864,1007.312; BM 1864,1007.310
[444] BM 1864,1007.306; BM 1864,1007.311; BM 1864,1007.2040
[445] BM 1864,1007.1326
[446] BM 1864,1007.1013; BM 1864,1007.1012; BM 1864,1007.309; BM 1864,1007.1014.
[447] BM 1864,1007.2057

only the bronze rings and faience falcons possess holes. By contrast, most objects have a flat base allowing them to be placed upright on a table, shelf or on the ground.[448] Biliotti's statement that the area of Deposit D&E was 'about 4 feet deeper than the remainder of the platform and has a floor covered with a kind of coarse white stucco' may indicate that it was intentionally prepared for the deposition of votives, although this is difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubt.[449] The area is not deep enough to have acted as a water basin. The common feature of objects with flat base may, nevertheless, suggest that they were displayed together in the sanctuary – either inside or outside the Athena temple – and were subsequently cleared together. A similar observation was made by John Boardman at the Archaic temple of Athena on the acropolis of Emporio at Chios, where 'objects of the same class tended to be found together, even when they had been swept away in an apparently haphazard manner'.[450]

It is not possible to reconstruct the stratigraphy of Deposit D&E because Biliotti did not record whether the whole area was excavated on a daily basis, or whether a specific part was dug one day and another the next. Moreover, no pottery was recorded in the deposit and the relative dating of the faience and metal objects cannot be more precise than the seventh century BC. Nota Kourou's and Ross Thomas' studies of Cypriot limestone sculpture, however, recommend a chronological bracket of production from the latter quarter of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century BC, based on a few dated contexts on Samos and Chios and at Naukratis.[451] Given the number of Cypriot limestone statuettes that are attributable to Deposit

[448] For votive tables see Gill 1991.
[449] Biliotti diary, 31 March 1864.
[450] Boardman 1967: 29.
[451] Kourou 2002: 4; Thomas 2013-2015a: 3-9.

D&E, it is possible to extend the lower chronological bracket of the deposit from 650-580 BC, as proposed by Higgins, to 650-550 BC.[452]

3.3.2.3 Paving hole

Another assemblage may be reconstructed from a context excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann in 1860. During their experimental investigation on the east side of the Hellenistic temple they uncovered 'small longitudinal trenches and round holes of varying size from six inches to three feet' dug into the paving.[453] These holes, which contained votives 'of small dimensions', are referred to in the 1864 diary without a specific description of their form or contents.[454] Similar holes are visible on the plateau of Kamiros acropolis today, measuring 12-15 centimeters in diameter **[Figs.72-73]**. However, in a letter to Newton from August 1861, Salzmann not only lists the contents of a single paving hole but also provides a useful sketch **[Fig.74]**. This hole contained nineteen objects, mostly faience amulets, including scarabs, scaraboids in the form of human heads, a ram, an Egyptian deity, and a decorated cylinder **[Figs.75-76]**.[455] These objects date the deposit to the seventh century BC. Jacopi, who also excavated paving holes filled with seventh-century BC votives and a Geometric stamnos at the Athena temple and at Temple A, assumed these to be secondary deposits on the basis that the paving was Hellenistic. But, crucially, he does not specify their location in relation the acropolis' Hellenistic structures.[456] Biliotti's map of the acropolis, on the other hand, shows that these holes were

[452] Higgins 1957: 23.
[453] Original Letters, 13 October 1860.
[454] Biliotti diary, 24 and 25 March 1864.
[455] BM 1861.0425.5; BM 1861,0425.9; BM 1861,0425.10; BM 1861,0425.10; BM 1861,0425.10; BM 1861,0425.17; BM 1861,0425.6; BM 1861,0425.22; BM 1861,0425.7; BM 1861,0425.7; BM 1861,0425.7; BM 1861,0425.11-21.
[456] *ClRh* VI-VII: 279.

concentrated on the west side of the temple. Salzmann describes them as 'sealed hermetically with a stone of the same shape and same dimension [as the hole itself], so that it was impossible to find this hiding place'. The hole shown in Salzman's sketch and the paving holes visible on the acropolis today are distinct in that the former resembles a small pit with a hole beneath, while the latter are circular rock-cut holes. Some of the paving holes are evenly shaped, suggesting that they may have been used as post holes for an earlier structure on the acropolis before functioning as a receptable for votives.[457] Close parallels for these holes, used for depositing votives or pouring libations, are known from Geometric and Archaic sanctuary contexts in the Cyclades – at Sangri and Melanes on Naxos and Xobourgo on Tinos – as well as at Soros in Thessaly.[458]

3.3.2.4 Depositional practice

Kamiros well and Deposit D&E tell us about depositional practices related to votives. First, there is little evidence of ritual destruction in the contents of either deposit, with metal spear-heads and a number of ceramic vessels remaining intact.[459] This is consistent with the votives found at Lindos and Ialysos, which show no indication of being purposefully destroyed. Second, the secondary deposition of votives on Kamiros acropolis – in Kamiros well, between walls D&E, and in paving holes – suggest that votives were regarded as sacred property that should remain within the confines of the sanctuary once dedicated, regardless of structural developments or constraints posed by the accumulation of votives.[460] It would therefore be

[457] Pers. comm. Alexander Mazarakis Ainian and Fani Seroglou.
[458] Naxos: Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 247, n.1981 (with bibliography); Tinos: Kourou 2014b; Soros: Pers. comm. Alexander Mazarakis Ainian (cf. Mazarakis Ainian 2009: 275-276).
[459] Bocher 2006-2007.
[460] For the use of wells to deposit sacred property see Patera 2012: 135-138.

appropriate to view Kamiros well and Deposit D&E as deposits resulting from the clearance of sacred property within a sacred space. A similar practice may also have occurred at the Aphrodite sanctuary at Miletos, where many votive offerings were deposited inside a well.[461]

Another depositional practice that may be observed in the votives from Kamiros acropolis is restricted to a particular material: bone and ivory. Traces of charring are visible on a 'naked goddess' figure, a carved long bone, and on a number of carvings excavated by Jacopi **[Figs.77-79]**.[462] If this burning had been the result of a fire on Kamiros acropolis, then we would expect to find similar marks on votives made of other materials. This is not the case, however. As the burning is exclusive to bone and ivory carvings, I would argue that this was a depositional practice linked to this particular object group, perhaps as re-used bones from feasting. It is notable that the charring only ever covers a small section of the bone carvings. This may result from intentional charring, as the object is held at one end by the dedicant and pointed towards the fire at the other. It would be interesting to see whether charring is also visible on the carvings found by Jacopi at Ialysos, yet these are still largely unpublished.[463]

3.3.4 A temple economy

As Morgan has stressed, an understanding of a sanctuary's local significance can only arise from considering all forms of ideological expression together, 'rather than pushing back what

[461] Von Graeve 2013: 7-10.
[462] BM 1864,1007.608 and BM 1864,1007.632; *ClRh* VI-VII: 328, fig. 74.
[463] Martelli (2000) does not describe surface marks on ivory carving found at Ialysos. The few Ialysos bone carvings on display at Rhodes do not show traces of burning.

may be anachronistic conceptual distinctions between death and cult'.[464] In this respect, the similarities and differences in patterns of object groups that can be observed between the votive offerings excavated from Kamiros' acropolis and from its contemporary cemeteries, Papatislures and Kechraki, are extremely revealing. Several object groups are associated with votive practices and do not appear in burial contexts. These include bronze fibulae and figures, ivory and bone carvings, Cypriot limestone sculpture, as well as a group of early terracotta figurines and the vast majority of faience objects.[465] The exclusivity of this material to the acropolis points towards a system of divergent attitudes in which certain objects were considered appropriate to be given to the goddess and not to the dead. It should be pointed out, however, that as no remains of the Archaic settlement of Kamiros besides a cistern have been found, it is not possible to determine whether this material was used in domestic contexts. That thousands of bronze fibulae as well as bone and ivory carvings have been found at Rhodian sanctuaries, while remaining all but absent in contemporaneous grave assemblages, demonstrates the extent of their association to votive use-contexts.[466] It is therefore likely that such objects, whether used domestically or not on Rhodes, always had the potential for use as votives.

The formation of divergent burial and votive practices is far from peculiar to Kamiros. It is a feature of depositional practices recognised throughout Greek *poleis* during the eighth century

[464] Morgan 1998: 90.
[465] Biliotti records only five faience objects at Papatislures and Kechraki cemeteries, compared to over one 100 on the acropolis; over 20 bronze fibulae and figures from the acropolis, compared to none at cemeteries; all bone and ivory carvings were found in Kamiros well, apart from one instance of ivory and bone carvings from a tomb at Papatislures cemetery; and all Cypriot stone sculpture and early terracotta figures were found at Kamiros acropolis. There were very few faience vessels in Archaic graves excavated at Kamiros during the Italian campaigns. Cf. RHODES 13829; *ClRh* VI-VII 97-98, fig. 103; RHODES 12570; *ClRh* IV 366, fig. 413; RHODES 12577; *ClRh* IV 370, fig. 418.
[466] RHODES 14465-14504; *ClRh* VI-VII 356-358, figs. 84-85 (bone fibulae).

BC.[467] What is peculiar to Kamiros and Rhodes more widely, however, is the extent to which votives were locally manufactured across a range of materials, in bronze, faience, ivory and bone, and terracotta. By comparison, the acropolis and harbour sanctuaries of Emporio on Chios have yielded Chian votives in terracotta and bronze, and a small group of bone and ivory carvings.[468] The range and quantity of Rhodian votives is much greater and demonstrates the importance of sanctuaries to the island's wider economy. I will now consider the characteristics of the locally manufactured object groups before further discussing this economic importance.

3.3.4.1 Bronze casting

Solid cast bronze figurines and fibulae were produced on Rhodes in the second half of the eighth century and possibly into the seventh century BC. These objects may be attributed to the island based on their formal and stylistic qualities, and because of their high concentration at the sanctuaries of Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos.[469] Rhodian bronze figurines, which are often mounted on a perforated wheel stand, include double-goat protomes,[470] water birds,[471] deer,[472] and anthropomorphic figurines **[Figs.80-83]**.[473] Rhodian bronze fibulae are usually decorated with one or more water birds depending on their size.[474] The development of bronze casting on

[467] Whitley 2001: 98-101.
[468] Boardman 1967: Chapter 2. Also compare to small finds imported to the sanctuary of Kythnos (Koukoulidou et al. 2017) and the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko (Kourayos and Burns 2017).
[469] On the manufacture of Rhodian bronze votives see Bernardini 2006: 15-16.
[470] BM 1864,1007.442-443; BM 1864,1007.471; BM 1864,1007.473; BM 1864,1007.487-488; *Lindos I* 223-225, pl. 11; RHODES 14393; *ClRh VI-VII* 346, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 48-50, cat. 16, pl. 9.
[471] BM 1864,1007.404-405; BM 1864,1007.421-422; BM 1864,1007.457; BM 1864,107.486; *Lindos I* 228-230, pl. 11; RHODES 14393; *ClRh* VI-VII 346; Bernardini 2006: 48, cat. 15, pl. 9.
[472] BM 1864,1007,399; BM 1864,1007.400; RHODES 14390; *ClRh* VI-VII 345, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 43, cat. 10, pl. 8.
[473] RHODES 14386; *ClRh* VI-VII 345, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 38, cat no. 7, pl. 9; RHODES 14387; *ClRh* VI-VII 345, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 40, cat. 8, pl. 7; RHODES 14388; ClRh VI-VII 345, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 46-47, cat. 13, pl. 9; RHODES 14384; *ClRh* VI-VII 344, fig. 80; Bernardini 2006: 47-48, pl. 9.
[474] Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 26-28; Pl. 38 –42; BM 1864,1007.425-427; BM 1864,1007.451-452; BM 1864,1007.464-465; BM 1864,1007.479*; Lindos* I 54-57a, pl. 5.

the island may have been influenced by trade connections with Egypt, Cyprus, North Syria, Iran, Urartu, and Samos, from where a portion of the bronze votives dedicated in the three major sanctuaries were imported.[475] At Kamiros, Egyptian bronzes include a nude female figure and a uraeus, perhaps part of a shrine;[476] North Syrian bronzes are most prevalent at Ialysos, including belt fittings, a headband decorated with animals, and winged figurines;[477] and two Samian, or possibly Milesian, griffin protomes were found at Temple A at Kamiros.[478] The raw material needed to produce bronze on Rhodes may have been imported from Cyprus, an island rich in copper, or Wadi Araba, where much of Early Iron Age copper imports to Greece originate from.[479]

In her catalogue of the bronze votives from Kamrios, Chiara Bernardini highlights the extent of North Syrian influences on Rhodian bronze casting, stating that 'il pendaglio a doppia protome caprine attestano indiscutibilmente l'incidenza di influssi iconografici e formali levantini, in particolare nord'siriani'.[480] Certain products of the bronze workshop, however, indicate a more indigenous enterprise than has previously been acknowledged. For instance, the prominence of water birds, on fibulae and as figures, may have been encouraged by their abundance on Rhodes, which is home to the largest number of land and water bird species in the Dodecanese.[481] Bronze deer figures may, likewise, be connected to a native species of

[475] RHODES 14407*; ClRh* VI-VII 347, fig. 81; Bernardini 2006: 70, cat. 67, pl. 15; RHODES 14408; *ClRh* VI-VII 347, fig. 81; Bernardini 2006: 70, cat. 68, pl. 15; RHODES 14409; *ClRh* VI-VII 347, fig. 81; Bernardini 2006: 70, pl. 15 (North Syria); RHODES 14434; *ClRh* VI-VII 352, fig. 82; Bernardini 2006: 60, cat. 44, pl. 12 (Cyprus); RHODES 1341; Triantafyllidis 2008: 95-96, fig. 6 (Iran); RHODES 8079; Triantafyllidis 2008: 95-95, fig. 6 (Urartu); RHODES 14714; *ClRh* VI-VII 343, fig. 76; Bernardini 2006: 65, cat. 59, pl. 14; RHODES 14715; *ClRh* VI-VII 344, fig. 77; Bernardini 2006: 66, cat. 60, pl 14 (Samos).
[476] BM 1864,1007.1195 (uraeus); BM 1864.1007.528 (female figure).
[477] Martelli 1988: 107-109.
[478] RHODES 14714; *ClRh* VI-VII 343, fig. 76; Bernardini 2006: 65, cat. 59, pl. 14; RHODES 14715; *ClRh* VI-VII 344, fig. 77; Bernardini 2006: 66, cat. 60, pl 14. See Donder 2002 for metal finds from Miletos.
[479] Osborne 1996: 113-114; Hauptmann et al. 1992.
[480] Bernardini 2006: 26.
[481] Masseti 2002: 76-96.

fallow deer, the so called "Dama Dama", that inhabit the island's forests and keep the population of poisonous snakes in check.[482] I would therefore argue that, regardless of what meaning Rhodian bronze figurines held as votives, their manufacture was at least partially motivated by the fauna of the island.

3.3.4.2 Faience vessels

The production of faience objects on Rhodes has been a source of much debate, given the lack of workshop evidence and that so far it has proved difficult to securely identify a Rhodian glaze composition using archaeometric analysis.[483] Having said this, the extremely high concentration of faience objects dating to the seventh century BC found in Rhodian sanctuaries – some of which are exclusive to the island – strongly argues in favour of faience production on the island, even if not necessarily on the industrial scale suggested by Virginia Webb.[484] Object types that can perhaps be be attributed to local faience workshops include the so-called 'Leopard Spot Group' **[Fig.84]**, a group of double vases in the form of a figure kneeling with a jar in front; [485] pyxides and alabastra with low-relief figural decoration **[Fig.85]**;[486] vases in

[482] Masseti 2002: 131-195.
[483] Tite, Freestone and Bimson 1983; Meek et al. 2016.
[484] Webb 1978: 5-6.
[485] BM 1860,0404.75 (Webb 1); BM 1864,1007.878 (Webb 2); BM 1864,1007.942 (Webb 3); BM 1864,1007.943 (Webb 14); BM 1864,1007.944 (Webb 15); *Lindos I* 1335, pl. 58; RHODES 7628 (Webb 4); RHODES 12577 (Webb 7); RHODES 12135-12137 (Webb 8); *ClRh* IV 370, figs. 418-419; Louvre 08 (Webb 13); *ClRh* IV 52, fig. 33.
[486] Pyxides: BM 1864,1007.808 (Webb 158); BM 1864,0425.28 (Webb 181); BM 1864,1007.882 (Webb 152); BM 1864.1007.1340 (Webb 151); RHODES 14008 (Webb 151); RHODES (Webb 147); RHODES 1198 (Webb 148); RHODES 14688 (Webb 149); BM 1864,1007.879 (Webb 153); BM 1864,1007.807 (Webb 159); RHODES 14687 (Webb 160); RHODES 14690 (Webb 169); RHODES 14689 (Webb 169 bis); RHODES 14694 (Webb 173); RHODES 7747/85 (Webb 174); RHODES 14675 (Webb 176); RHODES 14676 (Webb 177); RHODES 14689 (Webb 187); RHODES 9796-9823 (Webb 188). Alabastra: BM 1864,0404.66 (Webb 191); BM 1860,0404.67 (Webb 204); BM 1864,1007.940 (Webb 203); Louvre NIII 2305 (Webb 189); Louvre NIII 2396 (Webb 190); RHODES 14683 (Webb 194); RHODES 13526 (Webb 196); RHODES 14685 (Webb 197); BM 1864,1007.809 (Webb 198); RHODES 14684 (Webb 200); RHODES 14694 (Webb 200 bis); BM 1864,1007.940 (Webb 203); RHODES 14686 (Webb 205).

the form of a couchant lion;[487] a small group of New Year's flasks;[488] and unguent spoons in the shape of a swimming girl.[489] Two commonalities among these types of vessels should be noted: first, the common use of a either a cream coloured or pale green glaze, and second, the frequency of black spots. The latter are not confined to the 'Leopard Spot Group' but are regularly found on couchant lions, pyxides, and alabastra. The hair and facial details of unguent spoons in the shape of swimming girls are also depicted in black glaze. A recent scientific analysis of faience vessels, scarabs, scaraboids, and figurines from Naukratis and Kamiros has provisionally indicated that blue and dark coloured faience may be characteristic of production on Rhodes.[490] I would therefore suggest that green glaze, as well as the use of black for details, are likely common traits of Rhodian faience production. Further evidence for the manufacture of vitreous substances during the seventh century BC is provided by a cluster of misshapen glass beads found at the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos.[491]

Rhodian faience production was likely affected by the importation of Egyptian amulets which, if the workshop preceeded the reign of Psammetichus I (664-610 BC), probably reached Rhodes through Cypriot, Euboian, or Phoenician intermediaries.[492] Examples of Egyptian faience objects found on Rhodes include scarabs and figures of Egyptian deities, such as Sekhmet and Bastet.[493] The raw materials needed for production, including natron, may also

[487] BM 1864,1007.948 (Webb 260); BM 1864,1007.945 (Webb 262); RHODES 14658 (Webb 265); *ClRh* VI-VII 313-314, fig. 54; RHODES 14659 (Webb 266).
[488] *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 65; RHODES 13755; Cf. Louvre NIII 2401; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 281, cat. 135; Webb 1978: 70, cat. 256. For discussion of Rhodian types see Pierrat-Bonnefois, Bouquillon and Coulié 2014a: 92. Pers. comm. Dr Panagiotis Kousoulis, University of the Aegean.
[489] Webb 1978: 11-26; 46-58; 81-83; BM 1860,0404.76 (Webb 271); RHODES 6571; *ClRh* III 24, figs. 6-7; Louvre E26094 (Webb 273); Louvre S603 (Webb 274).
[490] Meek et al. 2016: 99. The objects analysed include Louvre NIII 2407, AM 403, AM 404 and MN 2416.
[491] RHODES 966; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: cat. 126.
[492] Hölbl 2014: 165.
[493] BM 1870,1008.130; BM 1870,1008.131; BM 1872,0315.110; BM 1861,0425.17; BM 1861,0425.15; BM 1861,0425.11; BM 2013,5012.5; BM 2013,5012.4; BM 2013,5012.5; BM 1861,0425.16; BM 2013,5012.9; BM 2013,5012.11; BM 1900,0609.106; BM 2005,1207.1; BM 1860,0404.74; BM 1864,1007.945; Louvre E3897;

have been imported from Egypt.[494] The transfer of these production techniques may also have been aided by the movement of intinerant craftermen, and possibly through Pheonician intermediaries.[495] Despite this familiarity with Egyptian faience, the majority of Rhodian faience objects did not function as amulets but as receptacles for unguents – with the possible exception of a group of standing figures, often playing the flute or double-pipes, known as the 'Black and White Blob Group'.[496] Ceramic unguent vases such as Phoenician mushroom-lipped flasks and Cypriot black-on-Red wares were imported to Rhodes from the ninth century BC onwards. These stimulated local imitations on the island, discussed in the next chapter.[497] Rhodian faience production during the seventh century BC may therefore be viewed in light of the island's status as a centre for the trade and consumption of unguents in the Aegean, which I will also elaborate on in the next chapter.[498] The artisans making these vessels were, again, reacting to the conditions of their local environment, albeit from a more economic perspective.

Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 280, cat. 133.1; Louvre E3902; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 281, cat. 134.

[494] Villing 2013: 76.

[495] Gunter 2014: 250-251.

[496] BM 1860,0201.102 (Webb 386); BM 1860,0404.78 (Webb 347); BM 1860,0404.79 (Webb 343); BM 1860,0404.82 (Webb 354); BM 1860,0404.83 (Webb 355); BM 1860,0404.84 (Webb 356); BM 1861,0425.18 (Webb 365); BM 1861,1024.19 (Webb 278); BM 1861,1024.20 (Webb 370); BM 1864,1007.775 (Webb 286); Louvre AO 31593; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 282, cat no. 136; Louvre NIII 1501; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 282, cat. 137; Louvre NIII 1503; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 282, cat. 138; Louvre S587 (Webb 280); Louvre S590 (Webb 362); Louvre NIII 2408 (Webb 384); Louvre NIII 2407 (Webb 363); *Lindos* I 1282, pl. 56 (Webb 277); *Lindos* I 1262 (Webb 387); *Lindos* I 1259a, pl. 56 (Webb 374); *Lindos* I 1270, pl. 56 (Webb 375); Lindos I 1254 (Webb 383); *Lindos* I 1271, pl. 56 (Webb 376); *Lindos* I 1259b, pl. 56 (Webb 377); *Lindos* I 1278 (Webb 359); *Lindos* I 1266a (Webb 367); *Lindos* I 1285, pl. 56 (Webb 315); *Lindos* 1286, pl. 56 (Webb 318) *Lindos* I 1279, pl. 56; *Lindos* 1272, pl. 56 (Webb 304); RHODES 13699 (Webb 284); *ClRh* VI-VII 26, fig. 131; RHODES 13525 (Webb 312); *ClRh* IV 389; RHODES 7655 (Webb 285); RHODES 9801 (Webb 297); RHODES 7654-70 (Webb 298); RHODES 13042 (Webb 331); *ClRh* IV 312; RHODES 13689-13670 (Webb 332-333); *ClRh* VI-VII 26, fig. 31; RHODES 7654-7670 (Webb 334); RHODES 13089 (Webb 344); *ClRh* IV 284, fig. 313; RHODES 13701 (Webb 348); *ClRh* VI-VII 26; RHODES 13039 (Webb 361); *ClRh* IV 318; RHODES 7632 (Webb 366).

[497] See section 4.3.

[498] See Chapter 4; Coldstream 1969; Bourogiannis 2013.

3.3.4.3 Ivory and bone carvings

There are also indications of ivory and bone carving on Rhodes during the late Geometric period and seventh century BC. Previous scholarship has focused on 'naked goddess' figurines, which are found in abundance at Kamiros and Ialysos, and may be attributed to the island based on their formal and stylistic features **[Fig.86]**.[499] Although similar to North Syrian carvings found in the South East Palace at Nimrud, their lack of jewellery and deeply incised *poloi* that cover the ears are markedly distinct.[500] Yet their attribution on a stylistic basis is difficult to uphold by itself because it assumes that styles are necessarily peculiar to specific regions.[501] The heterogeneity within carvings found at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, which include the 'North Syrian' and 'Phoenician' styles identified by R. D. Barnett as well as the 'Rhodian' style identified by Martelli, contests this very assumption.[502] Briefly, the North Syrian style consists of human figures with a squat build and high receding forehead, large eyes and nose, while the Phoenician style has a 'strong subservience to and adoption of Egyptian traditions of art – namely their canon of proportions'.[503] It is the exclusivity to these figurines to Rhodes – 'naked goddess' carvings of this particular kind are not found elsewhere in the Aegean or the Levant – that allows us to convincingly attribute them to a workshop based on the island.

A previously largely overlooked group of 59 carved long bones found in Kamiros provides further evidence of the island's ivory and bone production **[Fig.87]**.[504] Measuring between

[499] Schofield 1992; Martelli 2000; BM 1864,1007.665; BM 1864,1007.633; BM 1864,1007.645; BM 1864,1007.671; BM 1864,1007.631; BM 1864,1007.632; RHODES 9837; Martelli 1988: 113, fig. 11; Martelli 2000: 111, fig. 22; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 288, cat. 151; RHODES 7940; Martelli 2000: 111, fig. 18-20; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 288, cat. 152.
[500] Martelli 2000: 109-110.
[501] Feldman 2014: 36.
[502] Barnett 1982: 43-46; COPENHAGEN 10422; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 206, cat. 35 (North Syria); RHODES 7946; Martelli 2000: 107, fig. 9; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 210, cat. 37 (Assyria).
[503] Barnett 1982: 46.
[504] BM 1864,1007.530-596; BM 1864,1007.595; BM 1864,1007.608; BM 1864,1007.597; BM 1864,1007.598; BM 1864,1007.614; BM 1864,1007.599; BM 1864,1007.605; BM 1864,107.616; BM 1864,1007.609.

three and six centimetres long, these hollow objects are mostly incised with concentric-circles or 'dice-eyes', and sometimes with curvilinear patterns. They may have functioned as items of jewellery, possibly forming a necklace, or as stick-dices for gaming, although there is no observable pattern in the number of circles on each side. A third possibility is that they were made specifically as votives to be deposited at the sanctuary of Athena. Long bone carvings are, as far as I am aware, not commonly found at Archaic Greek sanctuaries; one group is known from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.[505] However, this specific deposit is not as homogenous as those found on Rhodes. Together with the concentration of carved long bones in a Kamiros well and their use as votives, it is possible to attribute their manufacture at least to Rhodes, if not to Kamiros. Furthermore, the 'dice-eyes' found on the long bones are not only present on spectacle fibulae found on Lindos, but also on a group of late Geometric pots identified by Friis Johansen as the product of a local workshop – the so-called 'elfenbeinimitierende Vasen'. The group, which includes a cylindrical pyxis **[Fig.88]** and three oinochoai, is thought to derive its decoration from Phoenician ivory working.[506] Importantly, however, cylindrical pyxides and trefoil oinochoai are not known among the Phoenician repertoire of pottery shapes.[507] Given the similarities between the painted decoration of this group and the carved long bones found in Kamiros well, I would argue that these vessels are more indigenous to the island than has previously been recognised. Such an exchange between different materials is indicative of a rich local artisan community, which so far has been ignored in favour of charting wider relations between Rhodes and the Near East.

[505] Dawkins 1929.
[506] On this group see section 4.5.2.
[507] *Exochi* 148-154; Coldstream 2008: 274.

3.3.4.4 Terracotta figurines

Terracotta figurines were also produced on Rhodes during the first half of the seventh century BC.[508] Six of the eight terracottas attributable to Deposit D&E belong to the earliest phase of the island's production and display three distinctive qualities: all of the figurines depict women; their bodies are normally solid and hand-made, while their heads are mould-made; and the fabric, which is lacking in mica, is red-brown in colour with white and red inclusions **[Fig.89]**.[509] NAA has confirmed that terracottas were being made on Rhodes in the sixth century BC, with these earlier examples from Kamiros as a potential antecedent to later series.[510] The columnar shape of these terracottas recalls the pillar figurines of Cyprus and the Levant, and has therefore led scholars to describe them as 'Cyprianizing'.[511] Similar terracotta figures were produced at Miletos in the seventh century BC.[512] On Rhodes, this tendency was perhaps encouraged by the wealth of Cypriot terracottas deposited at Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros dating from the seventh century BC onwards, with a single example attributable to Deposit D&E.[513] Yet seventh century Rhodian terracottas are more exacting in terms of the techniques used in their manufacture, which does not include wheel-made elements, and in terms of their physiognomy, which is more triangular (or 'Daedalic') in shape and is framed by hair running over the figure's shoulders, in contrast to the short-cropped hair on Cypriot pieces. Similar physiognomies and hairstyles are visible on terracottas from late seventh century East Greek workshops, including one found in Deposit D&E.[514] The importation of

[508] D'Acunto 2014a.
[509] BM 1864,1007.1247; BM 1864,1007.1250; BM 1864,1007.1268; BM 1864,1007.1269; BM 1864,1007. 1271; BM 1864,1007. 1277; BM 1864,1007. 1280.
[510] Karageorghis 2009: 160-207; Jones 1986: 668-670.
[511] Karageorghis 2009: 203-206.
[512] von Graeve 2017.
[513] BM 1864,1007.1240; BM 1864,1007.1331 (B169); *Lindos* I 1860-1889; 1937-2022; RHODES 14794; *ClRh* VI-VII 299, fig. 27; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 222, cat. 53.1; RHODES 6812; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 224, cat. 54.
[514] BM 1864,1007.1269; Thomas 2013-2015b: 5.

Cypriot terracottas were less a cause for imitation than a cue for Rhodes' own production, which had its own technique and fashion from the beginning.[515]

Many local artisans seem to have benefited from or even relied on a demand for votive offerings; a demand that was also catered to by imported goods from throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. J. K. Davies has highlighted the economic importance of sanctuaries in terms of their capability to produce income through rents of land and houses, as well as through tithes of produce and votives deposited.[516] The archaeological evidence from Kamiros reveals a more civic side to this economic importance, specifically how the sanctuary served the needs of its local community. Given the exclusivity of various object groups to the sanctuary of Athena Kamiras in comparison to contemporaneous grave assemblages at Kamiros, it is possible that it hosted a periodic market at which goods – both locally made and imported – were sold, either to be deposited immediately as votives or used in domestic contexts beforehand. The form of periodic market that may be envisaged for Kamiros acropolis was likely different from the low-frequency and long-range markets argued by Davies for the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Isthmia, Delphi and Olympia.[517] Instead, the position of the sanctuary within a settlement bounded by its cemeteries makes a high-frequency and low-range market more appropriate. This might explain the small size of most offerings, which could be bought and deposited with ease and at regular intervals by the polis' inhabitants. In addition, votives may also have been available for purchase from a workshop located within the settlement or along a major thoroughfare. These scenarios are not mutually exclusive, however: artisans could have vended directly from their workshop as well as remotely at a sanctuary's periodic market. The proposed

[515] See section 6.4.
[516] Davies 2001.
[517] Davies 2007: 63-65.

connections in metalworking between the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, as discussed by Morgan, is also suggestive of artisans travelling between sites.[518] Through NAA of clay pastes used in casting workshops, Kilderlen has also demonstrated that artisans making bronze tripods travelled between different villages within Elis.[519]

Another important characteristic of locally produced votives is their distribution across Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, which shows that artisans were not attached to a specific sanctuary *per se*: faience pyxides,[520] alabastra,[521] and vessels belonging to the leopard-spot group;[522] hand-made terracotta figures;[523] bronze fibulae surmounted by birds,[524] and bronze double goat protomes;[525] and bone and ivory 'naked goddess' figurines;[526] carved pendants;[527] and carved long bones have been found across the Rhodian acropoleis.[528] The lack of evidence for the manufacture of votives within sanctuaries may also indicate this relative autonomy. Ialysos is the only sanctuary to have yielded votives connected to the production process, specifically of glass and jewellery, but these are exceptional cases within a deposit consisting of approximately 5,000 objects. If votives were produced on-site for dedication at the sanctuary then we would expect to have found more substantial evidence of tools, frit, and wasters.[529]

[518] Morgan 1990: 80-84.
[519] Kiderlen et al. 2016.
[520] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.2; Ialysos acropolis: RHODES 7747-85 (Webb 174); RHODES 9796-9823 (Webb 188); Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 1307 pl.57 (Webb 170).
[521] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.2; Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 1304 pl.56 (Webb 195).
[522] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.2; Ialysos acropolis: RHODES inv. no. unknown (Webb 21); Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 1334 (Webb 20) and 1335 pl. 58 (Webb 17-19).
[523] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.4; Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 1884, pl. 83.
[524] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.1; Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 54-57 pl.5.
[525] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.1: Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 223-228 pl. 11.
[526] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.3; Ialysos acropolis: Martelli 1988: 112, figs. 10-11.
[527] Kamiros acropolis: BM 1864,1007.648; BM 1864,1007.686; BM 1864,1007.679; Linds acropolis: *Lindos* I 209-210 pl. 10.
[528] Kamiros acropolis: see section 3.3.4.3; Lindos acropolis: *Lindos* I 424-429 pl. 11.
[529] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: cat. 101 and 126. Compare Osborne (1996: 92) for miscast bronzes at Olympia.

For instance, in the sanctuary of Athens Itonia at Philia, Thessaly, remains of a workshop and tools for bronzeworking were uncovered.[530] Similar evidence for the production of votives on-site have been found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, the Heraion of Argos, Perachora, and Samos, and the Artemision of Thasos.[531] In contrast, by supplying the three major sanctuaries, artisans on Rhodes were able to maximise their revenue and spread costs of production. They should not be regarded as sanctuary craftsmen, restricted to a single institution, but as producers operating freely within a flourishing 'votive sector' that was deeply embedded in the island's broader economy. I would take this assertion further to suggest that certain island craftsmen can be identified as operating across the three poleis of Rhodes.

3.3.5 The votive spectrum

The sanctuary of Zeus Atavyros on Mount Atavyros, the highest mountain on Rhodes, lies approximately eight kilometres south-east from Kamiros. Unlike the sanctuaries of Kamiros, Lindos, and Ialysos, it did not serve the community of any single polis. Most of the votives excavated here as well as the architectural remains belong to the Hellenistic period.[532] There was, however, a strong tradition of dedicating bronze bull statues during the Archaic period, which probably reflects the character of Zeus Atavyros as protector of farmers in and around Kamiros.[533] This sanctuary's narrow votive spectrum, consisting almost entirely of bull figures, is very dissimilar to the assortment of votives deposited on Kamiros acropolis, made from a wide range of materials and having many functions. Yet, I would argue that it is still possible

[530] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 207-211, figs. 30-32.
[531] For a summary see Sanidas 2013.
[532] *ClRh* I 88-91.
[533] Kourou 2004: 15-16. Whether a similar motivation for the dedication of bull figures at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia can be posited is difficult to ascertain, especially given the wide range of votives including warriors, mythological beasts, and tripods. See Pedley 2005: 120-121.

to discern cult characteristics of Athena Kamiras through these dedications.[534] Moreover, Kamiros' votive spectrum shows the means by which material resources can affect religious practices. I would like to demonstrate these points by outlining four patterns in the spectrum of votives: animal figures, naked female figures, textiles and weaving and spinning accessories, and Egyptian amulets. It is these emic patterns observable within the deposits – as opposed to singular objects or etic collective categories – that help to untangle the character of Athena Kamiras from her many and varied gifts. Given the considerable portion of imported votives deposited at Kamiros acropolis and other Rhodian sanctuaries, it is likely that the origin of offerings themselves were, to a certain extent, a motivating factor in their deposition. Yet the patterns that exist between certain object groups demonstrate the deity's overarching characteristics.

3.3.5.1 Animal figures

Large quantities of animal figurines were deposited as votives at Kamiros acropolis. Dating from the late Geometric through to the sixth century BC, these include: deer (in bronze), lions (in limestone and terracotta), birds – including birds of prey (faience and limestone) and water-birds (in bronze), and goats (bronze). It would be an oversimplification, however, to interpret these animals as a mere reflection of Athena's connection to 'nature'. Some may have held an agricultural significance, while others might have been important for religious practices and cultural identity more widely. This view was held just as much by ancient Greek writers, who describe the hunting and sacrifice and certain animals, as it is now by modern scholars, who

[534] On using votives to determine cult characteristics at Kythnos' sanctuaries see Mazarakis Ainian 2009.

recognise that the relationship between animals and the divine are conceptualised in different ways by different societies.[535]

A further difficulty here is lack of scholarship on the subject matter. Animals had two main roles in Greek religion: as a sacrifice and as an attribute to a deity. The former has been extensively studied over recent years, a leaning that Alasdair Harden has attributed to its remoteness from any modern religious practice.[536] Yet animals as divine attributes have received comparatively less attention and, by extension, so too have animals as votives. E. Bevan's book on the *Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian Deities* remains the most detailed discussion of the topic but, crucially, her grouping of figurines according to species prevents an understanding of their contexts.[537] This lack of contextual research problematizes Athena Kamiras' relationship to these creatures since it is difficult to compare their significance across Rhodes, let alone the Aegean. Having said this, it is notable that Rhodian bronze figurines, the largest group of animal figures deposited at Kamiros acropolis, represent species that are native to the island – water-birds, deer and domestic goats.[538] On this basis, it is probable that Athena was worshipped as a deity that held authority over the local fauna. Furthermore, the Platis stream that irrigates its fertile environs and the nearby forests of Mount Profitis Ilias and Mount Atavyros are especially suitable habits for water-birds and Dama Dama deer.[539] The local community's familiarity with these species of animals may, one way or another, have encouraged their popularity as votive gifts.

[535] Harden 2013; Gilhus 2006: 95-112.
[536] For animal sacrifice in ancient Greece see Peirce 1993; Harden 2013: 156
[537] Bevan 1986.
[538] The horns of the goats represented on bronze double goat protomes are not those of exotic types such as Nubian idex.
[539] Masseti 2002: 144-161.

Is it possible to infer from these votives that Athena Kamiras was worshipped as *Potnia Theron* or Mistress of Animals? The studies by Chryssanthos Christou and Nanno Marinatos have led scholars to believe that this was the case, but their starting point has always been the iconography of the seventh-century gold plaques uncovered from Kamiros and Exochi depicting a woman flanked by animals **[Fig.90]**.[540] In this instance, I would adopt Bevan's approach which emphasises that the Mistress of Animals should only be considered an attribute of a deity when it is found in a sanctuary together with animal- and fertility-related votives.[541] To be sure, this was not what happened on Kamiros acropolis. Of the 96 plaques depicting the Mistress of Animals found on Rhodes, all of them were recovered from graves except for a single example found by Jacopi on Kamiros acropolis.[542] The exact find-spot of this plaque is unknown, so it could possibly belong to the votives recovered from Temple A.

3.3.5.2 Naked female figures

The bone and ivory figurines from Kamiros well belong to a type found at sanctuaries of female deities throughout Greece, particularly in Crete, Ephesos, Samos, and Athens, dating to the late Geometric period and seventh century BC. Usually depicting a naked female wearing a *polos* and touching her breasts and/or genitals, the iconography of 'naked goddess' figurines is inspired by images of Phoenician and North Syrian fertility deities, Istar and Astarte.[543] Both their wide distribution and close resemblance to their Near Eastern prototypes make them vulnerable to generalisations of cult characteristics and the transmission of religious beliefs

[540] Christou 1968; Marinatos 2000; Barclay 2013.
[541] Bevan 1986: 12.
[542] RHODES 14544; *ClRh* VI-VII: 343.
[543] Böhm 1990 and 2003.

during the Early Iron Age. As Oliver Pilz has recently shown, however, these figurines cannot be connected straightforwardly to 'fertility' or to rites of initiation.[544] Those found in Crete, for instance, were followed by a later dressed variant that likely reflects the demands of certain worshippers.[545] It is therefore important to account for divergent practices between commonalities in order appreciate their function within a specific religious context.

As a group, the Rhodian 'naked goddesses' show many disparities in the form of their *poloi* and the development of their breasts. If anything, this cautions against reading too much into their style and form. Pilz' suggestion that the size of breasts on the Gortyn figurines is linked to the age of an initiate is an extreme example of this tendency and, in my opinion, is difficult to uphold on formal grounds alone.[546] What is most telling about the function of the Rhodian figurines is that none are represented pointing to their breasts or genitals, and that every figurine is naked. Their nakedness is, furthermore, paralleled by locally produced female terracottas dating to the first half of the seventh century BC and by a bronze female figure standing on a bull's head, likely imported from the Levant.[547] I am not arguing that 'naked goddesses' figures and terracottas and bronzes depicting women held the same meaning, but it is remarkable that naked female figures are prominent in Kamiros' votive spectrum. To be sure, the 'naked goddess' figurines are also prominent at other Archaic Greek sanctuaries. Less common, however, is the combination of these figurines in a range of different materials. At Gortina on Crete, for instance, many female figures were found made from stone and terracotta, but none on bronze or bone and ivory.[548]

[544] Pilz 2009.
[545] Pilz 2009:106.
[546] Pilz 2009: 102.
[547] BM 1864,1007.1241.
[548] Rizza and Scrinari Santa 1968: pls. 1-29.

3.3.5.3 Textiles and Spinning and Weaving Accessories

Many of the votives found on Kamiros acropolis are related to textiles and spinning and weaving. These include bronze pin fibulae, bronze hinge fibulae, and a spectacle fibula made from ivory held together with two threads of gold, and loom-weights and spindle-whorls in a range of different colours and materials, including stone and terracotta. Most of these objects are undecorated, although there are exceptions: birds surmount most of the bronze pin fibulae, a hinge fibula is decorated with four beads, and some loom-weights and spindle-whorls display incised patterns. It is possible they were dedicated along with a garment, which has not been preserved. Evidence for this practice is provided by Pausanias, who describes the weaving and dedication of textiles at sanctuaries (3.16.2; 5.16.2; 6.24.10), and by temple inventories such as the Brauron catalogues that specify the type of garment dedicated, its fabric and colour.[549] While fibulae could have been worn and dedicated by men and women, it is probable that equipment directly related to the production of yarn and textiles – loom-weights and spindle-whorls – were dedicated by women. This inference is based on iconographical, literary, and epigraphic evidence: first, the iconography of Athenian pottery during the sixth and fifth centuries shows that spinning and weaving were exclusively female activities. Even when women are not depicted actively working, textile production is implied by the presence of a *kalathos*.[550] Second, the Homeric epics includes several references suggesting that weaving was viewed as women's work in the Greek world and, more specifically, that loom-weights were a common female dedication, e.g. *Iliad* 3.125-127 and 22.440-41. And third, a survey of the textiles recorded in temple inventories and the names of their dedicants reveals that the majority where offered by women, with only a few cases of male donors.[551] Furthermore, a recent survey of the deposition of loom-weights and spindle-whorls in female burials in pre-

[549] For temple inventories recording the dedication of textiles see Brons 2015.
[550] Lee 2015: 91.
[551] Brons 2015: 74.

Roman Italy and Sicily has shown that spindle-whorls played an important role in the construction of female identities.[552] Domestic use of spinning and weaving equipment by women does not necessarily equate to dedication by women, but their association in domestic, religious, and funerary spheres is a firm indication of their female dedication to Athena Kamiras.

Finally, it is remarkable that less than 100 fibulae were recovered from Kamiros acropolis by the Anglo-French and Italian excavations, while Ialysos and Lindos have each yielded over 1,000 examples in bronze and bone dating from the ninth to sixth centuries BC.[553] The chance of votives surviving in the archaeological record may have contributed to this difference to a certain extent. However, the sheer abundance of fibulae at both Ialysos and Lindos likely reflects a disparity in votive practice that existed between these sanctuaries that, I would argue, can be explained by the lack of deep natural harbours at Kamiros in contrast to Lindos and Ialysos, which are situated next to St. Paul's Bay and Trianda Bay respectively. It is probable that the maritime character of the latter settlements encouraged the dedication of votives suited to merchants, travellers, or other visitors who had less opportunity to prepare a dedication – either by attending a periodic market or by visiting a workshop – and who opted to dedicate clothing accessories. Of course, fibulae are found at sanctuaries that are located inland, such as Philia in Thessaly.[554] However, Simon's survey shows that many island sanctuaries in the Aegean display a high accumulation of fibulae, including Chios, Samos, Ephesos, Aegina, Delos, and Siphnos.[555] More recent excavations at the Cycladic sanctuaries of Kythnos and

[552] Quercia and Foxhall 2014.
[553] Martelli 1988: 107-108; *Lindos* I 41-138, pls. 4-9; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 26-28, pl. 38-42.
[554] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 20-48.
[555] Simon 1986: 187-197.

Despotiko have also yielded large quantities of fibulae.[556] As these sanctuaries were used for the worship of a range of deities, including Apollo, Athena, Hera and Artemis, the frequency of fibulae offerings may be connected to high levels of maritime traffic. Kamiros, however, as a community that was primarily engaged in agriculture rather than maritime trade, had less exposure to merchants or travellers.[557] Its votive spectrum therefore includes fewer objects that were spontaneously available to dedicants. The lack of fibulae recovered from the inland sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Atavyros provides further evidence for linking the dedication of clothing accessories with maritime settlements.[558] An ascent up Rhodes' highest mountain was unlikely taken without thorough preparation beforehand, which included the selection of an appropriate gift to dedicate to Zeus Atavyros. In addition to this disparity in fibulae dedication, the relative quantities of bronze armour and ivory furniture fittings, which probably circulated because of the expansion of the Neo-Assyrian empire, is heavily weighted towards Ialysos and Lindos.[559] North Syrian bronze armour and fittings, as well as North Syrian, Assyrian, and Phoenician ivory furniture carvings, are more prevalent at Ialysos and Lindos than at Kamiros and Mount Atavyros.[560] For instance, there are at least 50 bronze objects from Lindos that can reasonably be regarded as amour fittings, including a helmet, shoulder guards, and other decorated elements.[561] Many more bronze fittings were found at Ialysos but remain unpublished. At Kamiros, by comparison, only small bronze figures, rings, and arrowheads

[556] Koukoulidou et. al. 2017: 193-196 and 200-208; Kourayos and Burns 2017: 331-332.
[557] See section 2.2.
[558] *ClRh* I 88-91. Fibulae occur elsewhere at sanctuaries dedicated to Zeus and Apollo: see Bevan 1986.
[559] I refrain from using the term 'loot' in this context because it is impossible in most cases to establish the exact conditions under which these objects came into circulation and were transported into the Aegean. On the circulation of metal and ivory objects in the Mediterrnean see Feldman 2014: chapter 5.
[560] Lindos: *Lindos* I 586, 587, 589, 590, 614-615, 617-625, pls. 23-25 (bronzes); 683-685, pl. 28 (ivories). Ialysos: Martelli 1988: 107-109; Martelli (2000: 105) 'In misura maggiore che a Kamiros e nella stressa puricca stipe del santuario dell'acropoli di Lindos, il complesso ialysio accoglie, fra la seconda meta dell'VIII e il tardo VI sec. a C., oggetti di provenienza diversificata, segnalando che I devote appartenevano anche a component mobile, mercantile e mercenarie…'
[561] *Lindos* I 566-625, pls. 22-24.

were found at the sanctuary of Athena Kamiras, together with the griffin protome from Temple A.[562]

Their concentration at sanctuaries serving ports of trade suggests that bronze armour and ivory fittings do not usually circulate on Rhodes once imported but were instead deposited at the nearest sanctuary. Whether this was a tendency motivated by specific attitudes towards these objects or simply an accumulation caused by maritime traffic at Ialysos and Lindos is difficult to determine, especially given the diverse size, material, and functions of these objects. Nevertheless, it does express a difference between the votive practices of maritime communities, on the one hand, and agricultural communities, on the other, which developed as a consequence of Rhodes' commercial contacts.

3.3.5.4 Egyptian amulets

An amulet may be defined as anything worn by a person to protect against evil.[563] The use of amulets is often associated with the fetishism of things, whereby an object acquires a utility over and above its empirical function through analogy with plants, animals, or organic material, or through the attribution of a particular personality.[564] A wide range of Egyptian amulets made of faience have been excavated from Kamiros acropolis, and from the sanctuaries of Ialysos and Lindos.[565] Nancy Skon-Jedele's catalogue of Aegyptiaca from Greek sites lists over 2,000

[562] RHODES 14714-14541; *ClRh* VI-VII 343-360, figs. 76-90; RHODES 14714; ClRh VI-VII 343-344, fig. 76 (griffin protome). See also bronze finds from Kamiros well: BM 1864,1007.380-492.
[563] Germond 2005: 17.
[564] Ellen 1988: 223.
[565] Kamiros: RHODES 14614-14782; *ClRh* VI-VII 304-329; Lindos: *Lindos* I 1207-1559, pls. 53-62; Ialysos: Martelli 1988: 109-110.

objects from Rhodes, the majority of which come from sanctuary contexts.[566] These include wedjat eyes **[Fig.91]**, scarabs, cowrie shells, aegis amulets, and small figures of Egyptian deities including Nefertum **[Fig.92]**, Isis, Bes, Bastet, Hathor (also as a falcon amulet), Anubis and Pataikos, a naked dwarf god – many explicitly referring to protection and fertility**.**[567] The use of such amulets within Egypt was extremely codified: form, material and colour were all important factors to guaranteeing their effectiveness as grave goods, as described in the *Book of Going Forth by Day* in the *Book of the Dead*.[568] Their votive dedication as 'Maat' or the 'Eye of Horus' formed part of a complex daily temple routine developed in the New Kingdom and practiced until the Ptolemaic period, and best illustrated in the temple of Sety I at Abydos and in papyri describing a ritual at Karnak dating to the 22nd dynasty.[569] Far less is understood, however, about the use of these amulets within the Aegean, largely due to a preoccupation with categorising and cataloguing Aegyptiaca as opposed to studying their contexts of consumption.

Günther Hölbl has shown that Egyptian finds dating from mid-eighth to the mid-sixth centuries BC are centred in particular regions, notably Crete, Euboea, Corinth, Attica, Rhodes, and Ionia, as well as Italy. Besides those at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, sanctuaries at Perachora, Argos, Aegina, Sounion, Ephesos, and Samos have yielded significant corpora of Aegyptiaca. These centres all shared common overseas connections with Greeks, Cypriots, Phoenicians, and Etruscans, who had trading posts spread throughout the Mediterranean. The finds from these sites should therefore be viewed as the sorts of Egyptian objects that were traded by these intermediates.[570] In other words, the bulk of Egyptian amulets did not arrive at Greek

[566] Skon-Jedele 1994: 1977.
[567] Andrews 1994: 36-43.
[568] Faulkner 1985.
[569] Englund 2001: 565.
[570] Hölbl 2014.

sanctuaries via direct contact with Egypt, although diplomatic gifts and high-profile dedications were a likely exception. Further evidence for a lack of direct trade is provided by the paucity of Greek goods found in Egypt in the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC.[571]

Based on Hölbl's recent survey of the Egyptian deities represented in the spectrum of faience votives deposited at Kamiros, it is not possible to determine the differences between sanctuaries on Rhodes. The deities represented at Kamiros include Isis-Hathor-Bastet, the Theban deities – Amun, Mut and Khonsu –, Sachmet, Bastet, Nefertum, Bes, and Ptah-Pataikos.[572] These deities are also present at Ialysos and Lindos.[573] Panagiotis Kousoulis has suggested that substantially more Ptah-Pataikos figures were found at Lindos acropolis, and that such a pattern may be connected to Athena Lindia's kourotrophic status, addressed later in this thesis.[574] However, I do not agree with his suggestion. A total of nine Ptah-Pataikos figures were found on Kamiros acropolis by Biliotti and Salzmann.[575] When considered against the twelve figures found on Lindos acropolis, it is not possible to argue that these amulets were any more or less significant at different Rhodian sanctuaries.[576]

The common dedication of Egyptian amulets as votives at Rhodian sanctuaries bears a resemblance to their use in Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, when amulets appear on a massive scale in Egyptian temples.[577] But there is no evidence that the particulars of their consumption in Egypt, i.e. efficacy of colour and material, positioning (within graves), and

[571] Villing 2017.
[572] Hölbl 2016.
[573] Skon-Jedele 1994: 1976-2963.
[574] See section 6.5.3. Paper given at a conference in Rome, February 2016.
[575] BM 1864,1007.788; BM 1864,1OO7.789; BM 1864,1007.790-793; BM 1864,1007.828; BM 1864,1007.922; BM 1864,1007.964.
[576] *Lindos* I 1214-1226, pl. 53.
[577] Englund 2001: 564.

schedule of daily temple cult, were observed on Rhodes. As gifts that negotiated a relationship with the divine rather than as a device offering protection against harm, Egyptian amulets found in Greek sanctuary contexts are better understood as 'talismans' – objects that are empowering as opposed to protective.[578] The distinction between amulets and talismans is admittedly a modern one, yet it does help to highlight the differences in consumption of these objects between Egypt and Greece.[579] It is also noteworthy that there is little evidence for the production of Egyptianizing amulets on the island, despite the likely local manufacture of faience perfume vessels based on their distribution. Gorton has proposed a 'Rhodian factory' of faience scarabs, although the distribution of its products in Greece, Rhodes, old Smyrna, Etruria (Tarquinia), South Italy (Capua), and Spain (Ampurias) makes the production of 'Type XXIII' scarabs difficult to attribute specifically to the island in the absence of scientific analysis.[580] Faience scarabs are relatively scarce at Kamiros, where only fifteen examples have been recovered.[581]

Together, the intermediaries trading Aegyptiaca in the Mediterranean, the divergences in the consumption of amulets in Egypt and Greece, and the apparent lack of locally produced Egyptianizing amulets, suggests that the amulets dedicated at Kamiros reflect nothing more than a general awareness of Egyptian popular religion. This picture complements recent anthropological studies on the mass consumption of amulets in Thailand, for example. Amulets produced in large quantities for an open market are devoid of a context of ritual production, allowing for more choice as to how, when, and what they are used for.[582]

[578] Germond 2005: 17.
[579] See Arrington (2015: 18-22) on the consumption of talismans at Lefkandi.
[580] Gorton 1996: 182. For problems with Gorton's typology see Masson 2018.
[581] BM 1860,0404.93-94; BM 1860,0201.105; BM 1861,0425.11-13; BM 1861,0425.15; BM 1861,0425.17; BM 1864,1007.900; BM 1864,1007.910; BM 1864,1007.912; BM 2012,5008.1-2; BM 2013.0512.4-5.
[582] Vu 2008; Tambiah 1984: 344.

The spectrum of votives just outlined does not merely consist of gifts that reflect the interests of their dedicators or the attributes of their local deity. Rather, it consists of gifts with varying relations to Athena: some may refer to her character as a civic protector, including figures of domestic goats and other animals, while others probably pertain to the dedicants themselves, including their work.[583] For the latter, this may include implements to produce textiles, such as stone and terracotta spindle-whorls. But despite these apparent differences in the relation of votives to Athena, their reciprocal content, which mainly concerns the female sphere and local fauna, is so consistent that it is difficult to maintain these divisions. A total of 149 votives found on Kamiros acropolis represent female figures (57),[584] spindle-whorls and loom-weights (14),[585] and birds, domestic goats, horses, or deer (76).[586] This figure does not include faience amulets in the form of female Egyptian deities, which may also reference the female sphere. At the sanctuary of Apollo at Emecik, by contrast, a narrower selection of materials was deposited, with no bone and ivory carvings and fewer faience amulets, yet it is difficult to discern any patterns of dedication: male and female figures are common, in both terracotta as well as limestone, and bronze finds include arrowheads, rings, small plates, fibulae, and a

[583] On this division from a diachronic perspective see Simon 1997: 133-134.
[584] BM 1864,1005.59; BM 1864,1007.631; BM 1864,1007.632; BM 1864,1007.633; BM 1864,1007.645; BM 1864,1007.665; BM 1864,1007.671; BM 1864,1007.688; BM 1864,1007.754 (bone and ivory); BM 1864,1007.528; BM 1864,1007.1241 (bronze); BM 1864,1007.777; BM 1864,1007.778; BM 1864,1007.794; BM 1864,1007.845; BM 1864,1007.846; BM 1864,1007.847; BM 1864,1007.848; BM 1864,1007.852; BM 1864,1007.853; BM 1864,1007.893; BM 1864,1007. 933; BM 1864,1007.44; BM 1864,1007.946 (faience); BM 1864,1007.306; BM 1864,1007.307; BM 1864,1007.308; BM 1864,1007.314; BM 1864,1007.1326; BM 1864,1007.2036; BM 1864,1007.2042; BM 1864,1007.2043; BM 1864,1007.2048; BM 1864,1007.2049; BM 1864,1007.2052; BM 1864,1007.2053; BM 1864,1007.2054 (limestone); BM 1864,1007.124; BM 1864,1007.1247; BM 1864,1007.1250; BM 1864,1007.1268; BM 1864,1007.1269; BM 1864,1007.1270; BM 1864,1007.1271; BM 1864,1007.1272; BM 1864,1007.1277; BM 1864,1007.1279; BM 1864,1007.1280; BM 1864,1007.1306; BM 1864,1007.1320; BM 1864,1007.1825; BM 1864,1007.1926 (terracotta).
[585] BM 1864,1007.83; BM 1864,1007.89; BM 1864,1007.826; BM 1864,1007.841 (faience); BM 1864,1007.1026; BM 1864,1007.1035; BM 1864,1007.1038; BM 1864,1007.1047 (serpentine); BM 1864,1007.1045; BM 1864,1007.1047; BM 1864,1007.1051 (steatite); BM 1864,1007.1007.1849; BM 1864,1007.1867; BM 1864,1007.1873 (terracotta).
[586] BM 1864,1007.756; BM 1864,1007.969 (bone and ivory); BM 1864,1007.4; BM 1864,1007.373; BM 1864,1007.385; BM 1864,1007.399; BM 1864,1007.405; BM 1864,1007.407; BM 1864,1007.408; BM 1864,1007.411-415; BM 1864,1007.421; BM 1864,1007.436; BM 1864,1007.443; BM 1864,1007.457; BM 1864,1007.464; BM 1864,1007.465; BM 1864,1007.471; BM 1864,1007.472; BM 1864,1007.486-488 (bronze); BM 1977.0626.13 [23 beads]; BM 1977.0626.14 [26 beads] (glass); BM 1864,1007.1172 (limestone); BM 1864,1007.1027 (serpentine).

handful of animal figures.[587] Though rich in quantity, these votives reflect less of the character of Apollo than of the material culture of Archaic Knidos, which also traded with Cypriots, Euboians, and Phoenicians, and also imported pottery from Ionian settlements.[588]

How could a sophisticated votive spectrum at Kamiros that displays variety in its relation between the dedicant and deity, yet retains consistency in its overall meaning, accumulate so quickly at a sanctuary that was established after 750 BC? I would argue that it was a product of the multitude of object groups that Kamiros was exposed to between the late Geometric period and the mid-sixth century BC. At home, these included bronze casting, terracotta moulding, the carving of ivory and bone, and faience production. Those from abroad included Egyptian faience, Levantine bronze wares, and limestone and terracotta figures from Cyprus. The synergy of these object groups at Kamiros provided those depositing votives and grave goods with an extensive range of materials from which to make their selection. I would argue that such a range of choices encouraged the development of divergent votive and funerary practices and fostered a spectrum of votives that is simultaneously diverse and articulate, with protection over women and fauna as major characteristics of Athena Kamiras. The underlying mechanisms for these developments are outlined below.[589] Why were these aspects of Athena Kamiros prominent? The characteristics of protection over women and fauna may call to mind the goddess Artemis, yet such an interpretation would accept the idea of 'universal gods', which, as Michael Konaris has recently shown, was the product of nineteenth century German scholarship and its concern with the physical interpretation of gods.[590] It would be interesting to compare the characteristics of Athena Kamiras to those of the deity to which Temple A was

[587] Berges 2006.
[588] Berges 2006: 63-65.
[589] See section 3.5.
[590] Konaris 2016.

dedicated. However, it is not possible to determine the spectrum of votives found at Temple A because they were published together with those from Kamiros acropolis. It is notable that both of Kamiros' sanctuaries were previously used as cemeteries. I will now elaborate on this aspect with regards to the relation between sanctuary and cemetery.

3.4 Between sanctuary and cemetery

So far this chapter has emphasised the shift in Kamiros acropolis' function from a cemetery to that of a sanctuary dedicated to Athena during the second half of the eighth century BC, and the divergent object groups associated with this sanctuary and the neighbouring cemeteries. It has also noted a lack of evidence for a relation between the acropolis cemetery and the sanctuary of Athena. Despite these developments, I would maintain that, as civic institutions, sanctuaries and cemeteries were far from unrelated at Kamiros. The worship of deities on the acropolis, both at the Athena sanctuary and at Temple A, and the burial of the dead at Patelles, Kechraki, Papatisloures, Makro Langoni, Fikellura, and Casviri were connected through local memory as well as by a topographical and visual relation.

Whether preserved orally or written down, the normal extent of family memory is around four generations or over 100 years.[591] The local memory of a cemetery on Kamiros acropolis after the establishment of the Athena sanctuary is therefore likely to have persisted well into the seventh century BC, especially if the chamber tombs and burial shafts around Temple A and acropolis plateau were structurally visible or topped by a grave marker, such as the pedestalled

[591] Antonaccio 1995: 252.

krater on tomb 82.[592] Furthermore, the discovery of a Mycenaean cup in tomb 82, while a possible family heirloom, may advocate this cemetery's role in preserving Kamiros' early history, which could have reinforced its presence in the minds of later visitors to the acropolis.[593] Though this memory did not result in a 'hero cult' or similar tradition, it is possible to argue that a space used for the burial of the dead and for the worship of a deity were not regarded as mutually exclusive at Kamiros. After all, no evidence has been found for the disturbance of the acropolis graves following this area's transformation into a sanctuary. I do not wish to assert *a priori* that a similar change in function could have occurred elsewhere at Kamiros, but the spatial intersection of a sanctuary and cemetery on top of the acropolis demonstrates at least a practical tolerance, if not a recognised association, between these civic institutions in the second half of the eighth and the seventh centuries BC. As noted above, there is evidence for a similar change in the function at the West Gate of Eretria, although this is related to a hero cult. Furthermore, a single, so far unpublished, grave has been found at the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko, which has been tentatively identified as the burial of an architect or stone-mason.[594] Both of these examples, together with Kamiros acropolis, contest the strict division between sanctuary and cemetery that has traditionally been maintained in scholarship on the grounds of pollution.[595]

The sanctuaries of Athena and Temple A and Kamiros' cemeteries, located no more than one kilometre from the summit of the acropolis, are positioned on Kamiros' hillsides. What determined their inclined location probably varied: for cemeteries, it provided a prominent position for chamber tombs, often located on the lip of the hillsides, and also maximised the

[592] *ClRh* VI-VII: 193, no. 14734.
[593] *ClRh* VI-VII: 197-198, no. 14737; D'Agostino 2006: 63.
[594] Paper given Dr Yannos Kouryos at Birkbeck College, 28 March 2018.
[595] Renfrew 1994: 51.

land that could be cultivated on the plains between hillsides;[596] for the sanctuaries, a conspicuous position provided a focal point for the settlement.[597] In either case, the hills of Kamiros served to demarcate the nucleated centre of the polis through the construction of tombs and sanctuary structures, which gradually accumulated grave goods and votives. Smaller cemeteries discovered further north, towards Kalavarda, may have belonged to hamlets in Kamiros' immediate hinterland.[598] The topographical relation of sanctuary and cemetery can be paired with a further, visual relation. Occupying the southern lip of Kamiros hill, the Athena sanctuary is not only visible from all the surrounding cemeteries but would have been the only built structure of Kamiros visible from these sites, with the settlement tucked inside the hill's natural basin. A similar relation can be observed at the settlement of Kymissala, whose cemeteries dating from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period occupy hillsides surrounding a sanctuary crowning a central acropolis.[599] By contrast, the Archaic cemeteries of Ialysos cluster in the hills towards Kremasti and on the plains below the Athena sanctuary on Mount Filerimos, reflecting the difference between the rolling countryside of Kamiros and Ialysos' expansive plains, dominated by a single mountain.[600]

Overall, I would argue that there existed a bond between sanctuary and cemetery that can be connected to the wider importance attached to the hillsides of Kamiros. It was the hills that bounded the polis' nucleus and offered a sheltered basin in which to live; and it was on the hillsides that inhabitants offered gifts to deities and were themselves deposited in death, often in a conspicuous position that was visible from the settlement. Sanctuaries occupied the hill of

[596] See section 2.4.2.
[597] Macri Langoni's expansion towards the beach suggests a reluctance to bury the dead on land that could be cultivated.
[598] Papachristodoulou 2007 (including Viscia, Laerminaci, and Calatomilo).
[599] Stefanakis and Patsiada 2009-2011: fig. 6.
[600] For Ialysos cemeteries see Maiuri 1923-1924: 257-341.

living, while cemeteries occupied the hills of the dead. The latter was a key feature of the funerary ideology at Kamiros, where the visibility of chamber tombs was a commemorative priority.[601]

3.5 Conclusion

The archaeological assemblages that can be reconstructed from Alfred Biliotti's excavation of Kamiros acropolis include three votive deposits – Kamiros well, Deposit D&E and the contents of a paving hole – as well as the contents of a child's tomb. An assessment of the similarities and differences between these assemblages suggests that a sanctuary dedicated to Athena was established on Kamiros acropolis in the second half of the eighth century BC, following its use as a cemetery. A sophisticated votive spectrum that was simultaneously diverse and articulate, whose object groups diverged from contemporaneous burials and whose display and deposition involved the possible suspension and probable charring of particular materials, subsequently accumulated on the acropolis between 750 and 550 BC. During this period, a votive sector consisting of local artisans producing objects in bronze, bone and ivory, terracotta, and faience emerged on Rhodes. This sector catered to the needs of dedicants across the island and likely operated frequent periodic markets at the sanctuaries of Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos, where goods were sold. These goods may also have been available directly from an artisan's workshop.

[601] See section 2.4.2.

These developments cumulatively suggest that a strong votive culture existed at Kamiros from the late Geometric to the early sixth century BC – a culture that formed relatively quickly, with varied modes of deposition, and which provided a means of income for artisans. I would argue that this culture was in part a result of Rhodes' maritime network, which among others involved Euboean, Cypriot, and Phoenician traders and perhaps artisans, through which a range of materials were imported and, more importantly, the embodied knowledge of how to produce those materials was diffused through bodily learning. The precise effects of this maritime network were the formation of distinct votive practices, both in terms of what was deposited where at Kamiros and across Rhodes more widely, as well as the innovation of locally made votives. Despite the Mediterranean-wide origins of these objects and technologies, the votive deposits from Kamiros highlight indigenous systems of use: Rhodian bronze figures and fibulae were inspired by local fauna; female terracotta figures were made using fewer wheel-made aspects than their Cypriot counterparts; and faience perfume vessels reacted to the existing unguent market. Moreover, the disparate numbers of fibulae recovered from the acropoleis of Ialysos and Lindos compared to Kamiros, indicating different levels of martime traffic at these settlements, and the importance of hillsides to the development of Kamiros, show that geography and topography contributed towards the formation of differentiated depositional practices on Rhodes.

Above all, it is the local production of votives that can help us better appreciate what determines the occurrence of, and receptivity to, innovation in the ancient Mediterranean. A term normally used to designate diachronic changes in the production and consumption of goods, 'innovation' in classical archaeology bears little resemblance to the model outlined in recent discussions of

economic geography.[602] Such a broad-brush tendency, treating a concept in a generalising and descriptive manner, precludes a richer understanding of connectivity in the Mediterranean's fragmented landscape. Using the definition of innovation as the enhancement of production within an enterprise, market, or area, whether that be through efficiency, design, or availability, I would argue that Rhodes' votive sector displays three features that are essential to the occurrence of innovation:

Innovation is spatially concentrated. The geographical position of Rhodes, straddling major trading routes along the Levantine coast and across the Aegean, allowed for the mass importation of material and the diffusion of embodied knowledge through the movement of people, which sustained its votive sector. A location that fosters commercial connectivity, paired with a degree of social interaction, is therefore necessary for innovation to take place.[603]

Innovation is encouraged by clusters. The sanctuaries of Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros not only provided artisans with a means of income through the demand for votives but also a platform for interaction between local artisans and/or merchants, not least through periodic markets. These interactions allowed artisans to form working relationships and learn about rival products and processes of manufacture. In other words, the sanctuaries of Rhodes may be regarded as a 'cluster' – a proximate group of related institutions characterised by localised 'knowledge spillovers', the effect of which is to elevate the need for innovation within a sector.[604]

Innovation is dependent on embeddedness. Rather than being employed by a specific sanctuary, artisans produced votives for consumption across the island. As part of a wider economy, artisans had the freedom to share their knowledge and to maximise their income by visiting

[602] Breschi and Malerba 2005.
[603] Polenske 2007: 3.
[604] Breschi et al. 2005: 343.

sanctuaries as often as possible. This level of embeddedness facilitates a strong network between actors within a sector, further increases the level of competitiveness, and ultimately develops a system of innovation.[605]

To conclude, a study of Biliotti and Salzmann's excavation of Kamiros acropolis offers crucial evidence for our understanding of the consumption of votives on Rhodes that has not been detected in the larger deposits from Lindos and Ialysos. By comparing votive deposits, as opposed to considering singular objects or collective categories, this chapter has exposed a votive culture at Kamiros that was shaped by the material resources of Rhodes' commercial network and the island's ecology, including its topography and fauna. An innovative votive sector was the most significant outcome of this combination and demonstrates the extent to which commercial connectivity actively cultivated, as opposed to passively sustained, local economies in the ancient Mediterranean.

[605] Breschi and Malerba 2005: 3.

4

ISLAND OF ENTREPRENEURS

This chapter is about pottery made on Rhodes from the late eighth to late sixth century BC and its relation to pottery that was being imported to the island during that period. My discussion focusses on local workshops, ranging from diverse enterprises producing a selection of shapes, some of which were intended for export, to more specialised enterprises producing a limited range of wares for local consumption. Diverse workshops include those making Spaghetti wares; Protovroulian and Vroulian wares; and Semi-Slipped wares. Specialised workshops include those making early orientalising figural wares; ivory imitation pottery; incised bowls, jugs and plates; stamped pithoi; glazed vessels; and Rhodian stemmed dishes and segment plates. For the purposes of this chapter, workshops have been identified on the basis of stylistically homogenous pottery that usually occurs in contemporaneous grave or votive contexts. It is probable that similar wares were made in multiple closely-related workshops rather than by an individual enterprise.[606] Through establishing the production, chronology and distribution of each workshop, and discussing their products in the context of imports, I argue that the diverse origins of pottery that was imported to Rhodes from the late eighth to late sixth century BC led to an agglomeration of local workshops on Rhodes. Some of these workshops chose to directly imitate or adapt imports, while others made products that were entirely distinct. My overall aim is to show how Rhodes' maritime connections stimulated the production of local pottery between 725-525 BC. I will begin by outlining the contents of

[606] The lack of primary evidence for pottery production on Archaic and Classical Rhodes makes it impossible to make more specific assertions about how the production of local wares were arranged in terms of personnel.

Papatislures 1 – a grave containing notable examples of Rhodian pottery – before presenting some broad quantifications of pottery excavated from Kamiros.

4.1 Papatislures 1

The first grave excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann on Papatislures hill, south of Kamiros acropolis, was discovered on Tuesday 15 February 1864. It was excavated the following day and contained the following grave goods:[607]

> Spindle rings terracotta and stone (12 entire)
>
> Large vessel of the most archaic character dark drawings on yellowish ground (1 fragment)
>
> Smaller vessel unglazed red ware with ornaments marked with a pointed tool through the paste (1 fragment)
>
> Pinax cream colour ground with dark ornaments (1 fragment)
>
> Bronze fibula (1 fragment)
>
> Glass beads (3 entire)
>
> Electrum small rosettes forming earings [sic] with three grenade buds hanging on each but one of which buds was only found (2 entire)
>
> Small fragments of electrum or gold very likely remains of embroidered garments.

[607] Biliotti diary, 16 February 1864.

Among the pottery found in this chamber tomb were three fragments of an early orientalising straight-sided pithos, one of which is decorated with a centaur clutching a tree as a bird perches on its back **[Fig.93]**.[608] The figures are drawn in silhouette using a brownish slip in what Cook described as a 'clumsy and generally uniform style'.[609] The scene is framed by friezes containing geometric patterns, including crossed-hatched lozenges and zig-zags. Stylistically, this vessel bears similarities to an oinochoe depicting sirens on its shoulder.[610] Both are examples of Rhodian Subgeometric pottery made during the first half of the seventh century BC.[611] The tomb also contained a Ionian stemmed dish, the interior of which is decorated with a central rosette surrounded by four symbolic faces **[Fig.94]**.[612] It can be dated to 620-600 BC based on similar finds at Assesos.[613] While these vessels can be assigned to known categories of East Greek pottery – dating the burial to the end of the seventh century BC –, the same cannot be said of two other objects found in this grave. The first is a bowl with a ledge rim and incised decoration **[Figs.95-96]** and the second is a lid with a ridged handle decorated with stamped dog-teeth **[Figs.97-98]**.[614] To what ceramic traditions do these pots belong? How do we explain their use of incised or stamped decoration? Do they complement or conflict with the current understanding of pottery production on Archaic Rhodes? These questions will be addressed in this chapter, which explores the impact of the island's commercial network on pottery production.

[608] BM 1864,1007.1236; BM 1864,1007.1237; BM 1864,1007.2096 (handle); Cook and Dupont 1998: 29, fig. 7.1b.
[609] Cook and Dupont 1998: 29, fig. 7.1a.
[610] BM 1861,0425.48; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 250-251, cat. 87; Cook and Dupont 1998: 30.
[611] Cook and Dupont 1998: 29-31; Coldstream 2008: 288-293.
[612] BM 1864,1007.153.
[613] Cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 137, cat. 342-343, pl. 59.
[614] BM 1864,1004.154; BM 1864,1007.155.

4.2 Ceramics from Kamiros

Pottery excavated from cemeteries and sanctuaries comprises 60% of my total sample from Kamiros (1421 of 2332 objects). Almost all this pottery comes from cemeteries, with only 20 vessels from Kamiros acropolis. A statistical overview of the pottery finds according to production place, presented in **Fig.99**, allows for three ceramic phases to be identified at Kamiros. I will outline the first and third phases before exploring the second phase, which is the subject of this chapter, in more detail.

The first phase dates between 800-725 BC. It includes pottery excavated from eight-century BC graves at Kamiros acropolis, Temple A, and Papatislures cemetery. Of the 40 vessels that can be dated to this period, 26 may be assigned to Rhodes, three to Crete, and a single vessel to East Greece. This period is therefore characterised by a strong degree of local production, with over three-quarters of the sample coming from Rhodian workshops. This observation compounds the results of scientific analyses carried out at Bonn and the Louvre, with Geometric pedestalled kraters, two-handled flasks, and kantharoi identified as locally made.[615] The vessels identified as locally made in this phase include lekythoi, oinochoai, kraters, amphorae, bowls, kantharoi, skyphoi, and mugs.

The third phase ranges from 525-325 BC and comprises material excavated from Macri Langoni and Fikellura, Papatislures, and Kechraki cemeteries. It includes 938 vessels, of which 829 or 88% come from Attica. Of the remaining 109 vessels, 22 were imported from Miletos, including Fikellura amphorae and amphoriskoi; a further 22 vessels with banded decoration

[615] Villing and Mommsen 2017; Coulié 2015.

come from elsewhere in Ionia; five so-called ‘Samian lekythoi’ from the Levant; and three vessels, including two aryballoi and an amphora, were imported from the Levant. The remaining 56 vessels were produced on Rhodes, including amphorae, oinochoai, pelikai, hydriai, lekythoi, cups, mugs, bowls, and small bowls. It also includes Rhodian stamnoid pyxides and epinetra, which are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The most prominent characteristic of this phase is the massive quantity of Attic imports.

The second ceramic phase, dating from 725-525 BC, is the most varied phase with regards to production place **[Fig.100]**. It comprises 387 vessels from Papatislures, Kechraki, Macri Langoni, Fikellura, and Casviri cemeteries. It also includes pottery finds from votive deposits on Kamiros acropolis. The most prevalent production place is Corinth, which accounts for 179 vessels **[Fig.101]**. Of these, ten belong to Transitional Corinthian (650-625 BC), 73 to Early Corinthian (625-600 BC), 40 to Middle Corinthian (600-575 BC), 49 to Late Corinthian I (575-550 BC), seven to Late Corinthian II (550-525 BC). The most popular Corinthian shapes are aryballoi, alabastra, and ring aryballoi. A total of 55 vessels are imports from Ionia **[Fig.102]**. The most intensive period for Ionian imports was 625-575 BC, which accounts for 38 of the vessels from Kamiros. The most popular shapes were cups with an everted rim, bird bowls (produced in Teos), oinochoai, and figure vessels. A further 21 vessels were produced in Miletos, including seventeen Wild Goat oinochoai dating between 625-575 BC and four Fikellura amphorae from the third quarter of the sixth century BC. This phase also includes nine unguent vessels imported from the Levant; three amphorae from Crete, dating to 725-700 BC; as well as a single Laconian skyphos, a Knidian cup with an everted rim, and a segment plate from Kos, all of which can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. Altogether, the ceramic sample from Kamiros represents most of the centres from which Rhodes was importing pottery between 725-525 BC – spanning South and North Ionia, the Levantine coast,

the East Dorian region (Kos and Knidos), and mainland Greece. There is, however, a notable lack of imports from Cyprus and Phoenicia, excluding so-called 'Samian lekythoi', during the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Such imports are especially prevalent at Ialysos. Cypriot imports to Rhodes begin during the Protogeometric period and increase over the course of the eighth century BC, including barrel flasks of White Painted II ware;[616] lentoid flasks;[617] zoomorphic askoi;[618] and Black on Red (BoR) globular neck-ridge juglets.[619] During the seventh century BC, White Painted and Bichrome IV wares (Cypro-Archaic I, 700-600 BC) are found at Lindos and Vroulia.[620] Whereas Cypriot imports rapidly decline in the seventh century BC, Phoenician imports increase. These include Bichrome wares, such as mushroom-lipped flasks with baggy bodies and mushroom-lipped jugs, as well as red slip wares.[621]

The remaining 93 vessels dating between 725-525 BC may be attributed to Rhodes **[Fig.103]**. These include storage vessels such as oinochoai and pyxides; pouring vessels such as lekythoi and olpai; unguent vessels, including amphoriskoi, askoi, and aryballoi; and drinking vessels, including kantharioi, skyphoi, and kotylai. Based on this statistical analysis of the material from Kamiros' acropolis and cemeteries, three important characteristics of local production during this period can be identified. Firstly, although Rhodian pottery comprises by far the broadest spectrum of pottery shapes from any production place, few of these shapes appear to have been produced in considerable quantities. Of the 20 different shapes, cups, oinochoai, and aryballoi are the most popular. None of these shapes constitute a homogeneous series. For example, a cup from Papatislures 5 (7) is decorated in the Vroulian-style, with palmettes and

[616] E.g. RHODES 15538; *ClRh* VIII 163, no.6, fig. 149.
[617] E.g. RHODES 11962-11963; *ClRh* III 146-147, nos. 2-3, fig. 142.
[618] E.g. RHODES 11965; *ClRh* III 146-147, no. 5, fig 142.
[619] Gregoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001: 392, no. 1, fig. 149; Bourogiannis 2009: 116.
[620] Schreiber 2003: 272, 286-287; *Lindos* I 945, 947-948, pl. 43; *Vroulia* 73, pl. 40, no. 12,2. On Cypriot White Painted IV wares see Gjerstad 1948: 56-57, figs. XXVIII-XXX.
[621] E.g. RHODES 18850; *ClRh* III 39, no. 4, fig. 24; *ClRl* III 144, no. 1, fig. 139; Bourogiannis 2013: 152-165.

other floral motifs,[622] while five cups from Papatislures 27 (35) are smaller and decorated with plain bands and rosettes.[623] Secondly, several different shapes are similar in terms of their fabric and decoration. For instance, three olpai from Macri Langoni grave 144 (62)[624] and two oinochoai from Macri Langoni graves 151 (98) and 175 (100) are decorated in the same 'semi-slipped' manner, with either the upper or low part of the vessels covered in a brown slip.[625] Likewise, the decoration of the so-called 'spaghetti' aryballos from Papatislures graves 8 (10),[626] with its thin concentric bands, is reminiscent of the decoration of a small bowl from Kechraki grave 2.[627] This suggests that some pottery workshops on Rhodes were producing a range of shapes, while others focused on a more limited repertoire. And thirdly, certain shapes derive from the selection of vessels imported to the island, such as stemmed dishes and cups with an everted rim – both from Ionia. This suggests a degree of imitation or adaptation of pottery imports. Questions remain, however, about the extent and nature of these three characteristics: how common was imitation of imported pottery? How common were workshops that focused on certain shapes *vis-à-vis* those that worked across a wider repertoire? To answer these sorts of questions, it is necessary to move beyond statistical analysis into more detailed studies of pottery workshops that allow for a greater articulation of chronology, context of consumption, and the fabric and decoration of their products.

[622] RHODES 13694; *ClRh* VI-VII 25, fig. 26-27.
[623] RHODES 13818-13822; *ClRh* VI-VII 90, fig. 91.
[624] RHODES 12876-12878; *ClRh* IV 272, fig. 302.
[625] RHODES 12933; *ClRh* IV 276, fig. 306.
[626] RHODES 13716-13723 [one of]; *ClRh* VI-VII 35, fig. 37.
[627] BM 1864,1007.1790.

4.3 Imitation of imports

There is evidence of direct imitation on Rhodes of pottery imported from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Corinth, and Melos. I will begin with Cyprus and Phoenicia, with constitute imitations from the end of the eighth and seventh century BC, before considering the imitations of Corinthian pottery from the second half of the seventh century BC. I deliberately exclude Rhodian Spaghetti wares, pottery that imitate ivory or bone carving, or glazed vessels, which can all be linked to Cypriot and Phoenician influences, as they are not direct imitations *per se*. Furthemore, as I aim to show below, Rhodian stemmed dished and segment plates should be regarded as adaptations of South Ionian and Koan prototypes rather than as direct imitations.

There are indications of Cypriot connections with Rhodes from the Protogeometric period, however, it is only necessary for me to briefly outline imitation of Cypriot wares for the late Geometric period.[628] Three grave contexts at Ialysos are important for understanding the nature of Cypriot imports and imitations during this period: Zambico 51 (393), 56 (414), 57 (415), and 58 (422). Zambico 51 (393) includes a Cypriot two-handled lekythos of BoR style.[629] Three similar neck-ridged lekythoi were found in Zambico 58 (422),[630] as well as a further example in Zambico 56 (414).[631] The later examples are local Rhodian imitations, which have one handle instead of two. Similarly, a Cypriot BoR oinochoe was found in Zambico 51 (393),[632] along with a Rhodian imitation of the same shape.[633] There are also local versions of so-called 'androposop vases', i.e. juglets with the neck in the form of a plastic female head, such as that

[628] For Protogeometric imports from Cyprus to Rhodes see D'Acunto 2017: 442-449.
[629] RHODES 11647; *ClRh* III 85, fig. 76.
[630] RHODES 11775-11776 and 11786; *ClRh* III 100, fig. 93.
[631] RHODES 11742 *ClRh* III 95, fig. 90.
[632] RHODES 11649; *ClRh* III 87, fig. 78.
[633] RHODES 11651; *ClRh* III 87, fig. 75.

found in Zambico 56 (414) and Zambico 58 (422) **[Fig.104]**.[634] D'Acunto has argued that these vessels are imitations of Cypriot vessels, not Phoenician, on the basis on their BoR decoration with concentric circles, globular body, and cylindrical neck. Although morphologically similar to their prototypes, the potting of Rhodian imitations of Cypriot BoR lekythoi, oinochoai and 'andropsop vases' is generally less regular and the red slip is thicker, more paint-like. The black-slip is also applied with less precision than on the Cypriot prototypes.[635] Regarding Phoenician ware, Bourogiannis has noted the import of mushroom-lipped lekythoi. These distinctive vessels dating from the last quarter of the eighth century BC are found in grave contexts at Ialysos, including Zambico 58 (422).[636] Local imitations of the shape are found in Ialysian graves dating to the first quarter of the seventh century BC. An example from Drakidis 17 (251) **[Fig.105]** shows that the Phoenician shape was 'meticulously copied and its surface covered with red slip or simply burnished.'[637] In this sense, local potters aimed to achieve as close a replication of their Phoenician prototypes as possible. In the previous chapter, I argued that the accumulation of massive quantities of fibulae on Ialysos acropolis was indicative of the status of Trianda Bay as a major trading settlement.[638] The concentration of Cypriot and Phoenician pots and their subsequent imitations in this area may be interpreted as further evidence of heighted trade around Ialysos. The possibility of a Phoenician presence at Ialysos may further explain the concentration of Cypriot and Phoenician imports and imitations: Ergias, the Rhodian historian, refers to the settlement of Phoenicians on Rhodes (Athenaeus 8.61 360e) and Zenon (Diodorus 5.57.6-7) attributes the founding of a sanctuary on Rhodes dedicated to Poseidon to Kadmos, who supposedly installed a group of Phoenicians to oversee its management. In addition, two inscriptions in the Phoenician language – one on a sherd of

[634] RHODES 11741; *ClRh* III 94, fig. 90 [Zambico 56 (414)]; RHODES 11791; *ClRh* III 101, fig. 94 [Zambico 58 (422)].
[635] D'Acunto 2017: 461-462.
[636] Bourogiannis 2013: 152-165; RHODES 11774; *ClRh* III 100, fig. 93.
[637] Bourogiannis 2009: 120-121; RHODES 10650; *ClRh* III 45, fig. 32.
[638] See section 3.3.5.3.

pottery from Cuccia 37 (344) at Ialysos and another on a Cypriot limestone Sphinx dedicated in the sanctuary at Vroulia – also attest to a Phoenician presence on the island during the seventh century BC.[639] My critical assessment of the Phoeniain presence on Rhodes in the introduction noted an overreliance on pottery finds and a lack of consideration for local selections. Considering the evidence together, it is not the abundance of pottery but, rather, its localisation at Ialysos that is the most convincing indication of a Phoenician presence. Whether this entailed Phoenicians passing through this area or a more permanent settlement is unclear.

Evidence of Rhodian imitation of Corinthian aryballoi, alabastra, and ring aryballoi comes from an isolated grave context at Monolithos. Among 29 pottery vessels found in the primary cremation were locally made Protocorinthianising and Transitional aryballoi and alabastra **[Figs.106-107]**, as well a ring aryballos in Early Corinthian style.[640] Five aryballoi are decorated with a single frieze of lions and rosettes, bands, and base rays, all of which are typical motifs of Transitional Corinthian pottery. However, the rims of these vessels are painted with an unusual combination of concentric circles and dashes which identify them as local imitations. Similarly, a group of six Protocorinthianising alabastra are decorated with bands, dots and base rays, but their irregular, at times sloppy, arrangement suggests that these are of Rhodian manufacture. A pair of ring aryballoi found in this grave are decorated with bands in brownish slip along with a feathered pattern on the sides, a motif that is not known on Corinthian examples of this shape. The orange-brown clay of another ring aryballos excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann, which is different from the buff cream clay of Corinthian examples, is further evidence of local production of Early Corinthianising ring aryballoi.[641] Overall,

[639] RHODES 11459; *ClRh* III 67, fig. 56 (Cuccia 37 (344)); *Vroulia* 16, no. 4, pl. 14.
[640] Archontidou 1977; Archontidou 1983. See especially figs. 3-4, 8, 14, and 20. This grave was explored in 1948 and seems to have been an isolated in Monolithos. It is not connected to the cemeteries of Kymissala.
[641] BM 1861,1024.17.

Rhodian imitations of Corinthian pottery closely copied the shape and decoration of their prototypes: only the fabric and minor ornamental discrepancies allow them to be assigned to local workshops. Further possible examples of Rhodian imitations of Corinthian vessels, although without a secure context, have been published by Adolf Furtwängler.[642] Interestingly, many of these finds reportedly came from the cemeteries of Siana, close to Monolithos. Additionally, a Rhodian imitation of a Melian plate with two handles was found in the Monolithos grave **[Figs.108-109]**.[643] The shape of the vessel is identical to the Melian prototypes and its decoration is comparable, with the underside richly decorated with ornaments painted in silhouette including a spiral pattern and a star on the base of the foot.[644] The dimensions are also similar, measuring 20 cm in diameter and 5 cm in height.[645] The bow-like motif painted either side of the foot is, however, not found on Melian versions. The overall contents of the grave, with is local imitations of Protocorinthianising and Transitional aryballoi and alabastra, as well a ring aryballos in Early Corinthian style, suggest the plate was produced in the last quarter of the sixth century BC.[646] I am not aware of Melian pottery having been found on Rhodes, although this may be due to chance of survival. There is evidence of connections to the Cyclades in the fifth century BC through the importion of Melian plaques.[647]

All in all, there is good evidence for direct imitation of Cypriot, Phoenician, Corinthian, and Melian pottery on Rhodes, spanning from the late eight to the late seventh century BC. These imitations were produced in small quantities, are sometimes of lesser quality in terms of potting and decoration, and, especially with regards to Cypriot and Phoenician imitations, appear to

[642] Furtwängler 1886: 146-148 with figs.
[643] Archontidou 1977: 272-273, BE 358-360, pl. 90; Archontidou 1983: 28, fig. 19.
[644] Cf. Zaphiropoulou 2003: cat. 250-257; Paspalas 2012: 81-82.
[645] Cf. Zaphiropoulou 2003: cat. 250-254.
[646] On the chronology of Melian pottery see Zaphiropoulou 2003: 147-155.
[647] See section 5.3.2.2.

have been localised in their distribution. It is notable that the vessels that Rhodian potters mainly chose to imitate are vessels for containing unguent. A related phenomenon, the competition with pottery imports through the manufacture of distinct unguent vessels, such as spaghetti aryballoi and glazed vessels, will be discussed below, when assessing Rhodes' importance in the Mediterranean unguent trade.

4.4 Diverse workshops

This section outlines the products of workshops that produced a range of pottery shapes (typically more than three) between 725-525 BC. For each workshop, I will establish the chronology and distribution of their products before assessing their output in relation to pottery imports to Rhodes. Whereas the focus of scholarship on Rhodian pottery has traditionally been on specific products, such as spaghetti aryballoi or Vroulian cups, I hope to show that there were several diverse workshops that were making a variety of shapes. Moreover, their output may be correlated with contemporaneous imports in terms of providing local inhabitants with fine or coarse wares that seemingly were not available through other channels of distribution. I will begin with the Spaghetti workshop, before moving onto Protovroulian and Vroulian wares, as well as Semi-slipped wares.

4.4.1 Spaghetti wares

Spaghetti aryballoi are one of the most recognised ceramic products of seventh century BC Rhodes. They were first identified by Friis Johansen in his publication of the Exochi cemetery, near modern-day Lardos, and have since received attention from Coldstream, D'Acunto and

especially Bourogiannis.[648] Bourogiannis has explored their connection to Cypriot White Painted IV wares as an example of continuing Cypriot influence on Rhodian pottery after the Geometric period, despite of the drop of Cypriot imports to the island. Given that they have been found in large quantities in graves at Exochi, Kamiros, and particularly at Ialysos, it is understandable that the focus of scholarship has tended towards these vessels. However, so far little attention has been paid to understanding their production in the context of the entire output of the 'Spaghetti workshop', which produced a far wider range of goods than simply unguent vessels. In this section, I will explore the whole repertoire of this workshop, charting its development and distribution from the late eighth to the late seventh century BC. In doing so, I hope to show how it modelled its production to take advantage of overseas trade while also catering to a domestic market at home. I will begin by outlining the development of the spaghetti aryballos.

Spaghetti aryballoi are named after the typically Cypriot combination of small concentric circles and vertical wavy lines, sometimes united in a single 'spaghetti-like' ornament, that decorate their main body. Their fabric is pale-greyish in colour, smooth to the touch, and relatively fine with little mica. There are three phases in the morphological development of spaghetti aryballoi on Rhodes. The first closely imitates its Cypriot prototypes. It is globular in shape and retains the characteristic neck-ridge of White Painted IV vessels **[Fig.110]**.[649]A good example of this phase is provided by Exochi grave K, which includes a White Painted IV juglet and two spaghetti aryballoi, one with a neck-ridge and another with no neck-ridge and a wider

[648] *Exochi* 155-156; Coldstream 2008: 276; D'Acunto 2012: 200-206; Bourogiannis 2013: 158.
[649] On the development of this shape see Schreiber 2003: 286-305 and Bourogiannis 2009: 120. For Cypriot White Painted IV vessels see Gjerstad 1948, fig. XXVIII.18; *ClRh* III 87, fig. 78; RHODES 11649; *ClRh* VIII 162, no. 6, fig. 149.

body.[650] The former is a close, albeit smaller, imitation of the Cypriot type.[651] Importantly, this initial shape of spaghetti aryballos is only found on Rhodes, which, as Friis Johansen argues, is convincing evidence for their local manufacture.[652] In the absence of a varied ceramic assemblage to help date this type, a tentative chronology for this series may be offered by the upper bracket of the Cypriot White Painted IV wares, around 700-675BC.[653]

The second type of the spaghetti aryballoi is also globular in shape but has a squatter neck with no ridge **[Fig.111]**. Examples of this series are more common, appearing in cemeteries at Exochi and Kamiros.[654] For example, Patelles 45 at Kamiros included a spaghetti aryballos, a Black-on-Red barrel flask decorated with cross-hatched triangles arranged in a circle, which may be locally made;[655] a Rhodian small lekythos, also with cross-hatched triangles;[656] two chalice cups painted with concentric circles;[657] an undecorated cup with flaring rim;[658] and a clay weight.[659] The decoration of the small oinochoe and the barrel flask suggest a Late Geometric date for the burial.[660] A similar date may also be suggested for the pair of spaghetti aryballoi found in Exochi grave C, which contained a Rhodian pedestalled krater with Atticising decoration among its large assemblage of pottery.[661] This series continues to appear in graves datable to the early seventh century BC. For instance, besides a spaghetti aryballos, Papatislures 10 included an Subgeometric oinochoe decoration with a griffin-like figure on its

[650] *Exochi* 44, fig. 96-98.
[651] *Exochi* 44, fig. 97 (K2). See also *Lindos* I 304, pl. 41; Lund Antikenmuseum 61.
[652] *Exochi* 158.
[653] Gjerstad 1948: 56-57; 449-451. See also Schreiber 2003: 272.
[654] RHODES 13731; *ClRh* VI-VII 43, fig. 45; RHODES 14079; *ClRh* VI-VII 129, fig. 148; *Exochi* 18, fig. 19 (A13); 27, figs. 50-51 (C3-C4); 69, figs. 142-143 (Z4).
[655] RHODES 14079; *ClRh* VI-VII 131, fig. 151.
[656] RHODES 14080; *ClRh* VI-VII 131, fig. 152.
[657] RHODES 14076-14077; *ClRh* VI-VII 131, figs. 149-150.
[658] RHODES 14075; *ClRh* VI-VII 131, fig. 148.
[659] RHODES 14081; *ClRh* VI-VII 132, fig. 148.
[660] Cf. BM 1864,1007.1796 (from Kamiros well); Coldstream 2008: 270-271.
[661] *Exochi* 25, figs. 46-47 (C1); Cf. BM 1860,0404.9; Coldstream 2008: 272-273.

shoulder.[662] The figure, painted in silhouette, and the use of cross-hatched bands is not dissimilar to the decoration of the krater found in Papatislures 1 – and is possibly from a local workshop.[663] The assemblage also included a pyxis, two alabastra with a pointed base, a further banded alabastron with a flat base, and a fragment of an open vessel with geometric patterns.[664] A similar pyxis was found in Drakidis 257 at Ialysos, which also included a spaghetti aryballos as well as a Ionian bird-bowl.[665] Overall, I would suggest that this series of spaghetti aryballoi were produced on Rhodes from last quarter of the eighth century to around the middle of the seventh century BC.

The third iteration of spaghetti aryballoi is more conical in shape and has a flatter shoulder that tapers sharply towards the base **[Fig.112]**. Two graves may be cited for establishing its chronology: the first is Zambico 53, which included a group of Protocorinthian aryballoi. [666] Its extensive pottery assemblage is discussed below. The second is Papatislures 14 (18), which included a Ionian bird bowl, Ionian stemmed dish, a pyxis, a Late Protocorinthian piriform aryballos, and a spaghetti aryballos.[667] The bird bowl may be assigned to North Ionian Archaic Ic, 630-610 BC.[668] The Protocorinthian aryballos belongs to the mid seventh century BC, while the stemmed dish can be dated to 620-600 BC.[669] All considered, the assemblage ranges from 650-600 BC, with the burial probably occurring around 600 BC. The final series of spaghetti aryballoi therefore seems to have been made on Rhodes during the second half of the seventh century BC. Overall, spaghetti aryballoi were made on Rhodes from 725 BC to 600 BC. The

[662] RHODES 13728; *ClRh* VI-VII 42, fig. 44.
[663] BM 1864,1007.1236; BM 1864,1007.1237; Cook and Dupont 1998: 29-31.
[664] RHODES 13729-13732; *ClRh* VI-VII 43-44, fig. 43;
[665] RHODES 10669; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 33; RHODES 10672; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 33; RHODES 10675; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 37.
[666] Maiuri 1923-24: 303-309, figs. 200-205.
[667] RHODES 13764-13768; *ClRh* VI-VII 58-59, fig. 70.
[668] Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 (variant IV).
[669] Cf. Payne 1931: cat. 1-17; BM 1864,1007.761; Kalaitzoglou 2008: 137, cat. 342-343, pl. 59.

shape of the vessel evolved considerably throughout this period, from globular to conical. In contrast to the development of Protocorinthian aryballoi in the seventh century BC, Rhodian spaghetti aryballoi move toward a squat, as opposed to a piriform, profile.[670]

At first glance, the distribution of spaghetti aryballoi – as outlined by Friis Johansen – suggests mass production for export. Examples have been found, primarily in graves, across Rhodes (Kamiros, Ialysos, Lindos, Exochi, and Vroulia), on many Aegean islands such as Melos and Thera, as well as in western colonies of Rhodes such as Syracuse and Cumae.[671] However, not all the spaghetti aryballoi found at these sites were made on Rhodes. An XRF analysis of spaghetti aryballoi found in Italy and Sicily, Corinth and Rhodes has shown that each centre produced its own variety.[672] Moreover, localised production across the Aegean is apparent from their decorative variation across different sites. For instance, the aryballoi excavated at Thera are bulbous in shape and are decorated with separate concentric circles and wavy lines **[Fig.113]**, in contrast to the combined motif on Rhodes. The decoration on the shoulder sometimes includes two friezes of concentric circles.[673] Similarly, those found at Cumae have bolder patterns, including think black bands and zig-zag patterns lining the neck **[Fig.114]**.[674]

I would argue that spaghetti aryballoi were made on Rhodes for a twofold purpose. Firstly, they served an internal market for unguent consumption on the island, which is evident by their frequent occurrence across the island's cemeteries. A concentration at Ialysos in their final, conical phase likely indicates a focus of production there during the mid-seventh century BC.

[670] Neeft 2008: 485, fig. 1.
[671] On the distribution of spaghetti aryballoi see *Exochi* 155-156.
[672] Grasso, Pappalardo, and Romano 2004.
[673] *Thera* II 31, fig. 86; 58, fig. 195; 179, fig. 370; 314, fig. 502.
[674] Blackeway 1932-1933: pl. 35,97. For further references see also *Exochi* 155-156.

Prior to this, the globular form is found in large quantities at Exochi and Kamiros. Secondly, and more importantly, they served an external market of unguent exports across the Aegean. Finds at Delos, Aegina, and the Athenian port of Phaleron include spaghetti aryballoi that are similar in shape and decoration to those found on Rhodes, including both the globular and conical variety.[675] It is therefore likely that spaghetti aryballoi were exported along a shipping route running from the Dodecanese towards Mainland Greece via the Cyclades.[676] With finds throughout the island and across the Aegean, it was undoubtedly a popular and exportable product that responded to the unguent trade on Rhodes. Evidence for this trade comes from the range and abundance of Cypriot, Phoenician, Protocorinthian, and Rhodian unguent vessels excavated primarily from graves, with the latter leading some scholars to suggest unguent production on the island.[677] That aryballoi are the most popular shape of vessel produced on the island and deposited at cemeteries and sanctuaries at Kamiros between 725-525 BC **[Fig.102],** along with the production of faience unguent vessels on the island, is further evidence of the island's importance in the unguent trade in the southeast Aegean.[678] However, a more articulate interpretation of this response arises from considering the full range of wares produced by a single Spaghetti workshop or related workshops, as demonstrated by the contents of one grave at Ialysos.

[675] *Delos* X 153, no. 529, pl. VII.B; *Aegina* 435, no. 17, pl. 127.4; Pelexidou 1916 21, no. 59, fig. 46.2.
[676] On Rhodes' position within Aegean Sea routes see Stampolidis 2003: 68; Broodbank 2013: 338.
[677] Coldstream 1969; Bourogiannis 2013; D'Acunto 2018: 461-465.
[678] See section 3.3.4.2; Bourogiannis 2013: 172-173; Webb 1978: 5-10.

Zambico 53

Zambico 53 is a typical burial at Ialysos in the seventh century BC: a cremation area dug into the bedrock, measuring around two meters in length and half a metre in diameter.[679] The extensive assemblage of pottery found in this grave – consisting of over 50 complete pieces and many more fragments – led Maiuri to suggest multiple use.[680] However, I would argue that it was used for a single burial on two accounts. First, there is little evidence for multiple use of graves at Ialysos, whereas at Kamiros it commonly occurs in chamber tombs.[681] And second, the pottery finds are relatively uniform and contemporaneous. The finds may be summarised as follows:

Protocorinthian aryballoi. H. 7-12 cm. Yellow, buff clay. Ten Late Protocorinthian and Transitional Corinthian aryballoi of ovoid and piriform shape **[Figs.115-116]**. Four are decorated with bands, animal friezes, and clumsy rosettes which may be compared to pieces by The Braunsberg Painter.[682] Others are decorated with plain brown bands.[683]

Faience aryballos. H. 6 cm. Ovoid aryballos with green glaze applied by efflorescence, attributed to Webb's 'Low Relief Figured Style' **[Fig.117]**. Decoration is incised, consisting of a fish on the main body, dog-teeth on the shoulder, and rays on the base. Further details are added in brown glaze.[684]

Mushroom lipped lekythos. H. 12 cm. Fine, orangey clay. Little or no mica. A conical lekythos with a mushroom lip and single handle, reminiscent of Phoenician unguent vessels but in

[679] Maiuri 1923-24: 303-304.
[680] Maiuri 1923-24: 309.
[681] See section 2.6; Mohr 2015: 253. Kinch (1914: 55) suggests that grave 2 at Vroulia is a multiple cremation on the basis of its thick layer of ash and large assemblage of grave goods.
[682] Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 2-6, fig. 201. Cf. Amyx 1988: 51, pl. 17a-b.
[683] Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 7-11, fig. 201. Cf. Amyx 1988: 51, pl. 17.1a-b.
[684] Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, no. 12, fig. 202; RHODES 5072; Webb 1978: 61, cat. 216.

Rhodian fabric **[Fig.118]**. It has a ridged neck. Traces of vertical lines on the shoulder and horizonal incised bands towards the base.[685]

Other finds include a small trefoil oinochoe and a small undecorated stamnos with vertical handles.[686] Most significantly, Zambico 53 yielded an interesting range of Rhodian Spaghetti wares:

Spaghetti stamnos. H. 30 cm. Fine, greyish clay. Little or no mica. Two handles rising from its shoulder **[Figs.119-120]**. Decoration is painted in silhouette on the shoulder and main body, and consists of wavy lines (like those found on spaghetti aryballoi) as well as concentric circles, dice-eyes and stars.[687]

Spaghetti aryballoi. H. 7-9 cm. Fine, greyish clay. Little or no mica. Eight Rhodian spaghetti aryballoi of conical shape with broad, flat shoulders decorated with wavy lines and concentric circles in brown slip. Thin bands are visible on the main body and rim of the spaghetti aryballos found in Papatislures 18.[688]

Spaghetti horn flasks. H. 12-13 cm. Fine, greyish clay. Little or no mica. Ten lekythoi with baggy bodies and curved necks with a single handle and horn shaped rim **[Fig.121]**. There is a slight ridge at the join of the handle and neck. Decoration consists of thin bands painted in brown slip on the main body.[689] Earlier examples of Rhodian horn flasks have a more pronounced neck-ridge and incorporate the spaghetti motif.[690]

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[685] Maiuri 1923-1924: 309, no. 13.
[686] Maiuri 1923-1924: nos. 36 and 40.
[687] Maiuri 1923-1924: 304, no. 1, figs. 200 and 223.
[688] Maiuri 1923-1924: 306, nos. 14-21. Cf. RHODES 13768; *ClRh* VI-VII 59, fig. 70.
[689] Maiuri 1923-1924: 306, nos. 22-31, fig. 204; Cf. *Vroulia* 59, pl.34, fig. 2,5; Louvre NIII 1627; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 305, cat. 174.
[690] *Exochi* 15, fig. 22-23 (A12); COPENHAGEN 12422; *CVA* Gotha ZV 3; *CVA* Gotha 1 [Germany 24] pl.5.1 (possibly found on Cumae).

Spaghetti oinochoai. H. 9 cm. Fine, greyish clay. Little or no mica. Six oinochai with trefoil lips, globular bodies joined by a single handle with a central crease **[Fig.122]**. Decoration is restricted to the main body, which is covered in concentric circles radiating from the centre.[691]

Spaghetti plates & bowls. D. 14-20 cm. Fine, greyish clay. Little or no mica. Eighteen dishes of varying size and shape **[Figs.123-124]**. Some are flat plates with broad rims, while others are bowls with two handles or traces of handles. Decoration is prominent on interior and exterior, including spaghetti motif and thin bands in brown slip.[692] Spaghetti plates often have a flat base, except for a large example from Cuccia 344 with a raised foot.[693]

Since most of these Spaghetti wares do not occur in other datable contexts, the chronology of Zambico 53 must be established through the Late Protocorinthian and Transitional Corinthian aryballoi, faience aryballos, and spaghetti aryballoi of conical shape. Given that low-relief faience vessels were deposited in votive and grave contexts dating to the late seventh and early sixth century BC, and that spaghetti aryballoi of conical shape can be assigned to the second half of the seventh century BC, I would place the lower bracket of the assemblage around 600 BC. Along with the Late Protocorinthian aryballoi, the whole assemblage ranges from 675-600 BC, with the cremation taking place towards the end of the seventh century BC.

The total assemblage of Zambico 53 demonstrates that the Spaghetti workshop on Rhodes produced a repertoire of pots that ranged beyond unguent vessels. The fact that many of these products – including plates, bowls, stamnoi, and horn flasks – have not been found outside of

[691] Maiuri 1923-1924: 307, no. 32-37, fig. 204. Cf. *Vroulia* 78-79, pl. 42, 19.4.
[692] Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 41-58, fig. 205.
[693] RHODES 12061; *ClRh* III 65, fig. 55.

Rhodes suggests they were produced specifically for a Rhodian 'home market'.[694] Additional evidence for this market may be sought by considering the wider consumption context of related pottery shapes. For instance, spaghetti plates and bowls had prototypes insofar as incised bowls were being made on Rhodes in the late eight and early seventh century BC.[695] The concentration of a range of Spaghetti wares at Zambico 53 says much about the location of the Rhodian Spaghetti workshop or related workshops in the middle of the seventh century BC. Whereas cemeteries at Exochi and Kamiros yielded many examples of Spaghetti wares from the late eighth and early seventh century BC, there is a noticeable drop towards the mid-seventh century BC. Indeed, Papatislures 18 is the only grave at Kamiros to have included a spaghetti aryballos of conical shape.[696] By contrast, there is a clear concentration of later period Spaghetti wares at Ialysos, with stamnoi, plates and horn flasks appearing only at this site. I would therefore argue that the products of the Spaghetti workshop(s) circulated at Exochi, Vroulia, and Kamiros, before becoming focused on Ialysos in the seventh century BC.

4.4.2 Protovroulian wares

Protovroulian wares consist of cups, skyphoi, omphalos bowls, and storage pots such as amphorae, oinochoai, and stamnoi. They are made of orange clay that contains little mica. These different shapes have hitherto not been considered as the output of a single workshop or related workshops. I will therefore outline the basis on which they are stylistically connected,

[694] Further examples of Rhodian Spaghetti wares that have only been found on the island include a figure-vessel in the shape of a ram from Papatislures 11 (13) (*ClRh* VI-VII 49, fig. 54-55; RHODES 13747; Cf. BM 1860,0201.46) and a tall pyxis with a neck in shape of a human head from Lindos (Lund Antikenmusuem 62; *Lindos* I fig. 42).
[695] See section 4.5.3.
[696] RHODES 13768; *ClRh* VI-VII 58, fig. 70.

before considering their chronology, distribution, and position within the pottery market on Rhodes. The term 'Protovroulian' is used here in the context of cups that foreshadow Vroulian cups, with their everted rims and use of lozenges interspersed with groups of vertical lines. Many of the shapes in the Protovroulian repertoire do not appear to feature in the Vroulian repertoire, as I will show.

The most common Protovroulian vessels are cups with everted rims and skyphoi with horizonal handles **[Figs.125-126]**. The former is similar in shape to Ionian cups,[697] while the latter recall Transitional kotylai.[698] Protovroulian cups measure between 6-15 cm in height and 11-29 cm in diameter. Their interior and exterior are usually covered in black glaze, with a reserved strip located below the rim on the exterior. The reserved strip is the most characteristic decorative feature of Protovroulian wares. On the cups, it is normally decorated with lozenges, triangles, or diamonds painted in outline or silhouette.[699] The ornaments, which are interspersed with groups of vertical lines, are usually filled with hatching or cross-hatching when painted in outline. Occasionally the strip is left undecorated.[700] In addition, there are sometimes narrow, reserved bands below the decorative strip or further towards the stem.[701] The shape and decoration of Protovroulian cups foreshadow those of Vroulian cups, with their everted rims and use of lozenges interspersed with series of vertical lines.

[697] Cf. Schlotzhauer 2001.
[698] Cf. Payne 1931 278-280, fig. 120.
[699] RHODES 13688; *ClRh* VI-VII 23, fig. 16; RHODES 13733; *ClRh* VI-VII 45, fig. 50; RHODES 12507; *ClRh* IV 349, fig. 389; RHODES 12518; *ClRh* IV 351, fig. 397; RHODES 12074; *ClRh* IV 47, fig. 16; *Vroulia* pl. 9.2a; pl. 27.11; *Vroulia* 62, pl. 36.2,33. *Vroulia* 174, fig. 57; Coulie and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 308, cat. 178; Louvre A 292; Coulie and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 308, cat. 179.
[700] RHODES 12585; *ClRh* IV 372, fig. 420; Archontidou 1977: 274, pl. 92, BE 362.
[701] *Vroulia* 174, fig. 57; Coulie and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 308, cat. 178.

Protovroulian skyphoi are smaller, measuring 5-8 cm in height and 10-13 cm in diameter. The decoration of the reserved strip, which occupies the rim area, is similar in composition, consisting of cross-hatched triangles bracketed by groups of vertical lines occasionally with birds or tentacle motif.[702] There is, however, more use of banding on the exterior, with a thick band in the middle bracketed by thinner bands on the main body. Base rays are also present. It is noteworthy that the undersides of Protovroulian cups and skyphoi are decorated with spirals.[703] To these drinking shapes may be added a group of black glazed amphorae, stamnoi, and oinochoai with an unglazed strip filled with triangles or cross-hatched diamonds bracketed by groups of vertical lines **[Figs.127-129]**.[704] I would argue that three shapes with complex decoration can be added to the repertoire of Protovroulian wares: a black glazed omphalos bowl with a reserved strip below the rim decorated with triangles on the outside, and painted tongues around the omphalos on the interior **[Figs.130-131]**.[705] The painted tongues on these this vessel are also found on a group of oinochoai and lekythoi, examples of which were also found in the Monolithos grave **[Fig.132]**.[706] Overall, Protovroulian wares included a variety of shapes, ranging from drinking cups, to storage and pouring vessels and shallow bowls. This repertoire is well represented in the contents of the Monolithos grave, which included a cup with everted rim, three skyphoi, three lekythoi, an oinochoae, and an omphalos bowl.[707]

Five grave contexts from Kamiros provide a good basis for the chronology of Protovroulian cups. Kechraki 202 (5) included an oinochoe assignable to South Ionian Archaic Ib, 650-630

[702] *Vroulia* 63, pl. 36.2,35; 2,39a-b; *Vroulia* 69, pl. 39.7,1; *Vroulia* 79, pl.42.19,5; *Vroulia* 85, pl.27,1; *Vroulia* 48, pl.32.bb 1 and bb 2; Archontidou 1977: 274-275, pl. 93, BE 367-369; Archontidou 1983: 24, figs. 14-15.
[703] Cf. Archontidou 1983: fig.15, BE 367-369; RHODES 13733 *ClRh* VI-VII 45, fig. 50.
[704] Furtwängler 1886: 136-137, Inv. Nos. 2964, 2980, 2992.
[705] Archontidou 1977: 273 pl. 91, BE 356; Archontidou 1983: 24, figs.16-17.
[706] Archontidou 1977: 270-271, pl. 89, BE 353-355 (lekythoi) and 275, pl.93, BE 369 (oinochoe); Archontidou 1983: 20, fig. 12 (lekythoi) and fig. 28, fig. 22 (oinochoe). Cf. *Vroulia* 73, pl. 26.4 and 40.12,3 (lekythos).
[707] Archontidou 1977 and 1983.

BC, as well as a Protovroulian cup decorated with lozenges, vertical lines, and cross-hatched diamonds.[708] Similarly, Papatislures 11 (13) included a Ionian stemmed dish, a Milesian oinochoe dating to South Ionian Archaic Ic, 630-610 BC; two Ionian cups from the last quarter of the sixth century BC, two Early Corinthian aryballoi; as well as a Protovroulian cup and oinochoe, among other grave goods.[709] Both these graves may therefore be dated to 625-600 BC. The large assemblage of Macri Langoni 3 (3) included three Ionian stemmed dishes, three Milesian oinochai of South Ionian Archaic Id, 610-580 BC; an Early Corinthian oinochoe and three alabastra, as well as a two Transitional aryballoi.[710] The grave goods also included a Ionian cup datable to the first quarter of the sixth century BC, as well as a large Protovroulian cup decorated with triangles painted in silhouette.[711] Altogether this grave may be dated to 600-575 BC. Finally, Papatislures 4 (4) also included a Milesian oinochoai of South Ionian Archaic Id, two Middle Corinthian alabastra and one aryballos, a small cup, and a Protovroulian cup.[712] Together with the contents of Kechraki 216 (23), which contained an Attic stemmed cup datable to 560-550 BC, I would suggest that the production of Protovroulian cups started during the last quarter of the seventh century BC and continued until around 570 BC.[713] This corresponds with contents of the Monolithos grave, with is local imitations of Protocorinthianising and Transitional aryballoi and alabastra, as well a ring aryballos in Early

[708] RHODES 12506; *ClRh* IV 348, fig. 389 (oinochoe); RHODES 12507; *ClRh* IV 349, fig. 389 (cup).
[709] RHODES 13748; *ClRh* VI-VII 50, fig. 57 (stemmed dish); RHODES 13843; *ClRh* VI-VII 50, figs. 57 and 59; RHODES 13734-13735; *ClRh* VI-VII 46, fig. 49 (cups); RHODES 13741-13742; *ClRh* VI-VII 47, fig. 49 (aryballoi); RHODES 13733; *ClRh* VI-VII 45, fig. 50 (cup); RHODES 13744; *ClRh* VI-VII 49, fig. 52 (oinochoe).
[710] RHODES 12075 and 12078-9; *ClRh* IV 47, figs. 17-18 (stemmed dishes); Cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 387, cat. 343, pl. 59; RHODES 12065, 12067, and 12080; *ClRh* IV 45-48, fig. 13 (oinochoai**);** Cf. Coulié 2014a: 115-118, cat. 16; RHODES 12081; *ClRh* IV 48, fig. 13 (oinochoe); Cf. Amyx 1988: 140, pl. 56.1; RHODES 12076 and 12084-12085; *ClRh* IV 47 and 50, fig. 13 (alabastra); Cf. Amyx 1988: 92, pl. 42.2a-b; RHODES 12083; *ClRh* IV 50, fig. 13 (aryballos); Cf. Amyx 1988 52, pl. 17.4 1a-b; RHODES 12083; *ClRh* IV 50, fig. 13 (aryballos); Cf. BM 1860,0404.16; Amyx 1988: 42, pl. 13.2a-c.
[711] RHODES 12074; *ClRh* IV 47, fig. 16 (cup) [Ionian cup not listed in publication].
[712] RHODES 13685; *ClRh* VI-VII 22, fig. 17 (oinochoe); RHODES 13686 and 13690; *ClRh* VI-VII 22-23, figs. 16, 18-19 (alabastra); RHODES 13689; *ClRh* VI-VII 23, fig. 16 (aryballos); RHODES 13687; *ClRh* VI-VII 22, fig. 16 (cup); RHODES 13688; *ClRh* VI-VII 23, fig. 16.
[713] RHODES 12584; *ClRh* IV 372, fig. 420.

Corinthian style.[714] There are no grave contexts with which to establish a chronology for larger Protovroulian shapes. However, a black-glazed amphora with a strip decorated with cross-hatched diamonds was found amongst the pottery from Kamiros acropolis, amongst examples of Protocorinthian and Transitional aryballoi.[715] I would therefore tentatively date the production of Protovroulian wares to between 625-570 BC.

As far as I am aware, the distribution of Protovroulian wares is confined to Rhodes. Only two cups have been found at Ialysos, while many examples have been excavated from Kamiros, Monolithos, and Vroulia. Skyphoi have been found at Monolithos and Vroulia, and oinochoai at Kamiros, Monolithos, and Vroulia. Larger storage vessels are known from Kamiros and Siana. Based on this distribution, it is most likely that Protovroulian wares were produced somewhere in southern Rhodes. The drinking shapes would have competed with imports from Corinth and Ionia. Other shapes, however, including stamnoi, amphorae, and omphalos bowls, may have catered to an opening in the Rhodian pottery market: none of these shapes appear to have been imported to Kamiros between 625-580 BC from Corinth or East Greece on present evidence.

4.4.3 Vroulian wares

Black-glazed vessels in the fully developed Vroulian style consist of cups with an everted rim **[Fig.133]** and storage vessels, including stamnoi, amphorae **[Fig.134],** and situlae **[Fig.135]**.[716]

[714] Archontidou 1977 and 1983.
[715] RHODES 14695; *ClRh* VI-VII 360, fig. 92 (amphora); RHODES 14699-14703; *ClRh* VI-VII 361, figs. 95-96 (aryballoi); Cf. BM 1860,0404.16; Amyx 1988: 43, pl. 2a-c.
[716] Cook and Dupont 1998: 114-116; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 126-134.

Their decoration consists of incised ornaments, mainly palmettes and lotus flowers, that are filled with purple and red paint. The expansive pattern of decoration on these wares may originate in metalwork. Recent archeometric analysis supports the long assumption that these wares were produced on Rhodes. This group is known as 'Vroulian' because several examples of cups in this style have been found at Vroulia, on the southern most tip of Rhodes.[717]

Only two graves at Ialysos and Kamiros contained Vroulian cups: Papatislures 5 (5) and Zambico 4 (134). Both vessels are decorated in a similar manner, with incised floral patterns occupying the main body of the cup, topped by an unglazed strip with lozenges interspersed with vertical lines. The Kamiros cup was found with two Fikellura amphorae, two Attic flower cups, and two small pyxides, one of which is Corinthian.[718] The Fikellura amphorae can be dated to around 530 BC, the Attic flower cups belong to the last quarter for of the sixth century BC.[719] This grave therefore suggests that Vroulian cups were in circulation, if not being produced, well into the second half of the sixth century BC. This suggestion is supported by the assemblage of Zambico 4 (134), which also included an Attic black-figure amphora depicting Heracles fighting Amazons and two band-cups, as well as a small Rhodian olpe, an alabaster alabastron, a lydion, and a small 'spindle bottle'.[720] The amphora can be assigned to the end of the sixth century BC, while the two band-cups are slightly earlier, between 550-525 BC.[721] In addition, a Vroulian situla decorated with floral patterns on the lower section of the body and a standing male figure on the upper section was included among the grave goods

[717] *Vroulia* 168-188; Cook and Dupount 1998: 114.
[718] RHODES 13694; *ClRh* VI-VII 25, figs. 26-27 (cup); RHODES 13692-13693; *ClRh* VI-VII 24-25, figs. 24-25 (amphorae); RHODES 13695; *ClRh* VI-VII 26, fig. 21 (flower cups); RHODES 13696; *ClRh* VI-VII 26, fig. 28 (pyxis).
[719] Cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37; *Kerameikos* IX 172, E 10.3, pl. 85.
[720] RHODES 6590; *ClRh* III 25, fig. 11-12 (cup); RHODES 6589; *ClRh* III 25, figs. 9-10 (amphora); RHODES 6595; *ClRh* III 30 (olpe); RHODES 6596 and 65970; *ClRh* III 31 (alabastra); RHODES 6594; *ClRh* III 30, fig. 15 (lydion); RHODES 6600; *ClRh* III 31 (spindle bottle).
[721] Cf. *Agora* XXIII 215, pl. 25 (amphora); *Agora* XXIII 1700, pl. 111 (band-cup).

found in Drakidis 183 (246).[722] The grave also contained an Attic black-figure olpe, a black-glazed 'egg cup', a small banded amphora and semi-slipped olpe, both of which may be locally produced, a late Corinthian aryballos with roughly painted floral patterns, and a bronze grater as well as other metal fragments.[723] While the Corinthian aryballos dates to the second quarter of the sixth century BC, the Attic olpe and egg cup date to 550-525 BC.[724] I would therefore assign this grave to 540-530 BC. A similar period for the production of Vroulian situlae – a shape derived from Egyptian prototypes – is suggested by the evidence for Vroulian stamnoi, which I will discuss in relation to Rhodian stamnoid pyxides in the next chapter.[725] Together, these contexts suggest that the production of Vroulian wares stretched from the beginning of the sixth century down to 550-525 BC.

While the decorative motifs and colours used on Vroulian wares are homogenous, the repertoire of shapes is diverse, including cups,[726] stemmed cups,[727] oinochoai,[728] amphorae,[729] stamnoi,[730] and situlae.[731] The painting and incision of ornaments are clear and exact. The potting of the cups is very fine. Outside Rhodes, Vroulian cups have been found at Naukratis, Cyrene, Mersin, and Tell Sukas; Vroulian situlae, stamnoi, and amphorae are known especially from Daphnae / Tell Dafana in Egypt with the vast majority of situale – some of them with

[722] RHODES 10641; *ClRh* III 192, figs. 187-189.
[723] RHODES 10640; *ClRh* III 192, fig. 190 (olpe); RHODES 10637; *ClRh* III 194, fig. 186 (egg cup); RHODES 10639; *ClRh* III 193, fig. 186 (amphora); RHODES 10635; *ClRh* III 193, fig. 186 (olpe); RHODES 10636; *ClRh* III 193, fig. 186 (aryballos); RHODES 10642; *ClRh* III 193, fig. 186 (bronze grater).
[724] Cf. Amyx 1988: 122, pl. 50.2 (aryballos); RHODES 25146; *ClRh* IV 388, figs. 437-438; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 97, pl. 71.1-2 (olpe).
[725] See section 5.2.1.
[726] *Vroulia* pl.10.1a-3b; 12: *Lindos* I 996, pl.47; RHODES 6590; *ClRh* III 25, fig. 11-12; RHODES 13694; *ClRh* VI-VII 25, figs. 26-27; Louvre 332; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 310, cat. 181.
[727] *Vroulia* pl.46.1a
[728] *Vroulia* pl.10.1-3
[729] *Vroulia* pl.46.6.
[730] RHODES 15443; *ClRh* VIII 142, fig. 123.
[731] *Vroulia* 189-190, figs. 71-72; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 314, cat. 185.

Egyptianising iconography – found not on Rhodes but at Daphnae.[732] Considering the importation of Corinthian and Milesian pottery to Rhodes in the early to mid-sixth century BC, Vroulian wares not only seem to have fulfilled demand for certain painted shapes that were not otherwise available – including amphorae, stamnoi, and situlae –, they were also more sophisticated in terms of quality. The combination of finely incised and painted decoration with thin potting was a unique offering within the contemporaneous Rhodian market: Milesian pottery did not make use of incision and the painted decoration of middle to late Corinthian wares appears rushed by comparison. The distribution of Vroulian cups and situlae beyond the island suggests that they were produced for export. Although their concentration at Vroulia does not necessarily indicate that a workshop was located there, it is likely that the workshop in southern Rhodes producing Protovroulian wares eventually developed towards Vroulian wares. That transition between these two phases is difficult to establish with chronological accuracy since many of the motifs, such as lozenges and tongues, are present in Protovroulian as well as Vroulian wares. However, given that Protovroulian wares are not found in grave contexts after the first quarter of the sixth century BC, I would tentatively place the workshop's transition during this period. It is interesting in this regard that the finds from Kamiros suggest that 600-575 BC was a particularly complex period in terms of pottery imports, with finds originating from Corinth, Laconia, Miletos, Ionia, the Levant, Kos, Knidos, and elsewhere within East Greece **[Fig.136]**. I would therefore suggest that Rhodes' finest pottery, in terms of decoration and potting, emerged as a direct result of a competitive pottery market, where increased choice for consumers led to increased quality from Rhodes' producers

[732] On the distribution of Vroulian wares see Cook and Dupont 1998: 114-115; Weber 2006 and 2012; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 127.

4.4.4 Semi-slipped wares

A final diverse group of Rhodian pottery that was likely manufactured by a single workshop includes wares that are partially painted in a brown slip. These include amphorae,[733] oinochoai **[Fig.136]**,[734] olpai **[Fig.137]**,[735] lekythoi **[Fig.138]**,[736] and aryballoi.[737] They are made of orange clay that contains little mica. In contrast to Vroulian wares, their potting is relatively thick and often shows signs of over-firing through either discolouration or small cavities in the surface of the vessel. The vessels appear to have been dipped, rather hastily, into a brownish slip. Sometimes it covers only the rim area while on other examples it covers half of the vessel. A drip-line of brown slip is occasionally created by allowing excess slip to run down the rim to the lower body. Both their rough potting and basic decoration suggested these pots were intended as everyday 'plain wares'. Semi-slipped wares were also produced in other parts of Greece, including Samos and Athens.[738]

Ten graves from Papatislures and Macri Langoni cemeteries provide secure contexts on which to base the chronology of Rhodian Semi-slipped wares. I will only comment on the securely datable assemblages here. Papatislures 13 (17) included a North Ionian bird bowl along with two Early Corinthian alabastra, an Early Corinthian aryballos, a gold diadem, knucklebones, and a semi-slipped trefoil oinochoe.[739] The related ceramics suggest this grave belongs to the

[733] RHODES 12924; *ClRh* IV 171, fig. 179.
[734] *Lindos* I: 1190, pl.52; RHODES 12933; *ClRh* IV 276, fig. 306; RHODES 13185; *ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317; RHODES 12954; *ClRh* IV 304, fig. 340; RHODES 13684; *ClRh* VI-VII 21, fig. 12; RHODES 13756; *ClRh* VI-VII 57, fig. 66.
[735] BM 1864,1007.759; BM 1864,1007.1077; BM 1864,1007.2029; RHODES 12876-12878; *ClRh* IV 272, fig. 303; RHODES 13706; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 30.
[736] *Lindos* I: 1194, pl.52; RHODES 12873; *ClRh* IV 239, fig. 270; RHODES 13434; *ClRh* IV 157, fig. 155; RHODES 12873; *ClRh* IV 239, fig. 269.
[737] *Lindos* I 1190, pl. 52; *Vroulia* pl. 26.12.
[738] Samos: Technau 1929: fig. 36, 2-3; Athens: *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 27.3, pl. 10 and 44.8, pl. 99.
[739] RHODES 13757; *ClRh* VI-VII 56, fig. 66 (bird bowl); RHODES 13759-13761; *ClRh* VI-VII 56, fig. 66 (alabastra and aryballos); RHODES 13762; *ClRh* VI-VII 57, fig 69 (gold diadem); RHODES 13763; *ClRh* VI-VII 57, fig. 66 (knucklebones); RHODES 13756; *ClRh* VI-VII 56, fig. 66 (oinochoe).

last quarter of the seventh century BC.[740] Macri Langoni 175 (100) included a small semi-slipped oinochoe, a shallow bowl, and two Samian Lekythoi that are similar to that found in Macri Langoni 178 (118), which included a massive collection of Early to Middle Corinthian pottery, as well as a miniature semi-slipped trefoil oinochoe.[741] Another example from Papatislures 6 (8) includes a Middle Corinthian aryballos and alabastron, four faience figures, a scarab, and a Ionian cup dating to 575-550 BC.[742] Later examples of Semi-slipped wares appear in Macri Langoni 74 (94), including an amphora, and another trefoil oinochoe in Papatislures 3 (3). The latter also included a Fikellura amphora and black-glazed kylix, both dating to 525-500 BC, a black-figure skyphos that depicts Herackles fighting the Nemean Lion, as well as a locally produced lekythos and dish, and a Ionian banded amphoriskos.[743] The black-figure olpe, which has been attributed to the Painter of Brussels, and the black-figure skyphos allow this assemblage to be assigned to the beginning of the fifth century BC.[744] Finally, Macri Langoni 116 (55) and 162 (150) included a semi-slipped lekythos and trefoil oinochoae respectively. The former also included two Ionian protomes, two black-figure lekythoi, a black-figure skyphos, a kylix with a Gorgon painted in the tondo, as well as a locally produced aryballos and stamnos, two alabaster alabastra, and a sea shell.[745] Besides the semi-slipped

[740] Cf. Payne 1931: 283, no. 376, fig. 121b (alabastron); Kerschner 1995: 20, fig. 57, variant IVc (bird bowl).
[741] RHODES 12954; *ClRh* IV 304, fig. 340 (oinochoe); RHODES 12955; *ClRh* IV 304, fig. 340 (shallow bowl); RHODES 12952-12953; *ClRh* IV 304, fig. 304 (Samian lekythoi); RHODES 13003-13024; *ClRh* IV 316, fig. 346 (aryballoi); RHODES 13025-13026; *ClRh* IV 317, fig. 346 (alabastra). Cf. Payne 1931: 219, no. 638, fig. 126; BM 1865,0720.19; Payne 1931: 303, no. 803, pl. 31,5-6.
[742] RHODES 13704; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 30 (aryballos); Cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139; RHODES 13705; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 30 (alabastron); Cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138; RHODES 13698-13701; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 31 (faience figures); RHODES 13702; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 32 (scarab); RHODES 13703; *ClRh* VI-VII 30, fig. 30 (cup); Cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60.
[743] RHODES 13681; *ClRh* VI-VII 20, fig. 13 (amphora); Cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37; BM 1864,1007.255 (from Fikellura grave 92); RHODES 13682; *ClRh* VI-VII 20, fig. 14 (skyphos); Cf. *Agora* XXIII 1513, pl. 103; RHODES 13683; *ClRh* VI-VII 21, fig. 15 (olpe); RHODES 13684; *ClRh* VI-VII 21, fig. 12 (kylix); Cf. *Agora* XXIII 414, pl. 20; RHODES 13685; *ClRh* VI-VII 21, fig. 12 (lekythos); RHODES 13683; *ClRh* VI-VII 21, fig. 12 (dish); RHODES 13686; *ClRh* 21, fig. 12 (amphoriskos).
[744] *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 93-94, pl. 68; Cf. RHODES 13392; *ABV* 436,4.
[745] RHODES 12472-12473; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 269 (protomes); RHODES 12474-12475; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 269 (lekythoi); *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] 120, pl. 90.1-5; RHODES 12471; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 270 (skyphos); RHODES 12474; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 269 (kylix); RHODES 12471; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 269 (aryballos); RHODES 12972; *ClRh* IV 236, fig. 239 (stamnos); RHODES 12477-12478; *ClRh* IV 239, fig. 269 (alabaster alabastra); RHODES 12480; *ClRh* IV 239, fig. 269 (shell).

oinochoai, the latter grave contained an Attic flower cup, a black-figure olpe, a small Corinthian kotyle, and a faience aryballos.[746] The Attic pottery in these two graves each suggest a date of 500-475 BC for burial.[747] Overall, it seems that the production of Rhodian Semi-slipped wares extended from the end of the seventh centur to the first quarter of the fifth century BC.

Besides isolated examples at Lindos, Vroulia, and Ialysos, most Semi-slipped pottery comes from grave contexts at Kamiros. This suggests that the workshop was probably located in this area. In the context of Milesian oinochoai being imported to the island during the early sixth century BC, along with Attic black-figured olpai, amphorae, and lekythoi from the mid-sixth through to the fifth century BC, these locally produced wares seem to have occupied a simpler end on the pottery scale. Undecorated, quickly potted, and made from relatively coarse clay, Semi-slipped wares were the cheaper alternative to a range of more elaborate pottery imported to the island.

4.5 Specialised workshops

This section outlines the products of small pottery workshops on Rhodes that made products with various forms of decoration, ranging from painting to incision, stamping, and glazing. These workshops may be grouped together on the basis that they specialised in certain shapes,

[746] RHODES 13185; *ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317 (oinochoe); RHODES 13184; *ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317 (flower cup); RHODES 13183; *ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317 (olpe); RHODES 13183; *ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317 (kotyle); RHODES 13181; *ClRh* IV 283. Fig. 317 (faience aryballos).
[747] Cf. *Agora* XXIII 1498, pl. 102 (skyphos); *Kerameikos* IX E 11.1, pl. 85 (lekythos); *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); *Agora* XXIII 692, pl. 67 (olpe); Payne 1931: 334, cat. 1517, fig. 181b (kotyle); *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (kylix).

often produced in small quantities. For each workshop, I will outline the chronology and distribution of their products. My aim is to demonstrate that there was a proliferation of small enterprises that emerged from a connected pottery market. I will begin with painted vessels, consisting of Subgeometric figural and banded wares, before considering incised hemispherical bowls, jugs and plates and stamped pithoi, glazed unguent vessels, as well as Rhodian stemmed dishes and segment plates.

4.5.1 Early orientalising figural wares

The straight-sided pithos from Papatislures 1 **[Fig.93]** is one example of a handful of locally made open vessels that were decorated with elaborate scenes involving humans and monsters painted in silhouette.[748] The clay is orange-brown in colour and contains little mica. Painted decoration is applied in a brown-red slip that is sometimes very diluted – as with BM 1864,1007.1237. The figural scene is usually located on the upper section of the vessel and is framed by geometric motifs, including meanders, cross-hatched panels, and bands with zig-zags. The repertoire of figures includes humans, centaurs, griffin-like figures, and birds. Landscape elements, such as a tree and branches, are sometimes represented. The shapes produced by the workshop include straight-sided pithoi and oinochoai.

There are five known vessels from this workshop, all of which were found on Rhodes. Four of them come from Kamiros. The exact find-spot of the fifth is unknown. In addition to the straight-sided pithos from Papatislures 1, an early orientalising figural oinochoe was found in

[748] BM 1864,1007.1237.

Papatislures 10 (12), a primary cremation **[Fig.139]**. It depicts a griffin-like monster and water birds with long necks, which are arranged in panels interspersed by cross-hatching. There is also a painted panel on the neck depicting the necks and heads of two birds with a cheque panel in between. The assemblage of grave goods also included a Rhodian spaghetti aryballos, a pyxis, two alabastra with a pointed base, and a further banded alabastron with a flat base.[749] A similar pyxis was found in Drakidis 257 at Ialysos, which also included a spaghetti aryballos as well as a Ionian bird-bowl from the early seventh century BC.[750] I would therefore date this grave to the second quarter of the seventh century BC. Kechraki 205 (8), also a primary cremation, included a subgeometric oinochoe depicting a series of birds on its shoulder which, again, are interspersed by panels of cross-hatching **[Fig.140]**.[751] The assemblage included three small aryballoi and a neck-ridged lekythos – possibly all of Rhodian manufacture –, a vessel in the shape of a kneeling monkey, and a Protocorinthian alabastron decorated with an animal frieze and purple and brown bands.[752] The latter vessel suggests the grave also dates to the second quarter of the seventh century BC.[753] A further sherd, found amongst votives deposited on Kamiros acropolis, depicts a male figure raising its hand in the same fashion as the centaur on BM 1864,1007.1237. Another sherd donated to the British Museum by Alfred Biliotti contains the familiar cross-hatched panel, the lower half of a monster, possibly griffin-like, and a water bird with stippled feathers **[Fig.141]**. Overall, the context of the finds suggest Rhodian subgeometric figural vessels were produced throughout the first half of the seventh century BC.

[749] RHODES 13731; *ClRh* VI-VII 43, fig. 45 (aryballos); RHODES 13730; *ClRh* VI-VII 42, fig. 43 (pyxis); RHODES 13729; *ClRh* VI-VII 43, fig. 43 (alabastron); RHODES 13732; *ClRh* IV 43, fig. 43 (alabastron) [banded alabastron not listed].
[750] Cf. Kerschner 1995: 14, figs 26-32; RHODES 10669; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 33; RHODES 10672; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 33; RHODES 10675; *ClRh* III 46, fig. 37.
[751] RHODES 12588; *ClRh* IV 352, figs. 400-401.
[752] RHODES 12536-12538; *ClRh* IV 359, fig. 398 (aryballoi); RHODES 12538; *ClRh* IV 359, fig. 398 (lekythos); RHODES 12533; *ClRh* IV 358, fig. 403 (monkey vessel); RHODES 12539; *ClRh* IV 359, fig. 398 (alabastron).
[753] Cf. Payne 1931: 269, no. 6, pl. 1; Amyx 1988: 50, pl. 17.2.

Since the four examples with known find-spots on Rhodes come from Kamiros, I would tentatively locate this workshop somewhere in or around Kamiros. Importantly, pottery with figural decoration was scarcely being produced elsewhere in the Aegean during this period besides, for example, North Ionian bird bowls. Orientalising figural wares therefore represent a high-quality, adventurous line of pottery that saw Rhodian potters taking their first steps towards developing figure decorated wares. For one reason or another, this line of production did not continue beyond the midde of the seventh century BC.

4.5.2 Ivory imitation pottery

Before discussing their stamped decoration, it is worth establishing a chronology for the ivory imitation group of oinochoai and pyxides. Patelles 5, a large cremation area, included a neck-ridge lekythos, an amphora with two handles on its main body and on its neck, an oinochoe, a fragmentary cup, and a lidded pyxis painted with dice-eyes and concentric circles on its body **[Fig.142]**.[754] The decorative elements of these vessels, including cross-hatched triangles and lozenges interspersed with bands, are typical of the mid to late Geometric wares of the Dodecanese, outlined by Coldstream.[755] Based on these grave goods, it is possible to date this grave to around 750 BC. In contrast, the cylindrical pyxis found near Temple A owes more to Cypro-Archaic BoR wares and should therefore be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century BC **[Fig.143]**.[756] This date would complement the lid with a stamped dog tooth pattern found in Papatislures 1 **[Figs.97-98]**.[757] I would suggest that ivory imitation vessels were made

[754] RHODES 14066; *ClRh* VI-VII 123-124, fig. 135; RHODES 14067; *ClRh* VI-VII 124, fig. 136; RHODES 14068; *ClRh* VI-VII 124, fig. 137.
[755] Coldstream 2008: 271-273.
[756] RHODES 14749; *ClRh* VI-VII 202, fig. 243; *Exochi* 149ff, fig. 219; Bourogiannis 2013: 165.
[757] BM 1864,1007.155. On the absolute dating of Cypriot BoR pottery see Schreiber 2003: 271-273, 288.

from the mid to late eight century BC and continued into the early seventh century BC, during the period that Rhodian bone carvings were deposited as votives at the sanctuaries of Athena at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos.[758]

In the previous chapter, I outlined the relation of ivory imitation vessels to bone carving on Rhodes, with dice eyes and cable patterns as popular motifs on oinochoai and pyxides as well as on bone fibulae and sticks.[759] This relationship is based on the transference of motifs used in the decoration of bone and ivory carving, such as dice eyes, to painted pottery. In addition to the painted elements, the oinochoai and pyxides are sometimes decorated with stamped bands of dog-teeth. For instance, the body of the cylindrical pyxis found in grave 5 near Temple A at Kamiros is painted with a hatched cable pattern and dice eyes with crosses in the middle, while the shoulder and base are lined with a single row of neatly stamped dog-teeth. The knob of the lid is also decorated with two rows of the same pattern. Although a slightly different shape, I would argue that the lid with stamped dog teeth found in Papatislures 1 **[Figs.97-98]** was made in the same workshop. Another similar pyxis, together with a lid stamped with dog teeth, was found in Patelles 39 (5).[760] Zambico 438 at Ialysos yielded a local imitation of a Cypriot lentoid flask with two double rows of stamped dog-teeth on its neck, and a single row on its handle **[Fig.144]**.[761] The motif of painted circles on this vessel recalls Cypriot pottery, but the appearance and technique of the dog-tooth pattern bears similarities to Rhodian bone carvings **[Fig.145]**.[762] It is probable that the pattern was achieved using a triangular matrix that

[758] See section 3.3.4.3.
[759] See section 3.3.4.3; See also Berlin Antikensammlung 2949; Gotha ZV 3; *CVA* Gotha 1 [Germany 24] pl 5.1.
[760] RHODES 14066; *ClRl* VI-VII 123-124, fig. 135.
[761] RHODES 11839; *ClRh* III 105, fig. 98.
[762] Cf. BM 1864,1007.529.

was impressed onto the moist clay before firing. Close visual examination suggest that a roller stamp was not used on this vessel since the stamped dog teeth are unevenly spaced.

Overall, the 'elfenbeinimitierende Vasen' workshop made frequent use of stamped patterns on its products, occurring on three of its five known vessels. The painted and stamped motifs on these vessels were intended to complement each other: one replicating and another realising decoration in low-relief. Significantly, these pots have only been found on Rhodes – at Exochi, Kamiros and Ialysos – and, so far as the present evidence suggests, not on other islands in the Dodecanese. Furthermore, I am not aware of pottery combining stamped and painted decoration from elsewhere in the Aegean in the period. The method of combining these two methods of decoration should therefore be regarded as a local initiative, an initiative that was not present on imported pottery.

4.5.3 Inscised hemispherical bowls, jugs, and plates

A total of ten hemispherical bowls with incised decoration have been found in the Dodecanese, including five from the region of the Chora on Astypalaia, three from Kamiros and Ialysos on Rhodes, and two from Serraglio on Kos.[763] All were found in graves. Typologically, there are three different varieties which may reflect local manufacture on each island. Those from Rhodes are between 15-20 cm wide and 5-8 cm deep.[764] Their clay, which is light greyish in colour, has a smooth texture and little mica. Sometimes the surface is left unslipped, as with

[763] See catalogue in Michalaki-Kollia 1988.
[764] RHODES 11797 and 11799; *ClRh* III 102 fig. 93; RHODES 11670; *ClRh* III 88, fig. 80; BM 1864,1007.154.

the bowl from Zambico 422 **[Fig.146]**, and sometimes it is painted in a red slip, as with another from Zambico 422 and that from Papatislures 1 **[Figs.95-96]**.[765] The incised motifs are variable, including running spirals, vertical lines, lozenges and zig-zags, usually arranged around a series of incised bands running around the outside of the bowl. The interior is not incised but is sometimes decorated with painted bands. The bottom of the bowl is rounded, which makes it difficult to balance on a flat surface but convenient for carrying in the palm of a cupped hand. I would argue that this rounded bottom, paired with the shallowness of these bowls, make them more suitable for pouring libations or for use as a lid rather than as drinking or eating vessels. The interior of the bowl from Papatislures 1 shows signs of wear, with marks and scratches. By contrast, the bowls from Astypalaia are smaller, measuring between 9-12 cm in diameter.[766] They are also made of darker grey clay and have different motifs incised on the interior or exterior: short dashes and zig-zags around a central swastika is common when incised on the interior,[767] while two examples are decorated with short dashes surround a circle framed by triangles on the exterior **[Figs.147-148]**.[768] The latter two also have a dent in the base, allowing them to be placed securely on a flat surface. There is a raised surface in the centre of the interior of the bowl, which may suggest use as a libation bowl (phiale mesomphalos). Similar examples of this shape, though painted rather than incised, have been found in Lydia.[769] It is interesting on this regard that a Rhodian painted hemispherical bowl was found in Temple A 83 (3), along with two Attic skypoi dating to the first half of the eight century BC.[770] Finally, one of the Koan bowls is similar to those incised on the exterior from Astypalaia, except that it has two broad crossing bands of crosshatching on its underside **[Fig.149]**.[771] The other is also incised

[765] RHODES 11797; *ClRh* III 102 fig. 93 (unslipped); RHODES 11799; *ClRh* III 102 fig. 93 (slipped); BM 1864,1007.154 (slipped).
[766] Michalaki-Kollia 1988: 238-239, cat. 1-5.
[767] Michalaki-Kollia 1988: 238-239, cat. 1-3.
[768] Michalaki-Kollia 1988: 238-239, cat. 4-5.
[769] E.g. Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, 6229-HK 1700; Türkteki and Hürmüzlü 2007: no. 33.
[770] RHODES 14743; *ClRh* VI-VII 201, fig. 240.
[771] KOS 49; Morricone 1978: 87, figs. 84-85.

on the exterior but with different ornaments: a densely latticed cross with a central dent at the bottom, and a row of triangles below the rim.[772] All ten bowls have thick walls, often with a sloping rim.

Besides the hemispherical bowls, two jugs have been found at Serraglio 10 on Kos **[Fig.150]** as well as a deep plate with vertical handles in Zambico 397 at Ialysos **[Fig.151]**.[773] The jugs are decorated with bands that are either cross-hatched or contain lozenges, while the exterior of the plate is decorated with circles surrounded by triangles, not dissimilar to the decoration found on the bowls from Astypalaia. The incisions across these wares – bowls, jugs, and plate – were made by hand using a sharp tool. The depth of incision is variable. For instance, the patterns on the bowl from Papatislures 1 are less pronounced than the ornaments of the deep plate from Zambico 397. It should also be mentioned that an aryballos with an incised band of zig-zags at the base of its neck was found in Zambico 397.[774] A comparable aryballos with an incised herringbone pattern was found in Papatislures 11 **[Fig.152]**.[775] The aryballoi's clay is grey and micaceous, which suggests that they were made on a volcanic island, possibly Kos or Nisyros.[776]

Chronologically, the incised pottery of Kos belongs to the earliest grave contexts. For instance, among the pottery from Serraglio 10 were two incised bowls; two incised oinochoai, an incised 'fruit bowl';[777] three oinochoai, one with a broad mouth and two with narrow necks for slow

[772] KOS 487; Morricone 1978: 87, figs. 82-83.
[773] KOS 488 and 496; Morricone 1978: 86, figs. 80-81; RHODES 11670; *ClRh* III 88, fig. 80.
[774] RHODES 11665; *ClRh* III 87, fig. 79.
[775] BM 1864,1007.1799.
[776] Pers. comm. Dr Giorgos Bourogiannis.
[777] KOS 490-496; Morricone 1978: 86-88, fig. 80-84.

pouring;[778] two chalice cups;[779] two one-handled bowls;[780] a plate with three short legs;[781] and a triple vase.[782] The decoration of a chalice cup, including cross-hatched triangles, as well as the oinochoe and plate, each with compass drawn circles, is reminiscent of early Protogeometric contexts from Ialysos – not least Marmaro 43.[783] This would help to explain the presence of a Late Bronze Age vessel found in Serraglio 10, which was possibly deposited as an heirloom.[784] An early Protogeometric date may also be suggested for Serraglio 63. Along with an incised Cypriot-style lentoid flask,[785] the grave included a group of five chalice cups – each decorated with cross-hatched lozenges –,[786] a hydria,[787] four oinochoai,[788] and a zoomorphic unguent vessel.[789] It has been suggested that the incised bowls are related to Cypriot Late Bronze Age bowls from Enkomi and Kouklia in terms of their shape.[790] I would argue, however, that these vessels may be viewed as part of a widespread Protogeometric and early Geometric phenomenon, given than incised bowls have also been found in graves at the Athenian Kerameikos.[791] These are decorated on the exterior, often with hatched bands spreading from that base that are not dissimilar to the bowl from Serraglio 10.

By contrast, the incised pottery of Rhodes appears in contexts dating from the end of the eighth century into the seventh century BC. Zambico 58 (422) is the earliest datable context on the island containing an incised hemispherical bowl. It also included an amphora, fragmentary

[778] KOS 489-492; Morricone 1978: 88, figs. 88-90;
[779] KOS 486 and 495; Morricone 1978: 89-90, fig. 91-92.
[780] KOS 493 and 583; Morricone 1978: 91, figs. 93-94.
[781] KOS 493; Morricone 1978: 91, figs. 95-97.
[782] KOS 428; Morricone 1978: 92, fig. 98-99.
[783] Cf. *ClRh* VIII 162, no. 5, fig. 149.
[784] KOS 49; Morricone 1978: 86, fig. 79.
[785] Morricone 1978: 264, figs. 551-552.
[786] KOS 1005-1009; Morricone 1978: 269, figs. 560-564.
[787] KOS 999; Morricone 1978: 265, figs. 553-554.
[788] KOS 1000-1003; Morricone 1978: 266-267, figs. 555-558.
[789] KOS 1004; Morricone 1978: 269, figs. 565.
[790] Michalaki-Kollia 1988: 230.
[791] Bouzek 1974: 11-12; *Kerameikos* IV 44-46, pls. 31-32 (grave 48).

stamnos, krateriskos, three oinochoai with anthropomorphic shaped necks, a group of twelve aryballoi and lekythoi, some of which have a ridge on the neck and a mushroom lip.[792] The decoration of the amphora and the stamnos, including a frieze of vertical wavy lines and concentric circles with a central cross, suggest a late Geometric date, which coincides with the bronze fibulae also recovered from this grave.[793] It is difficult to accurately date the bowl from Papatislures 1 given the chronological range of its assemblage. However, it is reasonable to suggest that it was made between 720-680 BC given that similar bowls from Astypalea were reportedly found in contexts at Vathy with Protocorinthian pottery, including a small concave pyxis.[794]

Overall, it appears that incised wares in the Dodecanese were initially produced on Kos in the ninth century BC, before being produced on Rhodes and Astypalaia during the late eighth and early seventh century BC. The latter period saw a focus on hemispherical bowls, with plates and aryballoi comprising part of the repertoire. Based on the current evidence, production of these bowls on Rhodes seems to have been in very limited quantities. Nevertheless, Rhodian potters should be viewed as inserting themselves into a regional tradition by decorating pottery through the use of incision.

Although belonging to a later period, it is worth mentioning here incision on faience pyxides and alabastra of Webb's 'Low-Relief Figured Style'.[795] These delicately incised vessels are decorated with animals, plants, and sometimes humans arranged in one or two narrow bands

[792] *ClRh* III 100-102, fig. 92; RHODES 11774-11799.
[793] Coldstream 2008: 274-276; Cf. *Exochi* 106, fig. 206; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 26, nos. 910-912, pl. 28. RHODES 11795-11796; *ClRh* III 102, fig. 95; Bernardini 2006: 23.
[794] Michalaki-Kollia 1988: 237-238, n. 140.
[795] See section 3.3.4.2.

around the vase with Egyptianising motifs at the neck and foot **[Figs.153-154]**.[796] I have already noted that their distribution is concentrated on Rhodes, with some examples also known from Samos.[797] The technique used to apply the glaze is known as 'efflorescence', meaning that the base glaze is formed by the action of salts which migrate to the surface in the presence of a catalyst. The main benefit of this technique is the close relationship it produces between the glaze and the body of the vessel.[798] Moreover, this facilitated a dense and articulate incision with a sharp tool, which likely occurred during the drying process, followed by application of a secondary glaze in black, brown, and yellow to highlight areas of interest, including lotus petals, in liquid or powdered form, i.e. not using efflorescence.[799] The occurrence of such vessels in Deposit D&E and Kechraki 31, which also included an Early Corinthian aryballos and alabastron with linear patterns as well as a aryballos and ring-aryballos with floral patterns, suggests production during the early sixth century BC.[800] Incision was therefore used on both faience and pottery wares on Rhodes, although the latter seems to have belonged to an earlier tradition.

4.5.4 Stamped pithoi

Rhodes was one of the most prolific producers of pithoi with stamped decoration in the Aegean, along with Crete and the Cyclades.[801] There is evidence from houses at Zagora on Andros of benches used for the housing of pithoi.[802] It is probable that stamped pithoi were used for the

[796] Webb 1978: 36-37.
[797] See section 3.3.4.2; Webb 2016: 178-179.
[798] Vandiver 2008: 57-60.
[799] Pers. comms. Dr Virginia Webb.
[800] BM 1864,1007.808; RHODES 14008; *ClRh* VI-VII 108, fig. 121; RHODES 14004-14007; *ClRh* VI-VII 108, fig. 120; Cf. Payne 1931: 291, no. 641, fig 127; Amyx 1988: 125-126, pl. 50.5-6.
[801] Kallipolitis-Feytmans 1950 and 1952; Schäfer 1957; Simantoni-Bournia 2004.
[802] Ebbinghaus 2005: 55.

storage of wine, honey, unguent, grains, and possibly of votives, as well as for the inhumation of adolescents.[803] Rhodian stamped pithoi have only been found in cemeteries, where they are used for inhumation. As no domestic contexts containing remains of pithoi have been excavated on the island, their exact use in houses has not yet been established. Their production on Aegean islands, however, may indicate that common patterns of consumption existed between Rhodes, Crete, and the Cyclades. In this regard, it is worth reiterating the imitation of Cypriot vessels on Rhodes during the late Geometric period.[804] Both the existence of chamber tombs and the production of early orientalising figural pottery at Kamiros have parallels on Crete.[805] The straight-sided pithos, moreover, is a Cretan shape.[806] In addition, three Cretan amphorae dating to the last quarter of the eight century BC were found in Kechraki 203 (6).[807] Further cultural links between Crete and western Rhodes may have been entrenched with a long-established channel of seaborne communication between the two islands: the ancient name of Kamiros Skala, Kretinia, suggests a link between Crete and the Kamiros region that supposedly originates with the myth of Althaimenes, who left Crete and settled in the region of Kamiros where he founded the sanctuary of Zeus Atavyros (Apollodorus *Library* III.2, transl. Hard).[808] Furthermore, literary sources suggest that a colonial venture to Gela was jointly led by 'Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete' (Thucydides 6.4.3).[809] The place name Kamiros is also found on Crete.[810]

[803] Ebbinghaus 2005: 53-58.
[804] See section 4.3.
[805] Brisart 2011: 254-258; D'Acunto 2017: 452; Coldstream 2003: 95-97.
[806] Paspalas 2012; 84.
[807] RHODES 12511-12512; *ClRh* IV 349, figs. 392-394.
[808] Deligiannakis 2016: 59.
[809] On the relationship between Crete and the Dodecanese see Coldstream 1998.
[810] *RE* suppl. 5 Rhodos, 750.

Stamped pithoi were made on Rhodes between the second half of the eighth and end of the sixth century BC, with different workshops proposed for Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos.[811] Their size varies from around 0.70 meters to 2.10 meters, with monumental pithoi belonging to the latest phase of production.[812] Their shape is similar to that of amphorae, with a narrow neck and a body that gently tapers outwards before tapering inwards towards a narrow base. Briefly, the pithoi were constructed from wheel-made sections and their joins concealed with raised edges of clay which, as Stokes observes, are 'not unlike the hoops of a barrel'.[813] The stamped decoration was created by rolling a cylinder across an added layer of well levigated, damp clay that is red is colour and has little or no mica. The decoration only covers half of the vessel, however, suggesting that the reverse side may have been lined up against a wall if used in a domestic or religious setting, or else partly buried beneath the ground if used for inhumation.[814] In many respects pithoi were a major investment for both the workshops making them, and for the consumer ordering them. First, their thick walls required sustained cooking in the kiln to ensure a proper bake. The greyish centre of pithoi fragments suggests this was often not achieved **[Fig.155]**. Second, the finished vessels were large and heavy, making transportation a labour-intensive task. And third, their stamped decoration often required the use of many different cylinders – more than five separate patterns are common – as well as hand-made additions on the neck and handles. I would therefore argue that pithoi were made on a production-to-order basis, rather than production-to-stock. This would explain their decorative and structural variation. It is probable, according to Susanne Ebbinghaus, that their elaborate decoration was a tangible expression of a 'culture of conspicuous storage' on the Aegean

[811] Various methods of categorising different workshops based on shape and design have been developed by scholars (Kallipolitis-Feytmans 1950; Schäfer 1957; Simontoni-Bournia 2004). All agree, however that there were three workshops on Rhodes – at Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos.
[812] Simantoni-Bournia 2004: 54-62.
[813] Stokes 1906: 71.
[814] Ebbinghaus 2005: 55.

islands.[815] Together with the painted straight-sided pithos mentioned above, such a culture seems have been especially prevalent in western Rhodes during the seventh century BC.[816] The expense of producing relief pithoi may have warranted their use in burial contexts on the basis that these vessels were simply too expensive to be discarded and were therefore recycled outside of domestic contexts, particularly in cemeteries.[817]

Since adolescents inhumed in pithoi were normally not accompanied by grave goods, the chronology of Rhodian stamped pithoi is not based on external ceramic evidence, but on three internal criteria: their general profile and structure; the development from simple to more elaborate handles; and the development from simple to rich stamped decoration.[818] Three workshops have been identified by Jörg Schäfer and refined by Simantoni-Bournia based on these criteria, which can be divided into three chronological phases. These are Lindos I-II, Ialysos II-III, and Kamiros II-III. For my present purposes I will focus on Kamiros II and Ialysos II, dating between 675-600 BC.[819] The profile of pithoi belonging to Kamiros II are characterised by their high neck and detached shoulder, the area of which accounts for roughly one third of the entire height of the vessel. The decoration is dominated by patterns involving meanders and ziz-zags. A good example of this series is BM 1864,1007.37. Measuring 1.29 meters in height, it has a tall neck decorated with a cross containing stamped patterns, including meanders **[Fig.156]**. The join between the neck and shoulder is pronounced, with the shoulder protruding outwards before tapering sharply on the lower half of the body. It is decorated with five different stamped patterns in total, including a key pattern, running spiral, meander frieze,

[815] Ebbinghaus 2005: 58.
[816] See section 4.1.
[817] Ebbinghaus 2005: 58.
[818] Simantoni-Bournia 2004: 49.
[819] Simantoni-Bournia 2004: 52-55.

wave pattern and another variation on the key pattern **[Fig.157]**. Ialysos II, on the other hand, is defined by pithoi with short, stubby necks that have a smooth transition to the shoulder. The handles also tend not to have a central binding to the neck. BM 1868,0405.158 is a good example of this series. It is shorter, measuring 1.06m in height. The neck is shorter and wider, with handles joining only at the top and bottom **[Fig.158]**. The shoulder protrudes and tapers gently, giving a more bulbous shape to the vessel. There are four stamped patterns, including triangles, lattice, key pattern, and, below the neck, hooked triangles interspersed with lozenges **[Fig.159]**. Further patterns around the neck that are hand-made, including a running spiral. Together, these two pithoi from Kamiros and Ialysos demonstrate that wide degree of variation and levels of sophistication in the structure and decoration of Rhodian stamped pithoi during the seventh century BC. Whereas the stamped patterns on the Ialysos pithos are sparse and linear, those on the Kamiros pithos are denser and more complex, mixing both linear and curvilinear elements.

Overall, there is evidence to suggest that large quantities of cylinders with patterns were available to artisans, allowing them to produce customised pithoi for individual customers. It is the longevity of this industry on Rhodes, which stretched over the course of more than two centuries, that reveals its wider significance to the island's ceramic identity. Developing over the course of the seventh century BC, it came to fruition with stamped figural scenes around 500 BC, as demonstrated by the detailed patterns on BM 1885,1213.1 **[Fig.160]**. Importantly, there is no evidence of stamped pithoi having been traded between Rhodes, Crete, and the Cyclades during this period. Rhodian pithoi therefore occupied an area of the pottery market that was not being fulfilled by pottery imported from elsewhere in the Aegean between 725-525 BC.

4.5.5 Glazed vessels

Glazed unguent vessels with a black background and decoration of white bands and circles have received little scholarly attention to date, besides E. J. Peltenburg's discussion in the context of Al Mina.[820] They are normally piriform in shape and have two lug handles on the sides **[Fig.161]**. Most measure between nine and fifteen centimetres wide and fifteen to 25 centimeters long, with some larger exceptions. Their base material is clay that is orange-brown in colour and has little or no mica. The walls are thick. The glaze is generously applied, often with raised areas of decoration – an effect that is comparable to the texture of brail writing.[821] The colours are formed by metallic oxides, possibly related to those used in glass making.[822] The chemical composition of this vitreous material is unknown, but it is visually distinct from faience glaze: it is more glass-like, does not sparkle, and the surface is often covered with cracks **[Figs.162-163]**.[823] The application to the clay is less sophisticated, resulting in an uneven surface that is sometimes covered with bubbles and blotches. During their excavations on Rhodes, Biliotti and Salzmann found seven vessels of this type.[824]

Two graves from Kamiros help to establish at a broad date for the production of glazed vessels. Papatislures 16 included a Milesian oinochoe belonging to the plain body group, datable to 610-570 BC or South Ionian Archaic Id;[825] two Early Corinthian aryballoi with scale patterns; and one Early Corinthian alabastron with floral patterns;[826] along with an undecorated oinochoe

[820] Peltenburg 1969. See also Coulié et al. forthcoming.
[821] Some exceptions are only covered in a pale green glaze, e.g. BM 1864,1007.19 and BM 1860,0404.62.
[822] Webb 2016: 178-179.
[823] Pers. comm. Dr Virginia Webb. Von Bissing (1941: 98-113) includes them in discussion of faience vessels.
[824] BM 1865,1214.50; BM 1838,0608.156; BM 1860,0404.63; BM 1867,0413.153; BM 1864,1007.1342; BM 1865,1214.50; BM 1950,1027.1.
[825] BM 1864,1007.149; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 15] pl. GB 573,4; Cf. *Vroulia* pl. 18.2a. For discussion of the Milesian Plain Body Group see Käufler 2004: 131-137.
[826] BM 1864,1007.2089; BM 1864,1007.2092; Cf. Neeft 1987: 275-289; BM 1864,1007.211; Cf. Amyx 1988: 93, pl. 43.1-2.

with a trefoil lip, two alabastra alabaster, a rock-crystal bead, and a small glazed vessel.[827] Overall, I would place the burial around 600 BC. Kechraki 30 (30), one the other hand, yielded a Ionian oinochoe decorated with an animal frieze on the shoulder, which is filled with a range of different ornaments.[828] It can be dated to 640-630 BC.[829] Besides the glazed vessel and a bowl, the grave also included a South Ionian stemmed dish, Ionian cup and Early Corinthian aryballos with scale patterns, all of which may be assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century BC.[830] Together, the contents of this grave range around the middle to the late seventh century BC, with the burial dating around 625-600 BC. It therefore seems that glazed vessels were being deposited in graves at the end of the seventh century BC. Yet, a grave from Ialysos suggests that their production started earlier. Cuccia 355 included a glazed unguent vessel and many fragments of pottery that cannot be dated accurately. However, it also contained a group of nine hand-made terracotta figures – rarely found outside of votive contexts on Rhodes – likely dating to the first half of the seventh century BC.[831] All in all, it is likely that the production of glazed unguent vessels on Rhodes began no later than the middle of the seventh century BC, with their consumption in graves rising towards the end of the century. That glazed unguent vessels are not found at Exochi, whose ceramic record ends around 675 BC, might further support a mid-seventh century BC start date for their production on Rhodes. Peltenburg observes that glazed unguent vessels of this type are found in large quantities in levels six and seven at Al Mina, corresponding to the mid-seventh century BC, along with some examples from level eight, dating to the second half of the eighth century BC.[832] It is therefore possible

[827] BM 1864,1007.1792; BM 1864,1007.1148 and 1155; BM 1864,1007.1173; BM 1864,1007; BM 1950,1027.1.
[828] RHODES 14023; *ClRh* VI-VII 104, fig. 116.
[829] Schlotzhauer and Kerschner 2005: 9-16. Käufler 2004: 85-86.
[830] RHODES 14024; *ClRh* VI-VII 104, fig. 116; Cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 137, cat. nos. 342-343, pl. 59 (stemmed dish); RHODES 14025; *ClRh* VI-VII 104, fig. 116; Cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60 (Ionian cup); RHODES 14026; *ClRh* VI-VII 104, fig. 116; Cf. Payne 1931: 286, cat. 478, fig. 8; Neeft 1987: 274-275, fig. 161a (aryballos).
[831] RHODES 11485-11493; *ClRh* III 69, fig. 59; D'Acunto 2014a; Cf. BM 1864,1007.1268 (from Deposit D&E).
[832] Peltenburg 1969: 1.

that production of similar vessels began at an earlier date in the Levant prior to the establishment of another production centre on Rhodes.

That Rhodes was indeed the centre of production for these wares seems supported by recent clay analysis based on the high magnesium content of the clay.[833] The island has also yielded the largest quantity of glazed vessels from any region. But they are also found in North Syria at Al Mina, Chatal Huyuk, Sakje-Gozu, Tarsus, and Zinjirla and on islands throughout the Aegean, including Samos, Delos, and Aegina. Further examples have been found in Ionia, at Miletos, and in Anatolia, from Xanthos, to Buyuk Kale and Datcha.[834] This widespread distribution suggests that there were multiple production centres for glazed vessels. Rhodes, though, seems to have been the main centre in the Aegean. Such an initiative would make good sense in the context of Rhodes as a centre for the unguent trade in the seventh century BC, if these vessels functioned as containers for unguents.[835] In this sense, I would argue that glazed vessels were a response to the wider economic situation on the island during this the period, along with spaghetti aryballoi, imitations of Cypriot and Phoenician unguent vessels, as well as Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra.[836] Their technique of glazing and decoration made these vessels distinct and likely desirable products within the island's busy unguent trade.

[833] Coulié 2015. Analysis conducted by Anne Bouquillon in 2015 at Centre de recherche et de restauration des musées de France (C2RMF).
[834] For an outline of distribution with references see Peltenburg 1969: 76-78 and Von Bissing 1941: 98-113.
[835] Coldstream 1969; Bourogiannis 2013.
[836] See section 4.3.

4.5.6 Stemmed dishes and segment plates

A major development in recent scholarship of East Greek pottery has been the establishment of Kos as a production centre for segment plates, which typically have a flat base with concentric shallow grooves and an outcurving 'sofa rim'.[837] Together with the identification of Rhodian segment plates and stemmed dishes, a close comparison between imported wares against local varieties is now possible. In this section, I will show how Rhodes' potters adapted segment plates and stemmed dishes to fit local tastes, namely through their size and decoration. In doing so, I will argue that pottery from Kos and South Ionia were at least imported along the same shipping routes to Rhodes, if not consumed in the same use-contexts on the island. I will begin by considering segment plates before turning to stemmed dishes.

4.5.6.1 Segment plates made on Kos and Nisysos

Made of buff to light orange-brown clay with relatively fine amounts of 'gold' mica and lime inclusions, segment plates were made on Kos and probably also on Nisyros.[838] Few examples are known from Kos itself, which may suggest production for export, but equally, their scarcity here may be due to a lack of systematic excavation.[839] The series has a wide distribution, with examples known from the South East Aegean to Sicily.[840] The plates measure between 27-36 cm in diameter. The basic decorative scheme divides the interior face in two **[Figs.164-165]**. On the top half is an animal or mythical creature surrounded by filling ornaments.[841] The

[837] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 109-117 (NAA group KosB).
[838] Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 367-370, nos. 47-50, 373, no. 56, 375, no. 60; Walter-Karydi 1973: 89-95; Cook and Dupont 1998: 63.
[839] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 109. For examples of segment plates found on Kos see Walter-Karydi 1973: 148-150, nos. 1049-51, 1065, 1110, pl. 137.
[840] For examples of Koan segment plates found on Sicily see Villing and Mommsen 2017: 113, n.10.
[841] E.g. BM 1864,1007.5.

bottom half of the plate is marked by the ground line of the figural scene, often a meander or cable pattern, with further ornaments or radiating strokes below. A group of thin bands frames the scene, with a thicker band traversing the interior face and the rim, which is decorated with three or four groups of vertical strokes. There is much variation in this scheme in terms of motifs but, crucially, the filling ornaments are rarely overcrowded. Most of the decoration is added in a brown slip and elements are sometimes highlighted in purple and white. Incision is frequently used to add further details, both to the figure and filling ornaments. It is notable that the interior face occasionally has deep scratches, including the Euphorbos plate, which may be the result of use in some form of dining context.[842]

The most useful grave context from Kamiros for dating segment plates from Kos is Papatislures 16. This chamber tomb included a Milesian oinochoe of South Ionian Archaic Id;[843] a North Ionian bird bowl, probably made in Teos and dating to 620-590 BC;[844] a Late Protocorinthian aryballos with scale decoration, an Early Corinthian alabastron;[845] a small bowl with banding of local, non-micaceous clay;[846] and a faience New Year's flask, whose impressed neck detail is comparable to other examples thought to be made on Rhodes.[847] In addition, the grave contained a segment plate with a deer and rosette occupying the centre of the interior face.[848] The assemblages chronological range stretches from 620-580 BC, with the burial probably sometime in the early sixth century BC. Another segment plate found at Marmaro cemetery at

[842] BM 1860,0404.1.
[843] RHODES 13749; *ClRh* VI-VII 51-54, figs. 61-62; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005: 33-45; Cf. Käufler (2004; 107 no. 3) who places this vessel in his Milesian Archaic Ie phase.
[844] RHODES 13750; *ClRh* VI-VII 54, fig. 61; Cf. COPENHAGEN 899; Cook and Dupont 1998: 27, fig. 6.1; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005: 7-8.
[845] RHODES 13753; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 61; RHODES 13754; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 61; Cf. Payne 1931: 22, fig. 8, cat. 478; Amyx 1988: 80-81, pl. 33 1a-b.
[846] RHODES 13752; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 61; Cf. RHODES 13838; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105.
[847] RHODES 13755; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 65; Cf. Louvre NIII 2401; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 281, cat. 135; Webb 1978: 70, cat. 256. For discussion of Rhodian types see Pierrat-Bonnefois, Bouquillon and Coulié 2014a: 92. Pers. comm. Dr Panagiotis Kousoulis, University of the Aegean.
[848] RHODES 13751; *ClRh* VI-VII 54, figs. 61 and 64.

Ialysos together with an Early Corinthian alabastron also suggests the first quarter of the sixth century BC.[849] A more detailed study is needed, including those found in grave contexts on Nisyros, to establish the complete date range for their production.[850] Overall, segment plates from Kos form a coherent group with similar, if adaptable decorative schemas, filling ornaments, and use of incision. They are also relatively large in diameter. Much of this picture changes, however, in turning to consider segment plates made on Rhodes.

4.5.6.2 Segment plates made on Rhodes

A recent NAA of BM 1885,1213.7 **[Figs.166-167]** revealed a chemical composition that indicates manufacture on Rhodes.[851] The plate is made of orange-brown clay with little or no mica and a smooth, soapy texture. Its decoration is painted in silhouette using a dark brown slip, and consists of two antithetical hares surrounded by a wealth of filling ornaments. These include dashes, dots, a meander pattern, rays, and bunches of semi-circles. It is possible to discern where the painter began and finished individual brush strokes, which are darker at one end and gradually become lighter at the other. This is a result of not only a diluted slip, but also the hasty speed at which the decoration was applied. There is no use of incision. Another segment plate depicting two water birds (possibly quails) surrounded by a similar range of filling ornaments was probably made in the same workshop since its fabric is similar and the decoration is painted in the same manner **[Figs.168-169]**.[852] Both are unevenly potted, with a

[849] *ClRh* VIII 68, no. 3, fig. 52 and no. 6, fig. 54; Cf. Amyx 1988: 86, pl. 36, 1a-b.
[850] On Nisyros contexts see Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 367 and 368-369.
[851] Villing and Mommsen 2017: Table 1, Rhod 25, NAA group RhodF.
[852] BM 1885,1213.8; Villing and Mommsen 2017: Table 1, Rhod 24, NAA group RhodF, fig. 21.

bumpy surface. To these examples can be added a further plate from Kastello and a fragment from Lindos.[853]

While only a handful of Rhodian segment plates have been identified at present and therefore do not constitute a large sample, I will make two tentative observations that suggest these plates were manufactured by the same workshop. First, they are slightly smaller, measuring between 24-26 cm in diameter. The height of the rim is also slightly lower at around 2 cm, as opposed to 3 cm. Second, the motif of bunches of semi-circles, so prominent on Rhodian examples **[Figs.170-171]**, are absent from segments plates made on Kos.

Although the reverse side of the Rabbit plate is marked with 'Siana 12' (i.e. Siana grave 12) the overall contents of this grave excavated by Albert Billiotti in the 1880s remain unknown. In the absence of other grave contexts, it is not possible to date the production of these plates based on grave assemblages. Stylistically, however, their decoration suggestions a similar date to the segment plates of Kos and Nisyros, probably sometime around the beginning of the sixth century BC.[854] Of the few known Rhodian segment plates, most come from the region of Kamiros, including Kastello and Siana. In the absence of examples from Ialysos, I would tentatively suggest that Rhodian segment plates were made somewhere in the region of Kamiros. It should be noted that also small bowls or deep plates were being made on Rhodes

[853] COPENHAGEN 5611; *CVA* Copenhagen 2 [Denmark 2] pl. 76.4 a-b; *Lindos* I 983, pl. 46.
[854] Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou (2011: 367, no. 47, 368-369, no. 49) suggest 575-550 BC for segment plates from cremation burials at Mandraki cemetery, Nisyros. The related grave assemblages remain unpublished, though, and require further scrutiny.

during this period. Their decorative motifs are less complex than those found on segment plates, including bands, dots and swirls. This group is also concentrated at Kamiros.[855]

4.5.6.3 Stemmed dishes made in South Ionia

Stemmed dishes with flat or curved rims were imported in large quantities to Rhodes towards the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century BC **[Fig.172-173]**.[856] Most were made in South Ionia, specifically Miletos, although it seems some are from North Ionia.[857] Their clay is orange and micaceous. Their average diameter is between 30-35 cm, with the stem measuring 11-15 cm high. The potting of the bowl is uniform and quite thick, around 2-3 cm deep. Briefly, the decorative scheme of many, though not all, examples consists of four components, painted in black or purple slip.[858] In the centre there is often a round palmette or cross formed by lotus flowers and buds, surrounded by dark bands and purple stripes, between which is some continuous ornament such as a meander pattern. The outer field can be divided into six or more panels by groups of inverted rays, each of which contain ornaments such as heads of goats, geese, sphinxes, or pairs of eyes. The underside of the bowl is usually painted with a series of concentric bands. There is no use of incision. The occurrence of stemmed dishes in Ashkelon and Assessos securely attest their production sometime during the late seventh century BC.[859]

[855] BM 1864,1007.1789; RHODES 12988-12989; *ClRh* IV 278, fig. 311; RHODES 12554; *ClRh* IV 362, fig. 404; RHODES 13838; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105; RHODES 13752; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 61; COPENHAGEN 7585 and 7586; *CVA* Copenhagen 2 [Denmark 2] pl. 76, nos. 5-6.
[856] Cook and Dupont 1998: 42; Coulié 2014a: 120, cat. 17 and 142-148, cat. 28-32l.
[857] For South Ionian stemmed dishes from Rhodes see BM 1860,0201.4; BM 1860,0201.6; BM 1860,0201.7; BM 1860,0201.8; BM 1860,0201.9; BM 1860,0201.10; BM 1860,0201.10; Cf. Coulié 2014a: 120, cat. 17, and 142-148, cat. 28-32. For North Ionian stemmed dishes from Rhodes see Coulié 2014a: 168-169, cat. 42.
[858] There are other decorative schemas, such as plain banded examples and those with intricate patterns of lotus blossoms and bus, e.g. BM 1860,0404.6.
[859] Kalaitzoglou 2008: 117-145, cat. 185-356; Stager, Master and Scholoen 2011: 233-241, cat. 258-280; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2006: 25-33, cat. 65-66, 89-100, and 107.

Again, however, a precise study of this shape is needed to establish is complete chronology, which probably stretched from the seventh into the sixth century BC. Precise grave contexts on Rhodes include Kechraki 30 (30) and Papatislures 28 (36). I have already discussed the former in the context of glazed unguent vessels, dated to around 625 BC.[860] Besides a Milesian stemmed dish with flat rim, Papatislures 28 (36) contained two Milesian oinochoai decorated with elongated goats, datable to South Ionian Archaic Id;[861] a black-glaze Ionian cup;[862] a fragment of an Early Corinthian oinochoe as well as two Early Corinthian round aryballoi;[863] a small banded bowl;[864] a plain alabastron;[865] and another bowl decorated with stars and rosettes.[866] Altogether, I would date this grave to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. These two contexts, along with other grave assemblages on Rhodes, suggest that South Ionian stemmed dishes were imported from around 625-575 BC. Although sometimes referred to as 'fruit bowls', their exact function remains unknown.[867] The lack of visible surface marks on examples from Rhodes indicates that they were not used for dining purposes that involved the cutting or slicing of food. I would therefore tentatively suggest that they held dry foods, such as bread, cake, or fruit, for eating purposes.

[860] See section 4.5.5.
[861] RHODES 13833-13834; *ClRh* VI-VII 99, fig. 105.
[862] RHODES 13814; *ClRh* VI-VII 94, fig. 105; Cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60.
[863] RHODES 13836; *ClRh* VI-VII 99, fig. 105; Cf. BM 1865,1214.5; Payne 1931: 298, cat. 725, pl. 18,3 (oinochoe); RHODES 13840-13841; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105; Cf. Payne 1931: 287-289, cat. 480-527 (aryballoi). The decoration of these round aryballoi is difficult to interpret from the photograph.
[864] RHODES 13838; *ClRh* VI-VII, 101 fig. 105; Cf. RHODES 13752; *ClRh* VI-VII 55, fig. 61.
[865] RHODES 13839; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105.
[866] RHODES 13837; *ClRh* VI-VII 101, fig. 105.
[867] Cook and Dupont 1998: 42.

4.5.6.4 Stemmed dishes made on Rhodes

A group of locally made stemmed dishes may be identified on the basis of their fabric and stylistic similarities to Rhodian segment plates. It includes five examples, two of which are decorated with birds, two with ornamental motifs, and a further miniature example that is undecorated.[868] The clay is orange-brown with little or mica. Measuring between 14-24 cm in diameter and no more than 10 cm high, they are smaller and stubbier than those from South Ionia. The potting is also irregular, resulting in uneven profiles. Their decoration, which is painted in brown slip and not incised, reveals much about their manufacture on Rhodes. BM 1864,1007.131 **[Figs.174-175]** displays the same hasty brushwork as the locally made segment plates, with groups of dots and dashes lining the centre and exterior of the plate. Another example by the same painter, also decorated with 'windswept' birds, uses bunches of semi-circles lined with dots as a filling ornament **[Fig.176]**. Both style and motif therefore suggest that the Kamirian workshop making segment plates was also making stemmed dishes. On the other hand, BM 1909,0409.1 **[Figs.177-179]** is decorated with a floral pattern that is reminiscent of those found on Rhodian faience pyxides and alabastra.[869] Such inter-material transference of patterns is possible given that faience low-relief vessels were being made as the start of the sixth century BC. Further evidence of this chronology is provided by BM 1864,1007.13, which was found in Papatislures 11 along with an Early to Middle Corinthian kotyle, an alabaster alabastron, and incised aryballos.[870] The latter was probably an antique in what otherwise is a chamber tomb dating to the early sixth century BC.[871]

[868] BM 1864,1007.131; BM 1909,0409.1; BM 1977,0718.1; COPENHAGEN 5609; *CVA* Copenhagen 2 [Denemark 2] pl.76.1; RHODES 13813; *ClRh* VI-VII 90, fig. 91.
[869] Cf. BM 1864,1007.808 (Webb 158) and BM 1864,0404.66 (Webb 191).
[870] Biliotti diary, 10 March 1864; BM 1861,1007.1427; Cf. Payne 1931: 295, cat. 673, pl. 22,6; BM 1864,1007.1147; BM 1864,1007.1799; RHODES 11665; Cf. *ClRh* III 87, fig. 79.
[871] Mohr 2015: 253.

The production of segment plates and stemmed dishes in the same workshop on Rhodes, probably located in the region of Kamiros, says much about the channels through which pottery was imported to the island and the kind of ceramic reception this encouraged. I would argue that local pottery which derived from imports from South Ionia (Miletos) and islands in the North Dodecanese (Kos and possibly also Nisyros) were made by one workshop because these goods, although from separate localities, may have arrived on the island in the same shipments. Indeed, there was a major shipping route, guided by local winds, that ran throughout the South-East Aegean and served the Dodecanese and Sporades islands, while also passing Carian and Ionian ports.[872] A possible effect of this route was to condense the various geographic origins of imported pottery into a single 'maritime origin' on Rhodes. In the case of the Kamirian workshop, it is possible to envisage ships leaving Miletos and stopping at Kos and Nisyros before arriving on the island's west coast. Such a shipment could have provided inspiration for a workshop that adopted and adapted these goods as a coherent repertoire – a repertoire whose association can be explained, above all, by logistics. However, it is also conceivable that local potters were aware of these shapes coming from South Ionia and North Dodecanese, and actively decided to adapt these different shapes. The most salient point to arise from the adaptation of stemmed dishes and segment plates for the is purposes of this discussion is, first, the indigenisation of imported shapes in terms their reduced size and distinct decoration, and second, the participation in regional ceramic trends, which is echoed at an earlier stage with incised bowls.

[872] Stampolidis 2003: 43. Part of the sea route from the Syro-Palestinian coast to Cyprus and Asia Minor coast.

4.6 Conclusion

According to the evidence from Kamiros, Rhodes was importing pottery from various regions of the Aegean between 725-525 BC. The extent of local pottery production during this period ranged from diverse workshops that made a range of shapes to more specialised workshops that made a narrow repertoire of shapes. Arafat and Morgan have suggested a not dissimilar model for pottery production in Corinth and Athens where 'certain workshops seemed to have specialised in particular kinds of vessel, but this should be set against a background of diversified production'.[873] Of the diverse Rhodian workshops, those producing Spaghetti wares, Protovroulian wares, Vroulian wares, and Semi-slipped wares are most prominent. Smaller workshops made early orientalising figural vessels, ivory imitation pottery, incised hemispherical bowls, jugs, and plates, stamped pithoi, glazed vessels, as well as stemmed dishes and segment plates. Rhodian potters also imitated Cypriot, Phoenician, and Corinthian unguent vessels as well as Melian plates.

Considering the output of each workshop discussed in this chapter, it is evident that Rhodian potters operating from the late eighth to the late sixth century BC exploited – directly or indirectly – three features of the island's pottery market. The most important of these was the absence of certain shapes that were not being imported to the island. These include plates, bowls, stamnoi, and horn flasks from the Spaghetti workshop; stamnoi, amphorae, and omphalos bowls from the Protovroulian workshop; and amphorae, stamnoi, and situlae from the Vroulian workshop. Second, Rhodian potters tended towards producing unguent vessels, notably spaghetti aryballoi, glazed vessels, and imitations of Cypriots and Phoenician vessels as well as Protocorinthian aryballoi and alabastra. And third, the island's potters sometimes

[873] Arafat and Morgan 1989: 317.

adapted shapes and techniques from neighbouring islands, namely in the manufacture of incised hemispherical bowls, jugs and plates, also found on Kos and Astypalaia, as well as segment plates made on Kos and possibly on Nisyros. Rhodes' potters therefore contributed in the wider Mediterranean (unguent) trade, while also producing wares for which there was a regional or local demand. Such variance in production is a symptom of the opportunities afforded by a connected pottery market, which supported different scales of production and various qualities of product that imitated or adapted imports, or else were distinct. These opportunities can be summarised as follows:

Size of workshops. Larger workshops, including Spaghetti and Vroulian wares, produced a range of shapes. Some of these were made in relatively large quantities that were exported across throughout the Aegean and beyond. Smaller workshops, by contrast, produced a narrow range of shapes in seemingly low quantities, such as incised bowls, stemmed dishes and segment plates. Their products were not exported.

Quality of products. Rhodian pottery production ranged greatly in quality in terms of potting and decoration. Vroulian wares, on the one hand, demonstrate skilled incision and painting as well as fine potting. Early orientalising figural vessels also display a high level of brushwork. On the other hand, Semi-slipped wares display basic decoration and simple potting. The potting of Rhodian stemmed dishes and segment plates was also less accomplished than that of their South Ionian and Koan prototypes.

Relation to imports. In terms of production, a portion of Rhodian pottery directly imitated imports from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Corinth, and the Cyclades, while another focused on local adaptations of imports, namely from South Ionia and Kos. Other workshops made distinct vessels, not least early orientalising figural scenes and ivory imitation pottery. In terms of competition, some Rhodian workshops appear to have competed against imports, including

Protovroulian and Vroulian cups *vis-à-vis* Ionian cups, or Spaghetti aryballoi against Protocorinthian aryballoi.

Together with the various methods of decoration used in local pottery between 725-525 BC – from painting to stamping, incision, and glazing – I would argue that Rhodes' pottery workshops experienced a process of agglomeration, with pottery workshops amassing on the island. Agglomeration economies, recently studied in Roman Italy, normally occur with a degree of labour market pooling paired with localised knowledge spillovers.[874] Although it cannot be proved that Rhodian potters and painters from separate workshops cooperated, there appears to have been a number of workshops in the Kamiros region that could have shared artisans, such as those making Vroulian wares, Semi-slipped wares, and stemmed dishes and segment plates in the first half of the sixth century BC. Moreover, pottery imports from throughout the Aegean encouraged knowledge spillovers on Rhodes, resulting not least in the imitation of Cypriot, Phoenician, Protocorinthian, and Melian wares. I have already mentioned the connections that existed between Rhodes and Crete in the context of stamped pithoi, chamber tombs, and pottery imports. In addition, there is evidence that Crete underwent a similar process of agglomeration of pottery workshops in the seventh century BC, which led to increased inter-island trade between Eleutherna, Sybrita, Knossos, Lytos, and Afrati.[875]

To conclude, the effect of pottery imports from various production places to Rhodes between 725-525 BC was the agglomeration of pottery workshops on the island. This process should be viewed as a reaction to overseas connections that extended beyond the imitation of imports,

[874] Goodman 2016. For modern discussions see Marshall 1920; Rosenthal and Strange 2004: 32.
[875] Kotsonas 2017.

with workshops operating on various scales producing wares of different qualities. Some of these imitated or adapted imports while others were distinct. It is this variance that demonstrates the ways in which connectivity stimulated, as opposed to supressed, pottery production on Rhodes. Pottery production is thus important evidence for the existence of contacts, especially between 725 BC and 525 BC, and the extent of Rhodes' maritime network.

5

STAMNOID PYXIDES AND PAIRED GRAVE GOODS

This chapter is about a locally made shape of pottery and the wider context of its use in Rhodian graves during the fifth century BC. The first section of this chapter explores the development and production of stamnoid pyxides on Rhodes, establishing a chronology for the output of different workshops. The second focuses on graves from Fikellura cemetery at Kamiros, whose assemblages show a clear pattern in how objects were selected for deposition. Namely, pairs of similar or identical pots, terracotta figures, and glass unguent vessels, among other objects, were often deposited in the same grave, with some containing multiple pairings. I argue that this practice was sustained by a thriving market that catered to the funerary needs of Kamiros, where objects could be purchased for specific use as grave goods. Overall, I hope to show how Rhodes' commercial contacts in the late sixth and fifth century BC not only affected the production of a new, indigenous pottery shape but also encouraged a funerary practice that extended beyond Kamiros to the neighbouring island of Chalke. To elucidate my questions for this chapter, I will start by describing the contents of a grave excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann.

5.1 Fikellura 269

Fikellura 269 was excavated on 13 April 1864 and is described in Biliotti's diary as follows:

> Outside a tomb covered with stone slabs – forming a sharp vault:

Globular vessels with two handles and cover – red with brown bands (2 entire)

Oinochoe small black glaze (1 entire)

Aryballos fine black glaze with mouldings (1 entire)

Aryballos red figure ornaments (1 entire)

Inside the tomb:

Aryballos black ground woman's head red (1 entire)

Aryballos reeded fine black glaze (2 entire)

Cylixes fine paste good black varnish with mouldings, inside (2 entire)

Terracotta mask with bust of woman rather large eyes (2 broken)

The stone-lined cist grave, topped with a gabled roof, contained two red-figure squat lekythoi, two lekythoi with fluted bodies, a pair of bolsals with stamped decoration, two mould-made female terracotta protomes, a black glaze olpe and a further lekythos with impressed patterns **[Fig.180-189]**.[876] It also contained two lidded vessels with upright handles, measuring fifteen centimetres in height **[Figs.190-191]**. Both are made from pale-orange clay and painted with a brownish slip. The shoulder of one vessel is decorated with a laurel wreath framed by two pairs of bands, while its handles are adorned with diagonal brush strokes.[877] The other is similarly decorated, except one half of its shoulder bears a group of geometric patterns **[Fig.192]** – a zig-zag ladder, four meander hooks arranged in a swastika, and on the far left, a bird painted in

[876] BM 1864,1007.95; BM 1864,1007.169 (squat lekythoi); BM 1864,1007.1649; BM 1864,1007.1650 (fluted lekythoi); BM 1864,1007.1601; BM 1864,1007.1634 (bolsals); BM 1864,1007.1372; BM 1864,1007.1739 (terracotta protomes); BM 1864,1007.1657 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1652 (lekyhos).
[877] BM 1864,1007.260.

silhouette, its feathers rendered by cross-hatching.[878] Despite the late Archaic date of one of the the terracotta female protomes, which is possibly an heirloom, this assemblage can be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, based on comparable lekythoi and bolsals recovered from the Athenian Agora.[879] Its contents raise three questions that I will address in this chapter: What are these 'globular' lidded vessels? What was their origin and function? And why is this assemblage composed of pairs of objects, some of which are almost identical?

5.2 Rhodian stamnoid pyxides: lekanis, lebes gamikos, or pyxis?

Ever since Adolf Furtwängler described these vessels, rather factually, as 'Deckelgefäße mit emporstehenden Henkeln' there has been disagreement over what they should be called and, consequently, what we think they were actually used for.[880] While some publications have referred to them as lekanides, others call them pyxides or stamnoid pyxides or lebetes gamikoi.[881] This may in part be a problem with the inflexibility of modern terminologies based on Attic pottery shapes: lekanis refers to shallow lidded bowls, lebes gamikos to vessels with a tapering body and a stand that can be long or short; pyxis to a relatively small lidded vessel without a foot; and stamnos to a squat amphora with horizontal handles placed high on the side

[878] BM 1864,1007.360.
[879] Terracotta protomes: BM 1864,1007.1372 (late Archaic); Cf. Croissant (1983: 155-180, pl.51–64) who dates terracotta female protomes in 'Group G' from Clazomenai to between 530–490 BC; BM 1864,1007.1739 (mid-late fifth century Rhodian, see section 6.4.2.4). For the Attic vessels in the tomb, Cf. *Agora* XII 1129-1130, pl.38 (lekythoi); *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsals); *Agora* XXX 269, no. 969, pl.94 (squat lekythos). On Attic bolsals see also Gill 1984.
[880] Furtwängler 1886: 152. Furtwängler's original entries in the Altes Museum registers are similarly factual, e.g. 'Deckelgefäße' for V.I. 2946.
[881] Blinkenberg 1911:148; Sieveking and Hackl 1912: 44, pl.16, no.454 ('Deckelgefäße'); Fairbanks 1928: 295, pl. 30 ('Lekane'); Hopper 1949: 213, n. 17; Harl-Schaller 1972-1975: 164 ('Rhodian pyxis'); Giannikouri, Patsiada and Filimonos 1990: 176-181 ('Stamnoid pyxis'); *CVA* Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4] pl. 182, 2-6 ('Pyxis haute'); *CVA* Karlsruhe 2 [Germany 8] pl. 47, 6-7 ('Vogellebes'). Biliotti uses various terms, including 'globular vessels' (13 April 1864) whereas Jacopi always uses 'pisside'.

of the body, and a foot at the base.[882] Such pottery terms impose certain conventions on how classical archaeologists classify certain pottery shapes, and do not recognise the variance that may have existed beyond Athens during the Classical period.

Lebetes gamikoi are associated with marriage in Athens, thought to have been used to hold the water for the bridal bath.[883] The connection with the Rhodian vessels is supposed on grounds of similar form, specifically their lidded bodies that taper towards a foot and handles that are set relatively high or even vertically. Both Attic lebetes gamikoi and the Rhodian vessels also occur in fifth century BC graves, sometimes even together.[884] A good example is Ampelles 153 (155) at Ialysos, in which two lidded vessels decorated with half-circles on the shoulder were found with a pair of red-figure lebetes gamikoi, along with a black-glaze lekanis and two red-figure squat aryballoi **[Fig.193]**.[885] I would argue that the Rhodian vessels should not be identified as lebetes gamikoi: a roughly analogous form and chronological conccurrence is not a strong enough basis on which to identify a local shape with an Attic shape. Moreover, these vessels are not decorated with marriage scenes and have never been found together with a stand, on which lebetes gamikoi were placed during wedding celebrations.[886] The term 'lekanis' is also not appropriate since their bodies are more spherical than lekanides.[887] In my opinion, these vessels should called 'pyxides', specifically 'stamnoid pyxides', due to their similarities in form and decoration to Late Corinthian pyxides, which in all likelihood were

[882] On terminologies see *Agora* XII 164-167 (lekanis); Harl-Schaller 1972-1975 (lebes gamikos); Philippaki 1967 (stamnos); Alexandridou 2011: 31 (pyxis).
[883] *Agora* XXIII 27-29; *Agora* XXX: 18-20.
[884] Roberts 1973; Harl-Schaller 1972-75; *Agora* XXIII (p.28) notes that although the Attic lebes gamikoi were made from the late sixth century BC, most examples are red-figure and date to the fifth century BC. I am thankful to thank Agnes Schwarzmaier (Altes Museum, Berlin) for a helpful discussion in the topic of Attic lebes gamikoi.
[885] *ClRh* III 155, fig. 148; RHODES 6642-6643 (stamnoid pyxides); RHODES 6640 and 6644 (lebetes gamikoi); RHODES 6641 (lekanis); RHODES 6646-6647 (squat lekythoi).
[886] Harl-Schaller 1972-1975: 154. For an example of stands see *Agora* XXIII 516, pl. 49.
[887] *Agora* XII 164-167.

their model, and their initial appearance in grave contexts belonging to the last quarter of the sixth century BC. This term is also more appropriate because it is a neutral term that does not imply a specific function. Nonetheless, as my discussion will show, the development of stamnoid pyxides suggests a possible association with the nuptial sphere towards the end of the fifth century BC.[888] A further association with textile production is explored in the following chapter.[889] Moreover, there is evidence from Attic graves to suggest that there was at least a depositional, if not functional, relation between lebetes gamikoi, pyxides, and lekanides during this period.

How do we know these pots were made on Rhodes? The argument is first their, almost exclusive, concentration to the island, where they are found in late sixth- and fifth-century graves BC at Kamiros and Ialysos, and in fourth-century graves BC within Rhodes town. Isolated examples of the shape are also known from the nearby islands of Chalke, Tilos, and Nisyros.[890] Secondly, a recent clay analysis of a stamnoid pyxis in the Louvre revealed a high level of magnesium that is typical of Rhodian wares **[Fig.194]**.[891] Our understanding may shift with further chemical analyses across the full spectrum of this varied shape but, at the moment, there is a reasonable basis to assume that the examples discussed in this chapter were produced on Rhodes.

Already, Humphrey Payne and R. J. Hopper have noted the existence of 'Rhodian pyxides' in their discussions of Corinthian pyxides 'with convex sides and cylindrical handles' dating to

[888] See section 5.2.2.
[889] See section 6.3.
[890] Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 203, no.19; 210, no.31; 214, no.38; 218, no.48 (Chalke); 277, no.50; 278, no.51 (Tilos); 393, no.91; 396, no.99 (Nisyros).
[891] Coulié 2015.

Late Corinthian II, after the middle of the sixth century BC.[892] Yet these brief mentions mask their great diversity and chronological development. For instance, Payne notes the 'curious group of Rhodian vases…touches not only the shape, but also the decoration [of Corinthian pyxides]', while Hopper cites many examples, with different decorative forms, under the umbrella of 'pyxides with upright handles and lids of the same type of [those from Late Corinthian II]'.[893] More recently, Frauke Heinrich's discussion of Rhodian epinetra identifies a workshop that produced stamnoid pyxides as well as epinetra, using the grave contexts of the former to establish a chronology for the latter.[894] But her evaluation is far from complete since it lacks consideration of the graves from Fikellura cemetery. By considering results of the Anglo-French and Italian excavations together, it is possible to trace a chronological development in Rhodian stamnoid pyxides and thus illuminate a wide ranging and important class of local pottery. I will discuss the use of these vessels later in this chapter, but first I would like to consider Corinthian pyxides in more depth, assessing how they relate to the beginning of the Rhodian shape.

5.2.1 Corinthian inspirations, Rhodian alterations

As noted in the previous chapter, Rhodian potters produced imitations of Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra, as well as ring-aryballoi from at least the last quarter of the seventh century BC.[895] Pyxides were made on Rhodes during the late Geometric period in a cylindrical shape

[892] Payne 1931: 332; Hopper 1949: 213, n.17.
[893] Payne 1931: 332; Hopper 1949: 213, n.17.
[894] Heinrich 2006: 154-156.
[895] See section 4.3.

with decoration that imitated ivory and bone carvings.[896] Stamnoid pyxides, by contrast, are connected to Late Corinthian shapes and styles, not least the so-called 'conventionalising' style, a late iteration of Corinthian ceramic production that continued into the fifth century BC.[897]

Convex-sided pyxides with upright handles made their first appearance during the Middle Corinthian period, with many examples by the Geladakis Painter.[898] The shape continues to be popular in the Late Corinthian period, developing a flatter shoulder with loop-handles rising vertically from it **[Figs.195-196]**.[899] The vessels usually measure between eight and fifteen centimetres in height, and are often decorated with radiating strokes on the shoulder and bands around the body.[900] Some have more elaborate, floral motifs **[Fig.197]**.[901] Some pyxides also have a gently tapering body and broad base, while others taper more sharply towards a narrow, convex foot.[902] There are datable contexts containing Late Corinthian pyxides known at Corinth, Argos, Rhitsona, and Megara Hyblaea. A deposit from a well at the agora of Corinth included quantities of Corinthian and Attic black-figure pottery. Based on a black-figure hydria of the mid-sixth century BC and lekythoi of the first quarter of the fifth century BC, a chronological bracket of between 550 and 480 BC was proposed for this deposit.[903] A group of graves in Argos yielded Corinthian pyxides as well as Attic lekythoi that are similar to those

[896] See section 4.5.2. RHODES 14749; *ClRh* VI-III 202, fig. 243; *Exochi* 148-154, fig. 219; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 302, cat. 170.
[897] Payne 1931: 331; Amyx 1988: 395.
[898] Payne 1931: 307, nos. 895-904; Amyx 1988: 449-450, cat.214-15, nos. A-4 to A-25, B-3, B4, C-2. See also BM 1836,0224.251-252.
[899] Amyx 1988: 450.
[900] E.g. BM 1863,0728.68 and BM 1863,0728.70 (both from Gela).
[901] Payne 1931: 331, nos.1491-1500; BM 1864,1007.322 (Fikellura 35).
[902] Compare examples in Karouzou 1933-1935: 18, fig.3.
[903] Campbell 1938: 557-560; 589-590, fig. 16.

found in graves in the Athenian Kerameikos.[904] Along with Rhitsona grave 126, in which pyxides were deposited together with a late black-figure oinochoe, I would suggest that Corinthian pyxides with convex sides and upright handles were produced for roughly a century, from the second quarter of the sixth century BC to 490/80 BC.[905] Some of the latest conventionalising pyxides were exported to Rhodes, such as those found in a grave at Drakidis cemetery, Ialysos, which is also the earliest context in which Rhodian stamnoid pyxides occur. A stone-lined cist grave with a gabled roof, Drakidis 180 (239) contained the skeleton of an adult with grave goods arranged directly below its feet and to its right-hand side **[Fig.198]**.[906] Below its feet were a Fikellura amphora and an Attic black-figured amphora, whose mouth was covered by a small black glaze kylix placed upside down.[907] To its right was found a larger black glaze kylix, an alabaster alabastron, a two-handled bowl, a small kothon, two Corinthian pyxides, an Attic black-figured eye-cup, and two local stamnoid pyxides.[908] A similar Fikellura amphora decorated with a girdle of volutes has been dated to 540-530 BC.[909] More specific dates are provided by the amphora and eye-cup: the closest parallels for the eye-cup belong to the final quarter of the sixth century BC, and the amphora has been attributed to the Rycroft Painter, active in the second half of the sixth century BC.[910] It is similar in form, composition, and in its linear decoration to another amphora attributed to this painter from Macri Langoni

[904] Karouzou 1933-1935; *Kerameikos* VII,2 134, pl. 90, Grave 516; 138, pl.91, Grave 533. See also 62, pl.36, Grave 234, which includes two Corinthian conventionalising pyxides and is dated to the last quarter sixth century BC.
[905] Ure 1927: 94-96, pl. 12.
[906] *ClRh* III 182-186, figs. 178-180.
[907] RHODES 10614; *ClRh* III 182, fig. 181 (Fikellura amphora); RHODES 10604; *ClRh* III 184, fig. 181 (Attic amphora); RHODES 10603; *ClRh* III 185, fig. 181 (kylix).
[908] RHODES 10613; *ClRh* III 186, fig. 181 (kylix); RHODES 10611; *ClRh* III 186, fig. 181 (alabaster alabastron); RHODES 10606; *ClRh* III 185, fig. 181 (two-handled bowl); RHODES 10610; *ClRh* III 185, fig. 181 (kothon); RHODES 10607-10608; *ClRh* III 185, fig. 181 (Corinthian pyxides); RHODES 10605; *ClRh* III 186, fig. 181 (Attic eye cup); RHODES 10609 and 10612; *ClRh* III 186, fig. 181 (stamnoid pyxides).
[909] Wascheck 2008: 72; Coulié 2014a: 156-157, cat. 36.
[910] Cf. BM 1886,0401.828 and Boardman 1978: figs. 177-178 (eye-cup). On the Rycroft Painter see *ABV* 335-338, 675, 692, and 694.

17 (247), which Anna Lemos has dated to 520-510 BC.[911] Overall, I would place this grave into the last decade of the sixth century, no later than 500 BC.

A comparison between the Corinthian pyxides and the Rhodian stamnoid pyxides found here exposes much about the early development of the local shape. Beginning with their similarities: the bodies have roughly the same, bulbous profile, which tapers to a convex foot; the shoulders are crowned with a tall neck-like rim onto which the lid can be placed; both are decorated with a band around the middle of the body; and the rim, foot, and upper part of the handles are slipped. But here the similarity ends. Their clay and slip are different: creamy, buff clay is paired with dark brown and purple slip on the Corinthian pyxides, while pale-orange clay is offset by reddish slip on the Rhodian stamnoid pyxides. The pair of concentric circles that decorate the stamnoid pyxides is also a departure from Corinthian conventionalising schemes. The motif recalls the ivory imitation wares produced on Rhodes **[Figs.199-201]**, as discussed in the previous chapter.[912] This is not surprising given that many motifs found on decorated Rhodian pottery have a long lifespan. For instance, a tentacle-like pattern is found on a late Geometric kantharos as well as on a shallow bowl from the Monolithos grave dating to the late seventh century BC.[913] Likewise rows of cross-hatched triangles decorate Protovroulian skyphoi from the late seventh century and stamnoid pyxides from the fifth century BC.[914] Other stamnoid pyxides are decorated with groups of semi-circles on the shoulder, which are also present on earlier Spaghetti wares **[Figs.202-203].**[915] And thick bands are painted on contemporaneous stamnoi in a manner that is not dissimilar to Protovroulian wares **[Figs.204-**

[911] RHODES 13447; *ClRh* IV 83-86, fig. 68-69; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 19, 1–2.
[912] See section 4.5.2. E.g. *Exochi* 153, figs. 219-220.
[913] RHODES 13799; *ClRh* VI-VII 78, fig. 86; Cf. BM 1860,0404.9; Archontidou 1977: pl. 90, BE 360.
[914] Cf. BM 1864,1007.259 and *Vroulia* 63, pl. 36.2,35; 2,39a-b.
[915] Cf. RHODES 6642-6643; *ClRh* III 155, fig. 148; Lund Antikenmusuem 62; *Lindos* I fig. 42.

205].[916] Furthermore, whereas the shoulder of the Corinthian pyxis is flat, with handles rising vertically above, those of the Rhodian stamnoid pyxis are sloping with handles set at an angle, roughly 45 degrees. There is also a difference in size. The Rhodian pots are few centimetres taller than their Corinthian counterparts, even with their lids missing.

Two stamnoid pyxides found at Kamiros further illustrate their similarities and differences to Late Corinthian pyxides. Macri Langoni 109 (32) consisted of a sarcophagus made from porous stone in which was found an adult skeleton and a rich assemblage of grave goods.[917] Among its pottery were a Fikellura style amphora and amphoriskos, two Attic black-figure amphorae, two olpai, three lekythoi, and four kylixes, one of which is decorated with a dancing maenad and satyr on interior **[Fig.206]**.[918] These vessels allow us to establish a secure date for the burial. The body of the Fikellura amphora is decorated with a running hare and may be attributed to the Running Man Painter, who was active around 530 BC.[919] Slightly later is a neck-amphora attributed to the Attic Dot-Band Class of small amphorae, dating to 500-490 BC,[920] as well as the satyr and maenad cup, probably from the end of the sixth century BC.[921] Concerning the Attic olpai, the arrangement of the checkerboard pattern with meanders below on Rhodes Archaeological Museum 12328 is similar to olpai from Zambico cemetery attributed to the Class of Vatican G50 and The Painter of Rhodes 12242, active around 500 BC.[922] The three lekythoi each depict a Seated Woman flanked by attendants and can be attributed to the

[916] Cf. RHODES 10804: *ClRh* III 210, fig. 209; Furtwängler 1886: fig. 136.
[917] *ClRh* IV 215-226, figs. 232, 233, 234.
[918] RHODES 12344; *ClRh* IV 222, fig. 247; (Fikellura amphora); RHODES 12353; *ClRh* IV 223, fig. 249 (Fikellura amphoriskos); RHODES 12329-12330; *ClRh* IV 217, fig. 241 (amphorae); RHODES 12328; *ClRh* IV 216, fig. 238 (olpe); RHODES 12331; *ClRh* IV 220, fig. 242 (olpai); RHODES 12332-12334; *ClRh* IV 220, fig. 243 (lekythoi); RHODES 12327; *ClRh* IV 215, fig. 236 (kylix).
[919] Coulié 2014a: 161-161, cat. 38. See also BM 1867,1007.156; BM 1867.0506.46; BM 1867,0508.859.
[920] RHODES 12330; *ClRh* IV 217-218, figs. 234 and 241; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Italy 9] pl. 8, 3; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 39. On the Dot-band Class of small amphorae see *ABV* 483-485, 700.
[921] RHODES 12326; *ClRh* IV 215, fig. 236; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Italy 9] pl.15; Cf. *Agora* XXIII 1797, pl. 115.
[922] Cf. RHODES 5110; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 72.

Cook Group.[923] I would therefore date this grave to 500-490 BC, coinciding with the broader chronological bracket for the two female terracotta protomes also deposited in this grave.[924] The stamnoid pyxides belonging to Macri Langoni 109 (32) are a less homogenous pair than those from Drakidis 180 (239) in that one is much larger than the other, yet both have the same decorative scheme: radiating strokes on the shoulder framed by bands in brownish slip **[Figs.207-210]**. The lid of the larger example, which has a broad knob, is also decorated with bands. Interestingly, the vessels appear to have been coated in a creamy coloured slip. Their overall appearance is 'Corinthianizing', especially when considered together with the Late Corinthian kothon also deposited in this grave.[925] But, once again, these vessels depart from Corinthian examples in their size, slope of the shoulder, and tilting of the handles. Moreover, the handles on the larger stamnoid pyxis are also formally different. Rather than a single loop on each side, there is a pair of double loops, each painted with diagonal brush strokes.

How do we account for these differences? The answer lies partly in the name. *Stamnoid* pyxides bear similarities, on the one hand, to small, lidded receptacles for cosmetics or trinkets, commonly called pyxides, and, on the other, to stamnoi, with their tapering body and handles set relatively high on the sides.[926] The stamnos is a lidded storage jar that does not appear in the form considered by scholars as canonical before the invention of Attic red-figure pottery in the last decade of the fifth century BC. However, various shapes may be described as 'stamnoids', i.e. shapes with two upright handles attached to the body just above the point of greatest diameter, a feature that links stamnoids with the lebetes gamikoi.[927] To explain these

[923] RHODES 12332-12334; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10]: pl. 82-83; Cf. *Agora* XXIII 841, pl. 78.
[924] For which compare Croissant 1983: 161, no. 98, pl. 60.
[925] RHODES 12343; *ClRh* IV 222, fig. 234. On Late Corinthian Kothoi see Amyx 1988: 473-474.
[926] Lewis (2002: 133) notes that some pyxides have been found with traces of cinnabar and psimythion inside.
[927] On stamnoi and stamnoids see Philippaki 1967 and *Agora* XXX p.16-17, with references.

differences through ceramic terms alone, however, would be to prioritise Athenocentric pottery names over the local context of ceramic consumption on Rhodes around the end of the sixth century BC. It is therefore important to consider what similar pottery shapes were being consumed on the island at this time and how they could have influenced the development of stamnoid pyxides. One shape of a locally produced ware is particularly important in this respect – the 'Vroulian' stamnos.

The production of Vroulian wares was explored in the previous chapter.[928] There are only two datable grave contexts in which Vroulian stamnoi have been found on Rhodes. The first Marmaro 19 at Ialysos **[Figs.211 & 213]**.[929] Inside the stone-lined cist were found two black-figure olpai, a gold ring, a terracotta spindle-whorl, a head of a terracotta horse, and fragments of a glass vessel. Along with the stamnos, more black-figure pottery was deposited outside the grave – three amphorae, a hydria, a lidless lekanis, a kylix, and a skyphos. The amphora, which depicts a footrace on one side and a *komos* with five naked youths on the other, has been attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter, dating between 540-530 BC.[930] Similarly, the hydria with a horseman and youths is dated to around 540 BC, thought to be the work of the BMN Painter.[931] This is further confirmed by the olpai, one of which shows Heracles fighting the Nemean Lion, while the other also represents a horseman and youths. Both are attributed to the Class of the Olpe of Louvre F158, of about 530 BC.[932] However, the neck amphora showing a bearded man and a woman reclining on a couch on either side belongs to the Class of Neck

[928] See section 4.4.3.
[929] RHODES 15443; *ClRh* VIII 136-146, fig. 123; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 310-311, cat. 182.
[930] RHODES 15450; *ClRh* VIII 145-146 no.14, figs.123 and 131; *ABV* 306, 48; Böhr 1982: 105 no. U8, pl.153; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.16, 1-2.
[931] RHODES 15444; *ClRh* VIII 142 no. 8, fig. 126; *ABV* 227, 8; Diehl 1964: 93, T202; Johnston 1975: 152 no. 45; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 51, 1-2.
[932] RHODES 15443 and 15439; *ClRh* VIII 136-138 no. 1, fig.123 and 124; Fournier-Christol 1990: 153 no. 21-22; Clark 1992: no. 171 and 184; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 66, 1-3 and pl. 67, 1-4.

Amphorae with Shoulder-Pictures and has been dated slightly later to 510-500 BC.[933] This lower chronological bracket is also suggested by the amphora in the manner of the Red-Line Painter, depicting two bearded, naked men, as well as the skyphos with palmettes.[934] I would therefore date this grave to the last decade of the sixth century BC, its contents ranging between 540 and 500 BC. It is unlikely that more than one person was inhumed in this grave since this is no evidence for multiple burial at Ialysos, in contrast to the evidence from Kamiros that was discussed in the second chapter.[935]

Unfortunately, the second grave context cannot be dated quite so precisely. Inside Marmaro 42, also a stone-lined cist grave with a gabled roof, a small collection of jewellery had been deposited, including a gold band, a gold-plated bronze ring, and a silver ring **[Fig.212]**. Outside the grave was a plain-ware amphora, a black glaze amphora with its neck and handles left reserved, two black glaze cups, two stamnoid pyxides decorated with bands and waves, a plain-ware lekythos, a black-glaze calyx cup, a banded olpe coated in white glaze, and a faience unguent vessel in the shape of a rooster – as well as a Vroulian stamnos, measuring over 40 cm in height.[936] On the one hand, the black glaze cups belong to a type produced during the last quarter of the sixth century BC.[937] The faience unguent vessel and the banded olpe were likely produced during this period.[938] Yet parallels for the amphora and calyx cup come from late fifth and early fourth century BC contexts, between 425 and 375 BC – a date that would agree,

[933] RHODES 15448; *ClRh* VIII 143-144 no. 12, fig. 129; *ABV* 692; Burow 1989: 117; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 34, 1-4.
[934] RHODES 15449; *ClRh* VIII 145 no. 13, fig. 123 and 130; *ABV* 482, 9; Johnston 1975: 152, no. 46; Kurtz 1975: 146, n. 5; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 37, 1-4. For a comparison to the skyphos see *Kerameikos* IX, E 10, 3 (miniaturised but with similar decoration).
[935] See section 2.6.
[936] *ClRh* VIII 159-162, fig. 148.
[937] Cf. *Agora* XII 398-413, pl. 19 (type C).
[938] Cf. *Agora* XII 255-259, pl. 12 (banded olpe); Cf. Webb 1978: 105, cat. 671-674.

as we shall see, with the stamnoid pyxides found here.[939] I would therefore date this grave to between 400 and 375 BC, with an assemblage stretching down from around 525 BC.

Together, Marmaro 19 and 42 indicate that Vroulian stamnoi were being produced during the second half of the sixth century BC, corresponding with the manufacture of other Vroulian wares. The evidence from Daphnae in Egypt, where Vroulian stamnoi and situlae have been found along with Greek painted pottery predating 525 BC, further indicates production during this period.[940] Most importantly, this corresponds with the appearance of stamnoid pyxides in Rhodian graves. I would therefore argue that Vroulian stamnoi, with their sloping shoulders and handles set at an angle, acted as a typological intermediary through which the Corinthian pyxis was adopted and adapted to suit local tastes. Perhaps the most significant of these adaptions was the increase in size, with some measuring over 20 cm high.[941] To be sure, stamnoid pyxides should not be regarded merely as a composite of Vroulian and Corinthian traditions, but as a new, indigenous creation that would grow in popularity and diversify over the course of the fifth century BC.

5.2.2 Placing the island workshops

As mentioned above, previous scholarship on Rhodian stamnoid pyxides has tended to treat them as a single shape that shows little variation or development. There has so far been no attempt to identify separate workshops producing these pots, and to locate them

[939] Cf. *Agora* XII 1483, pl. 62 (table amphora); 691, pl.28 (calyx cup).
[940] Weber 2006 and 2012.
[941] E.g. BM 1864,1007.259.

chronologically and geographically where possible. In this section, I will outline four main workshops that emerged during the fifth century BC: the 'Bird Painter' group, the 'White Slip' group, and two 'Bands and Waves' groups. I will use grave contexts from the Anglo-French and Italian excavations to understand when their output began and where it was focused. In doing so, I hope to illustrate the rapid proliferation of this local product and to explain its variety within domestic and funerary contexts, as storage vessels and grave goods respectively.

5.2.2.1 The Bird Painter Group

The stamnoid pyxides of the Bird Painter group, to which those from Fikellura 269 belong, are characterised by pale-orange clay and geometric ornaments painted in a brownish slip.[942] Some have a short, bulbous profile and ring base. Others are taller, tapering more sharply to a stemmed foot. The potting is quite rough, with walls of medium thickness and a course, uneven surface. Painted decoration is arranged in friezes and is normally confined to the shoulder, but sometimes extends to the lower body of these vessels. It consists of geometric patterns painted in outline, including meanders, garlands, and, most commonly, birds – from plump roosters, to 'googly'-eyed owls and water-birds with stick legs. As I mentioned above, motifs like the cross-hatched triangle recall those found on Rhodian wares from the late Geomteric period and seventh century BC – indicating a long tradition of geometric ornaments being used to decorate

[942] BM 1864,1007.259; BM 1864,1007.260; BM 1864,1007.360; BM 1885, 1213.37, 38; BM 1893,0712.8; BERLIN 2946, 2962, 2965, 2967, 3004; Furtwängler 1886: 152-153; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 295 and 296; Fairbanks 1928: 92, pl. 30; COPENHAGEN 6452 and 7631; *CVA* Copenhagen [Denmark 4] pl. 182, 2-3; Munich, Antikensammlung A 861; Sieveking and Hackl 1912: 44, cat. 454, pl. 16; Karlsruhe, Antikensammlung B 2357; *CVA* Karlsruhe 2 [Germany 8] pl. 47, 6-7; Louvre A 335; Pottier 1896: pl. 13; RHODES 12157; *ClRh* IV 66, fig. 34; RHODES 14109; *ClRh* VI-VII 179, fig. 211; 22nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities storage facility 13945; *ClRh* II, 153, figs. 33-34; Stampolides, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 214, cat. 38.

local pottery.[943] While this group is relatively consistent in its choice of decorative motifs, its consistency in execution is less so. Some compositions appear rushed and spontaneous, yet others are precise and well balanced, such as those of the vessels from Fikellura 269. The handles are either single loops or pairs of double loops with a triangular knob in the middle and are always decorated with diagonal strokes. The lids are usually banded. Lastly, it should be noted that most vessels of this group display evidence of wear, with surface chippings on the body and the slip on the rim fading, perhaps through repeated use of the lid. There is also evidence of wear on the base, which is often chipped and scuffed.

Regarding chronology, vessels of this group have been dated as late as the beginning of the fourth century BC.[944] I would argue, however, that their production started in the first half of the fifth century BC based on two grave contexts at Kamiros. Among the pottery found in Macri Langoni 6 (6), a chamber tomb with a single interment, was a red-figure hydria, a black-glaze stemmed dish and lekanis, two black-figure oinochoai and an alabastron, as well as a stamnoid pyxis **[Fig.214]**.[945] The decoration of the stamnoid pyxis' body is not discernible from the excavation report, but its bulbous shape and domed lid decorated with pairs of bands strongly resembles examples of the Bird Painter group. It is also of similar size to them, measuring 12 cm in height.[946] The lekanis may be dated to between 500 and 450 BC, with parallels known from the Athenian Agora.[947] Both oinochai have been attributed to the Athena Painter or his workshop, around 480-470 BC,[948] a bracket also suggested by the alabastron and

[943] See sections 3.3.2.1 and 4.4.2. See also Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 302, cat. 169.
[944] Stampolides, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 214, cat. 38.
[945] RHODES 12145; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (red-figure hydria); RHODES 12154; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (stemmed dish); RHODES 12155; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (lekanis); RHODES 12147; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (black-figure oinochoe); RHODES 12148; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (black-figure oinochoe); RHODES 12149; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (black-figure alabastra); RHODES 12157; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34 (stamnoid pyxis)
[946] Cf. BM 1864,1007.260 and Louvre A 335; Pottier 1896: pl. 13.
[947] *Agora* XII 1217 and 1219, pl. 40.
[948] *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl. 63, 1-2 and 3-4; *ABV* 532, 12-13. Clark 1992: 1944-1945.

the stemmed dish.[949] Altogether, I would date this grave to no later than 460 BC, placing it in the latest group of chamber tombs constructed at Kamiros.[950] A similar date may be assigned to Fikellura 184, a stone-lined cist grave with a flat roof that contained an oinochoe in the form of a female head, a white-ground lekythos, a core-formed glass aryballos, and one of the most richly decorated examples of the Bird Painter group **[Fig.215]**.[951] The oinochoe has been assigned to the Cook Class, dated to between 470 and 450 BC,[952] while the lekythos with ivy leaves, cross-hatched panel, and meanders on the body was likely made around 460 BC.[953] This falls within the chronological bracket for glass aryballoi belonging to Mediterranean Group 1.[954] On this basis I would date Fikellura 184 to between 460-450 BC. There are three other contexts with stamnoid pyxides from the Bird Painter group belonging to the late fifth and early fourth century – Fikellura 73 (3), Fikellura 269, and Pontamo 16 – yet Macri Langoni 6 (6) and Fikellura 184 indicate that this group at least began sometime around 470-450 BC.[955] The long production, assuming the examples deposited in later graves were not kept as heirlooms, may explain the variation in form and decoration as resulting from the workshop's development over time.

Of the 20 stamnoid pyxides attributable to the Bird Painter group, those with a known context come from Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke.[956] Their absence from the cemeteries of Ialysos and

[949] *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl. 94, 1-3; *CVA* Rhodes 2 [Italy 10], pl. 1, 2-4; Haspels 1936: 167, 189, 263 no. 11; Cf. Badinou 2003: 166 A62, pl. 58 (black-figure alabastron); *Agora* XII 982, pl. 35 (stemmed dish).
[950] Mohr 2015: 253.
[951] Biliotti diary, 14 March 1864; BM 1952,0204.89 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1206 (glass aryballos); BM 1952,0204.85 (white-ground lekythos); BM 1864,1007.259 (stamnoid pyxis).
[952] *ARV*² 1539, 14.
[953] Cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 82-83, grave 282, nos. 1-8, pl. 55.
[954] Harden 1981: 57-61.
[955] *ClRh* VI–VII 179-182, fig. 211 (Fikellura 73 (3)); Biliotti diary, 13 April 1864 (Fikellura 269); *ClRh* II, 152-154, figs. 33-34 (Pontamo 16).
[956] It is difficult to establish the exact provenance of the stamnoid pyxides excavated by Albert Biliotti and sold at Sotheby's in 1885. However, Berlin Antikensammlung 2967 is marked 'Siana K8' in pencil. Furtwängler (1886: 152-153) also mentions that 2971 (now lost) came from Siana and that 3004 came from Monolithos, near Kymissala, while 2692 was found at Cazviri cemetery at Kamiros.

presence across the wider Kamiros region locates the workshop in this area. For one reason or another, it seems there was little appetite at Ialysos for these vessels, despite the long duration of the group. Furthermore, their distribution between Kamiros and Chalke may provide credence to an inscription dating to the third century BC stating that Chalke fell among the Kamirian *ktoina*, subdivisions of the island that existed prior to the synoicism of 408 BC.[957] Overall, I would suggest that their archaising decoration, regional distribution and continued production are evidence of the 'folkish' character of the Bird Painter group.[958] These pots were made for the Kamirian market and expressed Kamirian values.

5.2.2.2 The White Slip Group

Only five vessels of this group from Rhodes plus one from South Russia are known to me.[959] They are small, not measuring over 10 cm in height, and are coated in a thick white slip. Four have a sloping shoulder with handles set at an angle and squat body that gently tapers to a convex foot, while two have a flat shoulder with loop-handles rising vertically.[960] The natural colour of the clay, sometimes visible on the underside, is reddish-brown. Decorative ornaments are simple and sparse, consisting of bands and two rosettes on the shoulder, painted in either a red or brown slip. On those with a flat shoulder, the rosettes are reduced to dots and replaced with a leaf pattern. There is no use of incision. The lids are banded and flatter than those of the Bird Painter group. Perhaps the most characteristic element of these stamnoid pyxides are the

[957] BM 1864, 1007.2103; *IG* XII, I, 694; Papachristodoulou 2008: 39. An Archaic relief pithos of the 'Kamiros' workshop dating to the late sixth century has also been found on Chalke (Feytmans 1952: 197-8, no. 30.243). On the finds from Chalke now in the National Archaeological Museum of Florence see Iozzo 2019.
[958] The term 'archaising' is used to denote long lasting motifs that originate in an earlier period. These are not necessarily self-concious attempts by potters to use out-dated motifs.
[959] BM 1864,1007.318; BM 1864,1007.320; BM 1864,1007.322. RHODES 10805; *ClRh* III 210, fig. 219; RHODES 12426; *ClRh* IV 101, fig. 85. For the example in Bonn see Greifenhagen 1936: 382, fig. 37.
[960] BM 1864,1007.322; RHODES 12426; *ClRh* IV 101, fig. 85.

single loop-handles, whose joins to the shoulder are visible, i.e. the potter did not bother to smooth the junction between handle and body. Moreover, the upper sections of the handles are painted in red or brown slip. The exterior surface of these pots is smoother than those of the Bird Painter Group, with some showing little sign of wear prior to deposition.

There are four grave contexts from Kamiros that allow us to establish when the White Slip group was being produced. Of these, the most precisely datable is Fikellura 230, a stone-lined cist grave with a gabled roof. Besides a stamnoid pyxis, the grave goods included a black-figure lekythos, an oinochoe in the shape of woman's head, much like that from Fikellura 184, a black-glaze olpe, three small bowls, one saltcellar, and a kantharos with impressed decoration **[Fig.216]**.[961] The lekythos, which depicts a chariot with a seated woman in front and two standing women behind, has been attributed to the manner of the Haimon Painter, whose vessels are common in Fikellura and Macri Langoni cemeteries.[962] It most likely dates to between 470 and 460 BC, which chronogically complements the oinochoe of the Cook Class.[963] Similarly, the olpe, two of the small bowls, and the saltcellar have parallels from the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos dating to the second quarter of the fifth century BC.[964] Kantharoi with impressed decoration, on the other hand, are not found prior to 450 BC.[965] Altogether, I would place this grave around 450-440 BC. Another stone-lined cist grave, Fikellura 100, yielded a bronze mirror, an alabaster alabastron, a white-ground lekythos depicting a warrior, a core-

[961] Biliotti diary, 26 March 1864; BM 1864,1007.165 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.320 (stamnoid pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1666 (kantharos); BM 1864,1007.1483 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1428; BM 1952,0204.64; BM 1952,0204.72 (small bowls); BM 1864,1007.1455 (saltcellar).
[962] *ABV* 542, 116. Compare *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 87, 1-6, attributed the Class of Athens 581. For lekythoi by the Haimon Painter see *ABV* 539-555; Haspels 1936: 130-141, 241-246.
[963] See section 5.2.2.1.
[964] Cf. *Agora* XII 265, pl. 13 (olpe); *Agora* XII 855 and 859, pl. 33 (small bowls); *Agora* XII 899, pl. 34; *Kerameikos* IX grave 81, no. 5, pl. 28, 8 and 95, no. 2, pl. 51, 5 (saltcellar). The black glaze a small bowl – BM 1952,0204.72 – is applied in a similar manner to Semi-slipped wares discussed in the previous chapter in that it does not cover the whole lower section of the vessel. It is possible that this vessel was locally produced.
[965] Cf. *Agora* XII 633, pl. 27.

formed glass oinochoe, and a stemless black-glaze kylix, as well as a stamnoid pyxis **[Fig.217]**.[966] The lekythos is similar to those attributed to the Beldham Painter, active around 460-450 BC,[967] a date that corresponds with the dates of the kylix and the glass oinochoe of Mediterranean Group 1.[968] A mid-century date therefore seems sensible for this grave, perhaps a little closer to or just before 450 BC. Other grave contexts include less painted pottery: Macri Langoni 25 (52) contained, among other objects, a black-figure oinochoe similar to those attributed to the Athena Painter from Macri Langoni 6 (6), as well as a group of 'standing goddess' female terracotta figures – suggesting a bracket of 470-450 BC **[Fig.218]**.[969] Besides a stamnoid pyxis, Fikellura 199 also yielded a red-figure squat lekythos with a painted palmette and a small bowl with stamped decoration **[Fig.219]**.[970] The latter places this burial between 425-400 BC.[971] The combined evidence suggests that the White Slip group was in production from around 460 BC. Given the relative scarcity of these pots, though, their manufacture unlikely continued beyond the third quarter of the fifth century BC.

Concerning distribution, as noted earlier, five of the White Slip stamnoid pyxides known to me come from Rhodes – four from Kamiros and one from Ialysos. The type is also known from South Russia, with an example now in Bonn. These vessels do not seem to appear elsewhere in the Dodecanese, Ionia, or North Aegean, where some examples of locally made stamnoid

[966] Biliotti diary, 2 February 1864; BM 1864.1007.347 (mirror); BM 1864,1007.1146 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1719 (white-ground lekythos); BM 1864,1007.65 (glass oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1592 (kylix) BM 1864,1007.318 (stamnoid pyxis).
[967] Cf. BM 1842,0728.979; *ABV* 586, no. 67. For the Beldham painter see *ABV* 586-587; Haspels 1936: 170–191, 266-269.
[968] Cf. *Agora* XII 474, pl. 22 (kylix); Harden 1981: 58-61, 96, cat. 245, pl. 13.
[969] RHODES 12434; *ClRh* IV 96-104, fig. 85; BM 1864,1007.1900 (Higgins 210); BM 1864,1007.1385 (Higgins 214); BM 1864,1007.1386 (Higgins 213) ('standing goddess' terracotta figures).
[970] Biliotti diary, 18 March 1864; BM 1864,1007.1646 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.81 (black-figure kylix); BM 1864,1007.1548 (kylix); BM 1864.1007.2112 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1640 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.63 (glass oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1833; BM 1864,1007.1838; BM 1864,1007.1848; BM 1864,1007.1857 (terracotta spindle-whorls); BM 1864,1007.112 (red-figure hydria, fragment)
[971] Cf. *Agora* XII 1126, pl. 38 (squat lekythos); *Agora* XII 867-868, pl. 33 (small bowl).

pyxides have been found.[972] It is therefore likely that their production and consumption was centred on Rhodes; though whereabouts on the island is more difficult to ascertain. The same workshop probably made larger stamnoi, like that found with the pyxis in a grave near the church of Kremasti, also decorated with rosettes on the shoulder **[Fig.220]**.[973]

5.2.2.3 Bands and Shallow Waves

The first of two groups of stamnoid pyxides decorated with bands and waves, which, although typologically separate, may not be unrelated, is recognisable by its orange clay, sharp shoulder edge, and nearly vertical handles.[974] The main body measures no more than 15 cm in height and tapers towards a narrow stem, the underside of which has a distinct raised nib. The decoration is painted in a brownish slip, and typically consists of a shallow wave on the shoulder and two or three narrow bands encircling the body. The lids are also banded. In some cases the wave pattern is absent on the shoulder. Like the White Slip group, the upper parts of the handles are slipped, but their shape is narrower, and the join has been properly smoothed over. The thickness of the potting is comparably fine, with a smooth surface that displays little evidence of wear.

Two graves from Kamiros and Ialysos suggest that this group was first made in the fifth century BC.[975] One, Fikellura 265, contained three red-figure squat lekythoi decorated with palmettes,

[972] See Perron 2012 for examples of locally made stamnoid pyxides from Argilos.
[973] RHODES 10804; *ClRh* III 210, fig. 209.
[974] BM 1864,1007.1769; BM 1864,1007.1770; BM 1864,1007.1771; *ClRh* VIII 160, no.8, fig. 148; Giannikouri, Patsiada and Filimonos 1990: pl. 92a-b, 93b-c, 95a (later variants).
[975]

belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, as well an iron blade, silver armlet and six stamnoid pyxides, three of which feature shallow waves and bands **[Figs.221-222]**.[976] Another example from Marmaro 42 has three handles. The assemblage also included a calyx cup and black-glaze amphora with a plain neck, which indicates that the burial occurred at the end of the fifth century BC.[977] Following its beginnings sometime around 425-400 BC, this group assumed many different forms and variations, each of which is well represented in the cemeteries of Rhodes.[978]

5.2.2.4 Bands and Deep Waves

The second major group of stamnoid pyxides decorated with bands and waves is like the previous in its use of brown slip, vertical position of its handles, sharp shoulder edge, and orangey clay.[979] Yet it differs on four accounts: it is much squatter in shape, being as wide as it is high; the banded lid is flatter and has an indented knob; there are more bands surrounding the body, which are sometimes very broad; and its shoulder has a deep, undulating wave pattern normally composed of two separate brush strokes joined by a dot in the middle. Both the edge of the foot and rim are also slipped, along with the upper part of the handles. Again, the potting is relatively fine and the surface is smooth. There is often discolouration, probably caused by the firing process.

[976] Biliotti diary, Monday 11 April 1864; BM 1864,1007.1769-1773; BM 1952,0204.76 (stamnoid pyxides); BM 1864,1007.1643-1645 (squat aryballoi); BM 1864,1007.515 (iron blade); BM 1864,1007.523-525 (silver armlet). BM 1864,1007.1771 was transferred to Museum of the Porte, Istanbul.
[977] *ClRh* VIII 159-162, fig. 148; Cf. *Agora XII* 1483, pl. 62 (table amphora); 691, pl.28 (calyx cup).
[978] Giannikouri, Patsiada and Filimonos 1990: pls. 92a-b, 93b-c, 95a.
[979] BM 1864,1007.319; BM 1864,1007.1772; BM 1864,1007.2030; RHODES 11948; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243; *ClRh* VIII 160, no. 9, fig. 148.

Production of this group also begins in the late fifth century BC. Three grave assemblages provide evidence for this: Fikellura 145 contained two stamnoid pyxides with bands and deep waves, as well as a red-figure squat lekythos with floral patterns belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century BC **[Fig.223-224]**.[980] Along with a stamnoid pyxis of the shallow wave group, Marmaro 42 also yielded another with deep waves;[981] and Zambico 228 (461) included an Attic black-glaze bolsal, a miniature skyphos, a small bowl, a red-figure amphoriskos with meander pattern, an oinochoe, terracotta bird, and a stamnoid pyxis of this type.[982] While the miniature skyphoi of this type can be found in contexts dating to around 420 BC, parallels for the amphoriskos are slightly later, around 375-350 BC.[983] Once again, their frequent deposition in graves suggests that there was a growing appetite for stamnoid pyxides and their variations in Rhodes town.[984] The distribution of stamnoid pyxides with bands and stripes among Kamiros, Ialysos, and Rhodes town suggests they were produced by one or more workshops on the island, which may have operated in or near Rhodes town following the synoicism of 408 BC.

5.2.2.5 Summary and use context

The four groups just outlined demonstrate two important aspects in the development of this shape. First, the variety in size, structure and decoration suggests a nuanced view of their use.

[980] Biliotti diary, 24 February 1864; BM 1864,1007.319; BM 1864,1007.2030 (stamnoid pyxides); BM 1864,1007.1642 (squat aryballos); Cf. *Agora* XXX 271, no. 987, pl. 96 (red-figure aryballos with similar floral patterns).
[981] *ClRh* VIII 160, no. 9, fig. 148.
[982] RHODES 11945; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243 (miniature skyphos); RHODES 11946; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243 (small bowl); RHODES 11943; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243 (amphoriskos); RHODES 11944; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243; RHODES 11962; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243 (terracotta bird); RHODES 11948; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243.
[983] *Agora* XII 540, pl. 24 (bolsal); *Agora* XII 1150, pl. 39 (amphoriskos).
[984] Giannikouri, Patsiada and Filimonos 1990: pl. 92a-b, 95a.

These pots were not simply 'toilet boxes' but were part of a continuum of storage containers, which also included larger vessels such as stamnoi. Some could have been used to store small trinkets, including jewellery, while others could possibly have been used to store more substantial items. Outside of Rhodes, there is evidence that pyxides were used to hold wool, cosmetics, or other manufactured products, or even shells and special pebbles and stone, contents which have been discovered in pyxides in graves.[985] Pyxides were also offered as votives in some sanctuaries, such as the Malophoros sanctuary in Selinus and Demeter sanctuary at Bitalemi.[986] Rhodian stamnoid pyxides could reasonably have fulfilled any of these functions, although the examples that I am aware of come primarily from graves at Kamiros and Ialysos.[987] Only a full-sized, undecorated stamnos was found on Kamiros acropolis.[988] Secondly, there is a movement towards finer potting and more elaborate shapes towards the end of the fifth and early fourth centuries BC. A group with high stems and twisted handles, like those found in Macri Langoni 58 (234), are further evidence of this ornamental tendency **[Fig.225]**.[989] The vertical, twisted handles and tapering body of these ornamental stamnoid pyxides recall Attic lebetes gamikoi.[990] I have already discussed the terms previously used to describe stamnoid pyxides, including lebes gamikos and lekanis.[991] It is worth noting that some graves in Athens dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BC have yielded 'sets' of pottery consisting of pairs of lebetes gamikoi, a lekanis, and one or more pyxides. These sets are sometimes attributable to the same painter, including the Washington Painter and the Otchet Group, and the lebetes gamikoi are often decorated with nuptial scenes, such as a bride binding her head in preparation for marriage.[992] Although such sets have not been found in Rhodian

[985] Stissi 2002: 243; Cipriani and Ardovino 1989-1990: 346
[986] Stissi 2002: 243; Kron 1992: 631-633; Dehl-von Kaenel 1995: 317.
[987] Nothing survives inside Rhodian stamnoid pyxides found in graves to date. Given the evidence of use wear on some examples, residue analysis would be useful to confirm what sorts of materials were placed inside them.
[988] BM 1864,1007.1746.
[989] RHODES 13426-13428; *ClRh* IV 156, fig. 154.
[990] Cf. Lebetes gamikoi in Harl-Schaller 1972-1975.
[991] See section 5.2.
[992] Roberts 1973: 435-437.

graves, Attic lebetes gamikoi have been found on the island. For example, Ampelles 153 (155) included two stamnoid pyxides and a pair of red-figure lebes gamikos, one of which depicts a winged female figure, possible Nike.[993] It is therefore possible that, at least from the end of the fifth century BC, the function of stamnoid pyxides were in some way related to the nuptial sphere – in a similar manner to Attic lebetes gamikoi. The extent of such a relation and whether it existed prior to the end of the fifth century BC is difficult to establish because the iconography on stamnoid pyxides does not refer to marriage, but rather to a local tradition of using geometric motifs to decorate pottery. However, this ornamental change gains significance when considered together with the chronology of grave contexts in which stamnoid pyxides have been found. Out of the 23 datable graves from Kamiros and Ialysos, almost half belong to the last quarter of the fifth century BC. It is therefore likely that a shift in perception occurred in which stamnoid pyxides gained popularity as grave goods and gradually became more ornamental in appearance. These vessels, which possibly had nuptial connotations, came to be viewed as suitable gifts for the dead. A further association between stamnoid pyxides and textile production is discussed in the next chapter.[994] I will now place their funerary use in a wider context by discussing the finds from Fikellura cemetery.

5.3 Paired grave goods

The overall chronology of Fikellura cemetery was outlined in Chapter 2. The finds at this cemetery can be summarised as follows: the most popular pottery shapes imported from Athens and deposited in graves were drinking cups – including kylixes, skyphoi, bolsals, and kantharoi

[993] RHODES 6640; *ClRh* III 154, fig. 149.
[994] See section 6.3.

[Fig.226-227]. Altogether there are 199 examples. Lekythoi (84) and small bowls (66) were also common grave goods, as well as pouring vessels, such as oinochoai (44) and olpai (20), and pots used for storage, like hydria (31) and pelikai (27). Unguent vessels, specifically squat lekythoi (21) and askoi (17), account for a large portion of the remaining Attic pottery.[995] Besides pottery, the most prevalent grave goods are terracotta figures (93) **[Fig.228]**. These are followed by glass unguent vessels – including alabastra, aryballoi, and oinochoai (54) – and alabaster alabastra (25). Other frequent finds include terracotta spindle-whorls (22), bronze mirrors (19), stamnoid pyxides (14), as well as terracotta female protomes (12). Despite this relatively wide range of grave goods, it is possible to identify a clear pattern in how they were selected for deposition; namely, as pairs.

5.3.1 Seeing double? Pairings of grave goods

Pairs of objects in the Fikellura graves were first noted by David Gill, who identified Attic drinking cups with the same scheme of decoration and stamps.[996] His primary interest, however, was in identifying consignments of pots that were imported from a specific workshop in Athens to Rhodes and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In contrast, I will argue that the phenomenon of pairs in Rhodian graves was not simply a chance outcome from shipments of Attic pottery but an intentional, island tradition that encompassed a wide range of materials imported from throughout the Aegean.

[995] On the function of askoi, which can be traced back to the Mycenean period, see Furumark 1941: 67-69.
[996] Gill 1984: 104-105.

Before exploring the development and motivation for these pairings, it is first necessary to outline the grounds on which a 'pair' of grave goods may be identified. As with many methodologies of classical archaeology, such as attributing pots to painters and statues to sculptors, there is a danger of seeing patterns, even when there are none to see. For tracing a pattern as simple as pairs of grave goods, it is therefore particularly important to establish firm working criteria that are clear in what actually constitutes a 'pair' and are consistent so as to prevent erroneous identifications of pairs. The purpose of these working criteria is to allow me to demonstrate that pairings can be identified on grounds of shape, look and style, and date – elements that were seemingly important in the selection of grave goods from a consumer perspective. It is possible that pairings extended to objects that were made in different production places and merely had the same function, such as an Attic cup paired with a Rhodian cup. However, within the constraints of this thesis, certain restrictions are necessary for me to accurately demonstrate the importance of availability of objects, through their importation and local production, in facilitating the pairing of grave goods. In particular, I want to show that objects were often purchased specifically for use as grave goods.

My method of identifying pairs of objects in grave assemblages is based on three criteria:

Shape. Objects must be of the same shape and sameness of function, e.g. oinochoe, small bowl, lekythos. This also extends to typological classes for pottery and to moulds for terracotta figures. E.g. two kylixes of the 'stoa' shape in Fikellura 144 are considered a pair, while two kantharoi from Fikellura 56, only one of which is stemmed, do not qualify as a pair.[997] I have

[997] BM 1864,1007.1519; BM 1864,1007.2108 (Fikellura 144); BM 1864,1007.78; BM 1864,1007.1665 (Fikellura 56).

not included size because it would be too restrictive to focus on objects that, for instance, were of similar height to within ten centimetres.

Look and Style. Objects must be made of the same material, e.g. pottery, glass, terracotta. This also includes fabrics, e.g. the stamnoid pyxides from Fikellura 269 may be considered pair because they are made of the same fabric.[998] In addition, objects must be produced in the same place, where this is known. E.g. two Attic skyphoi of the same typological class may be considered a pair while an Attic skyphos and Corinthian skyphos may not.

Date. Objects must be produced within a 25-year period, where this is known. E.g. a mid-fifth century BC Attic black glaze kylix and its early fourth century BC counterpart from the same grave may not be considered a pair.

In order not to be overly restrictive in identifying pairings of grave goods, I have made two concessions in these criteria that emphasise the role of general function (over identical appearance) in the selection process. First, the decoration of pottery does not have to be of the same technique. For example, two lekythoi from Fikellura 160, one decorated in black-figure technique and the other in white-ground, may be considered a pair.[999] Second, glass unguent vessels with the same colour scheme do not have to be of the same shape. For example, Fikellura 89 contains a blue, yellow and turquoise aryballos and alabastron that may be considered a pair.[1000]

[998] BM 1864,1007.260 and BM 1864,1007.360.
[999] BM 1864,1007.214; BM 1864,1007.1498.
[1000] BM 1864,1007.1213; BM 1864,1007.2020.

Using these criteria, I have identified 61 pairs of grave goods spread across 45 graves. Of these, 32 graves include a single pair, seven have two pairs, and a further four contain three or more pairs (**Appendix 3**). Fikellura 269 is a good example of the latter as it contained pairs of stamnoid pyxides, red-figure lekythoi, black glaze bolsals, and fluted lekythoi. Most of the 45 graves can be dated to 475-450 BC and 425-400 BC. **Fig.229** shows that the objects deposited in pairs follow the general trends of Fikellura grave goods, with Attic drinking cups, lekythoi and small bowls, as well as terracotta figures and glass unguent vessels the most common objects. As we shall see, the Fikellura pairings also include more specific choices. I will start by addressing two questions raised by these pairings: did this practice begin in the fifth century BC, or can it be traced to earlier graves on Rhodes? And what is the motivation behind pairings within the funerary context?

Far from being confined to the fifth century BC, pairs of grave goods can be identified in the late Geometric period and early seventh centuries BC. Tomb 80 from Kamiros acropolis contained two Rhodian-Cypriot style flasks, and two pendent semi-circle cups, among other pouring vessels and a fragmentary cup **[Fig.230]**.[1001] Coldstream dates the flasks to the latest stage of the middle Geometric period based on the friezes of zig-zag lines filled with hatching.[1002] Another grave at Exochi, near Lindos, provides the earliest context from the seventh century BC. Among the extensive pottery assemblage found in Grave A are two late Geometric pedestalled kantharoi **[Fig.231]**.[1003] These were found with three Phoenician style flasks with the mushroom lips and a Rhodian spaghetti style aryballos, which suggests an early

[1001] RHODES 14081-14082; *ClRh* VI-VII 189, fig. 223 (flasks); RHODES 140484-14085; *ClRh* VI-VII 191, fig 223 (cups).
[1002] Coldstream 2008: 271, pl. 59h; D'Agostino 2006: 60.
[1003] *Exochi* 14, A 2-3, figs. 8-9; Coldstream 2008: 282, pl. 62h.

seventh century BC date for this grave.[1004] It should be stressed that these graves are isolated examples of paired grave goods and are not necessarily related to the later practice evident at Fikellura, but they do show a willingness and ability to deposit pairs of similar pots from an early point.

Turning to the late seventh and sixth centuries BC, pairings of grave goods become more pronounced with the importation of pottery from Ionia, not least in Papatislures cemetery. For example, Papatislures 2 (2) contained two stemmed dishes decorated with meander patterns, datable to 620-600 BC **[Fig.232]**;[1005] Papatislures 27 (35) and 28 (36) each yielded a pair of Milesian amphorae, whose elongated goats suggest they belong to South Ionian Archaic Id, i.e. 610-580 BC **[Figs.233-234]**;[1006] and Papatislures 7 (9) included a pair of Fikellura style amphorae with birds and floral ornaments, from the second half of the sixth century BC **[Fig.235]**.[1007] Corinthian pots, too, were paired, as shown by Papatislures 2 (Biliotti), which included two Middle Corinthian aryballoi, one belonging to the Warrior Group and another depicting a bull.[1008] Drakidis 165 (195) at Ialysos also contained two Late Corinthian oinochoai with floral patterns on the body **[Fig.236],** along with two black-glazed amphorae.[1009]

[1004] *Exochi* 18, A 16, 21-22, figs. 16-18; Coldstream 1969: 4-5; Bourogiannis 2009: 120; Bourogiannis 2013: 160-172.
[1005] RHODES 13675 and 13680; *ClRh* VI-VII 19, fig. 5; Cf. Stager, Master and Schloen 2011: 239, cat. 268 (dated to MileA Id); Kalaitzoglou 2008: 387-8, cat. 344, pl. 60; Coulié 2014a: 145, cat. 30.
[1006] RHODES 13805-13806; *ClRh* VI-VII 85, fig. 91 [Papatislures 27 (35)]; RHODES 13834-13835; *ClRh* VI-VII 99, fig. 105 [Papatislures 28 (36)].
[1007] RHODES 13692-13693; *ClRh* VI-VII 24-25, fig. 12. Cook (1933: 25, no. 6) attributes RHODES 13692 to the Würzburg Group, and RHODES 13693 to the Volute Zone Group (1933: 32, no. 13). Cf. RHODES 13693 to BM 1864,1007.255 from Fikellura 92, which also contained two Attic black-figure kylixes (BM 1864,1007.297; BM 1864,1007. 1526).
[1008] BM 1864,1007.1433; BM 1864,1007.1434. For the Middle Corinthian stage in the Warrior Group see Amyx 1988: 154, no. 2, pl. 61.1 (by the 'Warrior Frieze painter').
[1009] RHODES 10495-10496; *ClRh* III 166-167, fig. 158 (oinochoai); RHODES 10491-10492 (amphorae); *ClRh* III 166, fig. 158; Compare floral patterns to Payne 1931: 336, no. 1536, fig. 189.

An unusual aspect of the Ialysos cemeteries is the use of pairs of transport amphorae as grave markers, noted in eleven graves at Drakidis and Zambico.[1010] The presence of a North Ionian transport amphora with a biconical body in Drakidis 178 (231) suggests that this form of marking began in the sixth century BC.[1011] At Kamiros, by contrast, there is only evidence for the use of single transport amphorae to mark graves, such as Macri Langoni 19 (20) and 20 (21).[1012] In this sense, the practice of pairing within a funerary context was more visible at Ialysos, where those walking through the cemeteries were faced with transport amphorae at ground level. The reason for this variation is difficult to establish *per se*. But it does suggest that increased numbers of transport amphorae may have circulated in the bay of Trianda, perhaps due to maritime traffic. Further evidence for this maritime traffic was noted in the previous chapters, with massive quantities of fibulae deposited on Ialyos acropolis, and a concentration of Cypriot and Phoenician pots and their local imitations, which have been found in graves at Ialysos.[1013] There is also evidence of pairings of grave goods inside tombs at Ialysos dating from at least the sixth century BC. For example, Lagos 45 (377) included two identical grey-ware ribbed alabastra.[1014]

Overall, the practice of depositing pairs of grave goods appears to have begun long before the establishment of Fikellura cemetery and developed with the importation of pottery from Ionia and Corinth in late seventh and sixth century BC. It should be noted that a loosening in my criteria for the identification of pairings in terms of production place would provide further evidence for the earlier formation of this tradition. For example, Papatislures 11 (13) includes

[1010] *ClRh* III 152 (Zambico 151 (138)), 176 (Drakidis 177 (230)), 177 (Drakidis 178 (231)), 190 (Drakidis 182 (243)), 196 (Drakidis 186 (254)), 197 (Drakidis 188 (276)), 218 (Zambico 208 (363)), 219 (Zambico 209 (369)), 224 (Drakidis 213 (418)), 227 (Zambico 218 (432)), 247 (Zambico 231 (467)), 252 (Zambico 233 (472)).
[1011] RHODES 10586; *ClRh* III 178, fig. 172.
[1012] *ClRh* IV 90.
[1013] See sections 3.3.5.3 and 4.3.
[1014] RHODES 11581-11582; *ClRh* III 80, fig. 65.

a Milesian oinochoe and a Rhodian oinochoe that could be considered a pair,[1015] and Papatislures 27 (35) yielded a Ionian stemmed dish and a Rhodian stemmed dish that may also have been intended as a pair.[1016] These origin-mixed pairings may be evidence of an attitude of equivalence towards locally produced and imported pottery, at least in terms of function. Such a loosening of my criteria would not, however, dramatically affect the identification of pairings in Fikellura cemetery because most consist of identical or nearly identical Attic pots.

There are two major differences between the pairings found in graves from before and during the fifth century BC. First, the range of objects deposited as pairs before the fifth century BC is narrower, consisting primarily of pottery vessels used for pouring and storage, as opposed to the wider range of pottery, glass, and terracotta objects found at Fikellura. And second, assemblages prior to the fifth century BC tend not to contain more than two pairings, while there are four graves from Fikellura alone that contain more than two.[1017] The frequency of pairs therefore increases over time at Kamiros. Moreover, the percentage of graves with pairs at Fikellura cemetery increases in the second half of the fifth century BC: between 500-475 BC, ten of 80 graves (13%) include pairings; between 475-450 BC, thirteen of 88 graves (15%) include pairings; between 450-425 BC, six of 28 graves (21%) include pairings; and between 425-400 BC, twelve of 42 graves (26%) include pairings. This trend is especially notable considering that over half of the datable graves from Fikellura cemetery (168/259 or 65%) belong to the first half of the fifth century BC, whereas those dating to the second half account for just over a quarter of the total number of graves (73/259 or 28%). The increase in the

[1015] RHODES 13748; *ClRh* VI-VII 50, fig. 57 (Milesian oinochoe); RHODES 13744; *ClRh* VI-VII 49, fig. 52.
[1016] RHODES 13813; *ClRh* VI-VII 90, fig. 91 (Ionian stemmed dish); RHODES 13816; *ClRh* VI 90, fig. 91 (Rhodian stemmed dish).
[1017] Fikellura 22, 43, 172, 257, 269.

frequency of pairs within individual assemblages is considered in more detail below.[1018] The function of pairs of grave goods within the funerary context can be addressed through their deposition in relation to the inhumed bodies, including variations noticeable in multiple burials.

As outlined in the second chapter, there is no clear pattern in the deposition of grave goods in multiple burials at Kamiros. However, the splitting of pairs of Ionian stemmed dishes and Milesian oinochoai in Papatislures 2 (2) and Papatislures 28 (36) highlights the agency of those depositing grave goods at Kamiros.[1019] In basic terms, the pairings at Kamiros are an outcome of a funeral involving one or more attendees who placed objects inside or near the grave of the deceased. Their practical explanation therefore lies with a funerary procedure that encouraged an organised form of selection and deposition.[1020] Some specific scenarios may be envisaged for the deposition of pairs of grave goods. For instance, two attendees may have been responsible for depositing the grave goods – an arrangement which could result in pairings if a balanced set of grave goods was divided between two 'depositors' at the burial ceremony. I am not saying this was the precise scenario in Rhodian funerals, but merely that pairings should be viewed in terms of their active placement by those attending the funeral. Whether they had an underlying religious significance is more difficult to ascertain. However, it is noteworthy that among the objects found in Papatislures 27 (35) was a hand-made terracotta figure representing a pair of figures.[1021] Another figure of this type, which is perhaps locally produced, was also discovered at Kamiros by Salzmann in 1864.[1022] It is worth stressing there is also evidence for the pairing of grave goods near and in Athens. It seems that several white ground

[1018] See section 5.3.2.
[1019] See section 2.6.
[1020] On funerary sets see Stissi 2002: 274-275.
[1021] RHODES 13811; *ClRh* VI–VII, figs. 91-101.
[1022] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 316-317, cat. 187; Louvre NIII 2425.

cups were produced in pairs – coupled by their scenes and techniques of decoration – and deposited in a grave at Cape Zoster, which is datable to the middle of the fifth century BC. The vessels might be related to the Villa Giulia Painter's workshop.[1023] The Kerameikos has yielded many graves containing pairs of lekythoi and other grave goods, including terracotta figures.[1024] Perhaps that most elaborate among them is the Opferrinnen (offering trench) which dates to 430-420 BC and includes a pair of lebes gamikoi by the Washington Painter.[1025] The Brygos tomb at Capua, which dates to 460 BC and is thought to belong to a resident Greek, includes a pair of red-figure sphinx rhyta by the Tarquinia Painter and a pair of red-figure stamnoi by the Deepdene Painter.[1026] It is perhaps significant that most of the graves containing pairs found in or near Athens date to around the mid-fifth century BC onwards.[1027] In 451/0 BC, Perikles introduced legislation proclaiming that for a man to be an Athenian citizen both of his parents had to be native born (Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 26.4).[1028] This legislation, which placed an emphasis on the Athenian *oikos*, may have encouraged the active participation of relatives at funerals.[1029] For instance, two direct relatives, a surviving spouse and child or parents, could each deposit one object in a pair of grave goods. Indeed, the long tradition of pairing on Rhodes suggests that the explanation for this practice lies with a constant physical factor at funerals, i.e. the presence of relatives. Other social and religious filters, which may have varied from place to place, cannot be excluded as contributing towards the popularity of paired grave goods.[1030] Clearly, however, this practice was a significant and long-standing

[1023] Tsingarida 2012: 56.
[1024] *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 243.1-2 and 5-6, pl. 42 (510/500 BC); grave 440.4-3, 5-6, and 7-8, pl. 79 (450-425 BC); *Kerameikos* IX grave 139.1-2, pl. 32; 137.1-2, pl. 32 (470 BC); grave 152.1-2, 3-4, and 10-11, pl. 41(470-460 BC BC); grave 212.1-2, pl. 36 (460 BC); grave 210.1-2, pl. 36 (450 BC); grave 240.1-2, pl. 37; grave 248.1-2, pl. 37 (475-450 BC); 250.1-2, pl. 37 (450 BC BC); grave 295.1-2, 3-4, and 5-6, pl. 41 (450-425 BC).
[1025] Roberts 1973: 436; Schmidt 2005: 99-100, fig. 48.
[1026] Williams 1992; Beazley 1945.
[1027] See section 6.7.
[1028] Bundrick 2008: 328.
[1029] Bundrick 2008: 328.
[1030] Williams (1992: 633) suggests that '[p]otters and painters, metalsmiths and jewellers may rather have catered [to the purchase of pairs of grave goods] by means of judicious planning…especially if they were separated from their source by a distance.'

element of the funerary ideology of Kamiros. It is archaeollgically visible from the late Geometric period through to the Classical period and increases in frequency and intensity over time, both in terms of the number of graves containing pairings and in the number of pairings deposited in any one grave, as discussed below.

5.3.2 Pairings and accessibility

It is from the perspective of the availability of grave goods that the Fikellura pairings are most revealing. By charting the objects that are not paired among the 45 graves, it is possible to spot a 'residue' of objects that are only considered appropriate to be deposited as single objects, and not in pairs **[Fig.237]**. These include pottery shapes used for cooking, such as chytrai, as well as feeders **[Fig.238]**. Bronze mirrors are more popular as single grave goods. So too are domestic objects, like an iron blade and stone spindle-whorl. And certain shapes of plainware pottery only appear as single grave goods **[Figs.239-240]**. Together, these objects have a more personal character than the drinking cups, unguent vessels, and terracotta figures that comprise the spectrum of paired grave goods. I would therefore argue that the Fikellura assemblages contained, on the one hand, personal items that belonged to the deceased, and, on the other, objects that were purchased specifically to be used as grave goods, many of which were deposited in pairs. This would help to explain why most pairings are so similar, if not identical – grave goods were both *bought for* and *brought to* the funeral.[1031] Not only were Attic pots by the same painter sometimes bought for the funeral but also 'dummy' white-ground lekythoi that could only hold minute measurements of unguent have been found in a grave in Euboea.[1032]

[1031] On this subject see Rathje, Nielsen and Rasmussen 2002.
[1032] Roberts 2002: 11; *CVA* Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4] pl.172 1a-c (supposedly from Chalkes, Euboea).

Pairings of grave goods are therefore part of a wider phenomenon of material that was either prepared and/or purchased explicitly for deposition in graves. The Attic 'sets' mentioned above that include pairs of lebetes gamikoi may fall into this category.[1033] The notion of objects that are bought for and brought to the funeral is also comparable to the change from 'raw' to 'converted' sanctuary dedications between the early and late Geometric period.[1034] Specifically, early Geometric gifts to the gods concentrated on simple messages to the deity in the form of a figurine of a god, worshipper, or sacrificial animal. At the end of the eighth century BC, however, there is a rise in the number of dedications that reflect the interests of the dedicators and took the form of personal possessions.[1035] This shift in focus from the deity to worshipper emphasises the agency of those bringing objects to the sanctuary, in the same way the objects purchased for graves emphasise the agency of those preparing for or attending a funeral.

To test the hypothesis of newly-bought vessels versus pre-existing personal possessions, a number of individual pots were checked for specific traces of use-wear. Macroscopic analysis of fifteen Attic small bowls,[1036] 21 Attic lekythoi,[1037] and 20 Attic kylixes revealed that lekythoi show traces of use,[1038] i.e. scuffs and blotches on the glaze on the interior and exterior of the

[1033] See section 5.2.2.5.
[1034] Simon 1997: 133.
[1035] Simon 1997: 133.
[1036] BM 1864,1007.1759; BM 1864,1007.1457; BM 1864,1007.1444; BM 1864,1007.1448; BM 1864,1007.1437; BM 1864,1007.1445; BM 1864,1007.1447; BM 1852,0204.56; BM 1949,0220.17; BM 1949,0220.18; BM 1952,0204.63; BM 1952,0204.60; BM 1949,0220.15; BM 1949,0220.16; BM 1949,0220.14; BM 1864,1007.1586.
[1037] BM 1864,1007.1649; BM 1864,1007.1509; BM 1864,1007.1498; BM 1952,0204.13; BM 1864,1007.1500; BM 1952,0204.8; BM 1952,0220.10; BM 1952,0220.9; BM 1952,0204.7; BM 1864,1007.1490; BM 1952,0204.7; BM 1864,1007.1490; BM 1952,0204.6; BM 1864,1007.262; BM 1952,0204.1; BM 1864,1007.178; BM 1952,0204.3; BM 1952,0204.4; BM 1864,1007.1505; BM 1864,1007.1507; BM 1864,1007.265; BM 1864,1007.213; BM 1864,2007.261.
[1038] BM 1864,1007.1596; BM 1864,1007.1598; BM 1864,1007.2108; BM 1952,0204.33; BM 1864,1007.1600; BM 1864,1007.1601; BM 1864,1007.1634; BM 1949,0220.25; BM 1952,0204.43; BM 1864,1007.1538; BM 1864,1007.1536; BM 1864,1007.301; BM 1864,1007.1527; BM 1864,1007.1529; BM 1864,1007.1695; BM

vessel, while four kylixes and seven small bowls were probably unused, i.e. complete and intact glaze with very little or no marks on the vessel's interior or exterior.[1039] Of these, two of the kylixes were paired (in Fikellura 125),[1040] and two of the small bowls were paired (in Fikellura 225).[1041] However, given the likelihood of post-depositional disturbances as well as cleaning following their excavation in the nineteenth century, these results do not allow for any solid conclusions about possible links between paired grave goods and their use, or lack thereof, prior to their deposition in a grave. A more systematic analysis of a diverse range of shapes from various production places would be required to make substantiated claims on this issue.

Significantly, towards the end of the fifth century BC the Fikellura assemblages display an increase in the number of paired grave goods. Three out of the four graves containing more than two pairings belong to the second half of the fifth century BC, which I contend suggests a change in the availability of certain grave goods at Kamiros.[1042] I would now like to explore this dynamic by focussing on three graves: Fikellura 269 and 172, and Pontamo 4. Using these case studies, I hope to illustrate the choices of grave goods that were available to Kamiros' inhabitants, and to explore the practice of pairing on the nearby island of Chalke.

1864,1007.1695; BM 1864,1007.1519; BM 1864,1007.1547; BM 1864,1007.304; BM 1864,1007.305; BM 1864,1007.1602.

[1039] 'Clean' Attic kylixes: BM 1864,1007.1598; BM 1864,1007.2108; BM 1952,0204.33; BM 1864,1007.1634; BM 1949,0220.25. 'Clean' Attic small bowls: BM 1864,1007.1457; BM 1864,1007.1444; BM 1864,1007.1448; BM 1864,1007.1445; BM 1864,1007.1447; BM 1952,0204.60.

[1040] BM 1864,1007.1598; BM 1952,0204.33.

[1041] BM 1864,1007.1447; BM 1952,0204.60.

[1042] Fikellura 43, 172, 257, 269.

5.3.2.1 Fikellura 269

The contents of Fikellura 269 were outlined at the beginning of this chapter. The Attic pottery in this grave suggests a date of 425-400 BC, based on similar finds from the Athenian Agora.[1043] In all, four pairs of objects may be identified: two bolsals, two fluted lekythoi, two squat lekythoi, and the two stamnoid pyxides of the Bird Painter group. In addition, the two terracotta female protomes, one of which is Ionian and the other Rhodian, may be considered a pairing under a loosening of my criteria and raise the notion not only of paired grave goods with different origins, but also of paired grave goods made at different periods. More specifically, the late Archaic date of the Ionian terracotta female protome in a burial dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BC is possible evidence for the use of heirlooms in the pairing of grave goods. Further evidence for the deposition of heirlooms in graves at Kamiros comes from a grave excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann in 1862, which included an Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Marsyas Painter and dated to 360-350 BC, a pair of gold ear reel dated to 350-330 BC, and a gem belonging to the fifth century BC.[1044] In the case of Fikellura 269, it appears that a Ionian protome, which was likely made in Clazomenai in the late sixth century BC, was paired with a Rhodian protome belonging to a series contemporanous with the burial itself.[1045]

The Attic pots, especially the bolsals and fluted lekythoi, are good examples of grave goods that are almost identical. Indeed, the only difference recognisable between the bolsals is the stamped decoration on their interior – one has egg and tongue markings, while the other does not. Having the ability to select vessels that were so typologically similar reflects the plentiful

[1043] See section 5.1.
[1044] On this context see Reiterman 2016: 285-286
[1045] See section 6.4.2.7.

access to Attic pottery that Kamiros enjoyed during the late fifth century BC, allowing its inhabitants to purchase pairs of multiple types of vessels at any one time. Anna Lemos has noted the inferior quality of most Attic pottery found on Rhodes, specifically for the wares painted in black-figure technique.[1046] Yet, while the pots themselves may not have been the finest products, the common occurrence of pairings of Attic pots in graves as Kamiros suggests that access to these products was first rate. Such access would have been maintained through regular shipments from Athens and an efficient system of internal sale and distribution, assuming certain ports were designated for commercial use on the island. This system appears to have permitted the regular selection and purchase of identical or almost identical Attic pots.

The stamnoid pyxides belonging to Fikellura 269 illustrate another aspect of this market dynamic. Their significance lies with the fact that they are the only pottery shape made on Rhodes to be deposited as pairs in graves, whereas other shapes were imported from Attic, Corinth, and Ionia. Eight out of the 23 datable grave assemblages containing stamnoid pyxides from Ialysos and Kamiros yielded pairs of the shape.[1047] As stamnoid pyxides were available to be purchased in pairs and were used primarily in grave contexts, I would argue that these pots represent an attempt by local artisans to supply the island's market for grave goods during the fifth century BC, a period during which Rhodian terracotta figurines were also being produced in large quantities.[1048] One explanation for the lack of local fineware production may be connected to the intensive trade with Athens, which fulfilled most of Rhodes' domestic and

[1046] Lemos 1997: 460.
[1047] Biliotti diary, 24 February 1864; BM 1864,1007.319; BM 1864,1007.2030 (Fikellura 145); Biliotti diary, 11 April 1864; BM 1864,1007.1769; BM 1864,1007.1770; BM 1864,1007.1771; BM 1864,1007.1772 (Fikellura 265); Biliotti diary, 13 April 1864, BM 1864,1007,260; BM 1864,1007.360 (Fikellura 269); RHODES 12340; *ClRh* IV 220, fig. 234; RHODES 12346; *ClRh* IV 222, fig. 234 (Macri Langoni 109 (32)); RHODES 10609 and 10612; *ClRh* III 186, fig. 180 (Drakidis 180 (239)); *ClRh* VIII 187, nos. 1-2, fig. 179 (Marmaro 78); RHODES 6642-6643; *ClRh* III 155, fig. 148 (Ampelles 153 (155)); *ClRh* VIII, 44-45, fig. 28 (San Giorgio 4).
[1048] See section 6.4.

funerary requirements, although some plain wares, such as Semi-slipped wares, were also being produced.[1049] Seen from this perspective, it is remarkable that the workshops of stamnoid pyxides could exist in what was likely a very full, if not saturated, pottery market. As products of Rhodes that were adopted into local funerary tradition, I would argue that their increased popularity as grave goods in Rhodes town immediately following the synoicism is due to an association with Rhodian modes of consumption. Despite the variances between workshops, the shape embodied a common method of consumption that existed at Kamiros, Ialysos, and later, at Rhodes town, a method of consumption that made ample use of these storage vessels.

5.3.2.2 Fikellura 172

Fikellura 172 was excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann on 4 January 1864. It was a stone-lined cist grave with a gabled roof and contained an Attic black-glaze fluted amphoriskos and a similar lekythos; an Attic black-glaze small bowl; two core-formed glass alabastra, one coloured white with purple stripe, and the other coloured dark green with yellow and blue stripes; a partly mould-made terracotta basket of fruit, consisting of a pomegranate, apple, fig, and small marrow; two terracotta plaques, one representing Eos carrying off Kephalos and the other depicting Peleus and Thetis; and a shell, which is possibly of the Tridacna variety.[1050] A single comparison for the terracotta fruit basket is cited by Higgins', from Medma, which does not come from a dated context.[1051] The terracotta plaques, however, have been assigned by

[1049] See section 4.4.4.
[1050] BM 1864,1007.1621 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1648 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1641 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1227 and 1232 (glass alabastra); BM 1864,1007.11 (terracotta fruit basket); BM 1864,1007.133 and BM 1864,1007.134 (terracotta plaques); BM 1864,1007.1952 (shell).
[1051] Higgins 1954: 97, cat. 280, n.1.

Florian Stilp to 'Block 2' of the Jacobsthal-reliefs, i.e. 500-460 BC.[1052] More specifically, he has dated these two reliefs to 480-470 BC on grounds of style and technique. It is difficult to arrive at an accurate date for the glass alabastra of Mediterranean Group I, but parallels for the Attic lekythos, aryballos, and small bowl from the Athenian Agora belong to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1053] I would therefore suggest that the interment dates to 425-400 BC. Given the broad chronological range of this assemblage, there is a possibility of multiple burials. Biliotti's diary description does not report skeletal evidence to support this claim, however, so I consider it to be a single burial.[1054]

Of all the grave goods recovered from Fikellura 172, the two terracotta plaques are the most intriguing. Both are made from brown clay and display traces of sophisticated polychromy, with Eos' wings painted in blue, black, and red **[Figs.241-242]**. Although these plaques were once thought to be Melian, Stilp, in his treatment of the 153 known examples, has argued for a more nuanced picture of their manufacture, which stretched from 500 to 440 BC. Some borrow heavily from Attic vase painting and probably originate from Athens ('Block 1' and 'Block 3'), while others are connected by style and distribution with the Aegean islands, not least Melos and Aigina ('Block 2').[1055] The plaques found in Fikellura 172 are two of only three found on Rhodes, with the other having come from an unknown context.[1056] To put this into a wider frame, a total of four plaques have been found in the Dodecanese, including one further

[1052] Stilp 2006: 115-116, 170–171, cat. 21, pl. 10 and 175-176, cat. 28, pl. 13; Higgins 1954: 167, cat. 614 and 615, pls. 79-80.
[1053] Harden 1981: 58-61, 71, cat. 139 and 62, cat. 86; *Agora* XII 1129-1130, pl. 38 (lekythos) *Agora* XII 1150, pl. 39 (amphoriskos); *Agora* XII 869, pl. 33 (small bowl).
[1054] For example, in his description of Fikellura 1, Biliotti's diary states (26 October 1863) that he 'Discovered a sepulchral chamber which seems to have contained three bodies in consequence of bones having been found on three sides of the chamber'.
[1055] Stilp 2006: 57-63 and 114-116.
[1056] Stilp 2006: 204, cat. 72, pl. 31.

example from Kos.[1057] Such a low concentration in this area reveals that their deposition in Fikellura 172 was a unique choice made for this specific grave.

Given the interment can be dated to 425-400 BC and the plaques themselves date to around 480-470 BC, how should their acquisition on Rhodes be envisaged? Two scenarios are possible: either the plaques were shipped over from the Cyclades soon after their manufacture and purchased on Rhodes, where they were displayed in a household, or several households, prior to deposition in the grave; or the plaques circulated between different owners before arriving on Rhodes in the late fifth century BC, where they were purchased for immediate use as grave goods. The find-spots of Melian reliefs outside Rhodes support either scenario. Examples have been found across the Aegean, from Aegina,[1058] to Ithaca,[1059] Knossos,[1060] Kos,[1061] and Naukratis.[1062] They are found in votive and grave contexts. Those found in votive contexts come from sanctuaries belonging to a wide range of deities, from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis, to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos, and the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos. Stilp points out that their common occurrence in grave or votive contexts without being fixed to another object suggests that the reliefs were not used as appliques but, rather, as objects that could be purchased to be deposited in graves or suspended in houses or sanctuaries.[1063] Moreover, the iconography of Melian reliefs, which range from depicting Aprodite on a swan, to the Caledonian boar hunt, and episodes from the Odyssey, suggests they had a versatile function.[1064] The concentration of Melian reliefs in the Cyclades and their

[1057] Stilp 2006: 181, cat. 35, pl. 16.
[1058] Stilp 2006: cat. 62.
[1059] Stilp 2006: cat. 61.
[1060] Stilp 2006: cat. 36.
[1061] Stilp 2006: cat. 35.
[1062] Stilp 2006: cat. 130.
[1063] Stilp 2006: 69.
[1064] Stilp 2006: 118.

paucity in the Dodecanese indicates that these plaques were not being shipped across the Aegean on a regular basis, but were acquired ad hoc. Neither of the two scenarios that I propose can be proven beyond reasonable doubt. But they do serve to illustrate the channels through which pairs of objects could be acquired for eventual or immediate use in graves. In this sense, I would argue that the increased frequency of pairings in late fifth century BC graves at Fikellura was, on the one hand, stimulated through contemporary trade centred on regular shipments from Athens, and, on the other, through the *longue durée* of commercial connections on Rhodes, through which an eclectic range of materials from across the Aegean had accumulated over the preceding decades. Together, these channels afforded the ubiquitous as well as the unique choices of pairings at Fikellura cemetery.

5.3.2.3 Pontamo 4

In 1931, Italian archaeologists excavated nineteen chamber tombs at Pontamo bay on the coast of Chalke, located eleven nautical miles from Kamiros. The finds from these tombs date from the late fifth through to the third century BC, and include mainly Attic black-glazed and red-figure pottery, and a few ceramic products from local or Rhodian workshops, such as stamnoid pyxides.[1065] For the purposes of this discussion, I would like to focus on Pontamo 4, whose chamber measured over 3.5 meters in length.[1066] The contents of this grave consisted almost entirely of Attic black-glazed pottery, including two pairs of bolsals, one kantharos, one cup-skyphos, and a pair of olpai **[Fig.243]**.[1067] It also contained a metal blade and four transport

[1065] *ClRh* II 119-164; Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 169-170.
[1066] *ClRh* II 122-123.
[1067] RHODES 13858-13861 (bolsals, kantharos, cup-skyphos) and 13862-13863 (olpai).
ClRh II 122-123, fig. 4;

amphorae, one placed in each corner.[1068] One pair of bolsals can be dated to 420-400 BC, while the other has more stylised handles and is probably from the first quarter of the fourth century BC.[1069] The two olpai are also likely from the late fifth century BC, as is the cup-skyphos.[1070] Parallels for the kantharos with a squat rim suggest an early fourth century BC date.[1071] I would therefore broadly date this grave to the first half of the fourth century BC.

There are three pairs of pots in this grave, or four if the kantharos and cup-skyphos are considered as a pair. This accounts for almost the entire assemblage, which is not uncommon in the Pontamo graves. For example, Pontamo 1 contained a pair of black-glaze kantharoi with moulded rims and two bolsals **[Fig.244]**.[1072] Although it is not possible to determine when the practice of pairing grave goods was established on Chalke, these graves show that an affinity with Rhodian grave assemblages existed around the late fifth to early fourth century BC. Moreover, they demonstrate a specific likeness to the funerary practices of Kamiros through the construction of chamber tombs and the consumption of stamnoid pyxides of the Bird Painter group, such as that found in Pontamo 16.[1073] Given the proximity of Chalke to Kamiros and their seemingly comparable degree of access to Attic pottery, which permitted the purchase of multiple pairs of grave goods across a range of shapes, it is likely their inhabitants took part in a shared economy. Merchants from Kamiros may have travelled to Chalke to sell their goods – locally made as well as imported – or, similarly, traders from Chalke may have stocked up on goods at Kamiros to sell back on the island. I would not rule out ships from Athens and elsewhere anchoring at Chalke, but its shared methods of consumption with Kamiros are

[1068] Not referenced in the list of grave goods.
[1069] Cf. *Agora* XII 550-551, pl. 24; *Agora* XII 556, pl. 24.
[1070] Cf. *Agora* XII 279, pl. 13 (olpai); *Agora* XII 586, pl. 26 (cup-skyphos).
[1071] Cf. *Agora* XII 682-683, pl. 28.
[1072] RHODES 13849-13850 (kantharoi) and 1385-13850 (bolsals); *ClRh* II 120, fig. 2.
[1073] RHODES 13945; *ClRh* II 153, fig. 33-34.

indicative of an economic link that stretched beyond locally produced wares and into the wider system of sale and distribution.

Although Chalke was assessed independently from Rhodes in the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists of the fifth century BC, it is not inconceivable a that close political and cultural connection already existed, or was underway, between the two islands. This unification is supported the inscription which suggests that Chalke was incorporated within the *ktoina* of Kamiros in the late fourth or early third century BC, but also maintained relative autonomy from Kamiros during this period.[1074] While it would be unwise to trace this specific arrangement to the fifth century BC, the distribution of stamnoid pyxides and epinetra produced by the Bird Painter Group, as well as Rhodian terracotta protomes, across Kamiros and Chalke; the common occurrence of paired grave goods at Fikellura and Pontamo cemeteries; and the geographic proximity of these settlements suggest that Kamiros and Chalke shared the same territorially defined unit, or *ktoina*. This relationship may have been at least partially responsible for the development a shared economy between settlements, if not the exchange of their inhabitants: Kamirians and Chalkeatai moving freely within the same Rhodian *ktoina*.

The three graves just discussed offer an image of the availability of grave goods at Kamiros in the late fifth century BC that can be summarised in terms of its supply, selection, and extent:

Supply. Intensive trade with Athens provided the bulk of pottery deposited in graves, as pairs or as single items. A small number of local artisans, such as those making stamnoid pyxides, also supplied the funerary market.

[1074] See section 2.3.

Selection. The choices available to those wishing to deposit grave goods in pairs was not limited to items that are common across the Aegean but included more specific goods like terracotta plaques. Some of these may have been imported to Rhodes and later deposited as paired heirlooms or, alternatively, as heirlooms paried with goods manufactured at a later date.

Extent. Finally, this market appears to have stretched from Kamiros to Chalke, an island where the practice of pairing grave goods is evident, among other aspects of the Kamirian funerary sphere.

5.4 Conclusion

Following the importation of convex-sided pyxides from Corinth to Rhodes in the sixth century BC, local variations of this shape were produced by the island's potters. They differed from Corinthian prototypes in three respects: their larger size, sloping shoulders, and handles set at an angle. These alterations that may be attributed to the influence of local tradition such as Vroulian stamnoi, made on Rhodes in the second half of the sixth century BC. The new, indigenous shape may be described as a 'stamnoid pyxis'. It became a popular shape over the course of the fifth century BC with several workshops producing their own types, including the Bird Painter group, White Slip group, and versions decorated with bands and shallow or deep waves. The workshop producing the Bird Painter group is the best documented from surviving evidence and was probably located in Kamiros because its pots were only consumed in its wider region, encompassing Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke. The painted decoration of its pots consisted of traditional geometric motifs, such as cross-hatched triangles, which had a long history of use in Rhodian pottery workshops. Overall, the different shapes and sizes of

stamnoid pyxides made on Rhodes suggest that they were used for a variety of storage purposes. Towards the end of the fifth century BC, however, their popularity as grave goods at Ialysos and Kamiros increased, and two stamnoid pyxides were often deposited in a single grave. Some late fifth century BC varieties closely recall the shape of Attic lebetes gamikoi, which may suggest a connection to the nuptial sphere. The funerary use of stamnoid pyxides should be viewed as part of a wider practice of depositing pairs of grave goods in a wide range of different materials, including pottery, terracotta, and glass. This aspect of funerary ideology at Kamiros can be traced throughout the Archaic period, notably with pottery imported from Ionia, Corinth, and Attica. But it is only in the late fifth century BC that this practice becomes especially visible at Fikellura cemetery, where some graves contained upwards of three pairs of grave goods. This change was facilitated by a thriving market that catered to the funerary needs of Kamiros, which was supplied by intensive trade with Attica, among other areas; it consisted, further, of a wide selection of materials, from the ubiquitous to the unique; and extended to the neighbouring island of Chalke.

The development of stamnoid pyxides and the practice of pairs allows for two observations about the relation between maritime trade and practices of consumption on Rhodes: Firstly, the manufacture of stamnoid pyxides shows the ways in which goods imported to Rhodes from throughout the Aegean were adopted, adapted, and incorporated into local practices. More specifically, Corinthian pyxides were adopted for use as grave goods in the cemeteries of Kamiros and Ialysos; adapted with certain features from Vroulian stamnoi by the island's potters; and subsequently incorporated into the practice of depositing pairs of grave goods. Their prevalence in fourth century BC grave contexts in Rhodes town reveals a broader significance that eventually came to be attached to them in the wake of the *synoicism* in 408 BC. On an island where most pottery deposited in tombs in the fifth century BC was imported,

stamnoid pyxides were one of the few local products deemed appropriate for deposition in graves, as single or as paired goods, becoming signifiers of Rhodian modes of consumption in the newly established cemeteries.

Second, the development of paired grave goods shows the role of commercial connectivity in sustaining local tradition. Trade with other parts of the Aegean – including Ionia, Corinth, and Attica – ensured that those living at Kamiros had access to the goods needed to bury their dead with an assemblage which included pairings from the late Geometric period onwards. The most important aspect of the deposition of paired grave goods is the correlation between intensive trade with Athens and increased pairings per grave in the second half of the fifth century BC. In this sense, the practice of pairs may be described as a culture that was actively nourished and grew with Rhodes' trade relations. While there is evidence for depositing pairs of grave goods in fifth century BC Athens, the practice appears to have been more prevalent on Rhodes.

Kamiros' connections to Athens as an importer of pottery and to Chalke as a partner in a shared economy highlight the role of trade networks in aligning local communities. It was partially through their consumption of Attic pottery, along with Rhodian stamnoid pyxides, epinetra, and terracottas, that this coastal settlement and its neighbouring island shared in the same material culture. This material culture may have accorded with the territorially defined *ktoina*.

To conclude, the development of stamnoid pyxides and the culture of pairs on Rhodes tell us much about island tradition and innovation. On the one hand, these were storage pots decorated with archaising patterns and deposited in a long-established manner of pairings. On the other,

they were new creations that were part of an increasingly rich market for purpose-bought grave goods. Both outlooks propose an oscillation between tradition and innovation, in which commercial contact serves to sustain, rather than restrict, the traditional practices of Rhodians. While this chapter has focused on the economic factors that encouraged the deposition of pairs, the social motivation for this practice is significant and needs to be evaluated together with the subject of the final chapter: female grave assemblages at Kamiros in the late fifth century BC.

6

RAISING THE PROFILE OF KAMIRIAN WOMEN

This chapter looks at particular grave assemblages that, I will argue, can be associated with women. It explores the contents of three main sets of graves. The first set comprises all known graves at Kamiros and Ialysos containing stamnoid pyxides (23); the second consists of all known graves from Fikellura cemetery containing female terracotta figures and protomes (34); and the third includes all known graves from Fikellura cemetery that contain Attic pots with female narrative scenes, i.e. scenes that have a greater narrative capacity because they do not depict a specific moment in a myth (28). My discussion traces correlations between each grave set: a significant portion of Rhodian stamnoid pyxides occur in Fikellura graves that contain female terracottas and/or female narrative scenes. Furthermore, Rhodian stamnoid pyxides can be associated with the activity of spinning based on their consumption in graves with terracotta spindle-whorls and the production of epinetra by the Bird Painter Group workshop, discussed in the previous chapter. Through these correlations, it is possible to reconstruct a profile of goods commonly deposited in female graves at Kamiros during the fifth century BC. In addition, my discussion will also outline the production of female terracotta figures and protomes on Rhodes. I will argue that the female 'profile' of grave goods became more distinct throughout the fifth century BC due to intensification of production, localisation of workshops, and concentration of imports on the island. In doing so, I hope to shed light on female burial at Kamiros as well as a wider feminine culture on Rhodes, the products of which were exported throughout the Dodecanese and beyond. Before discussing the grave sets in this chapter, I will consider the issue of gender in relation to the archaeology of Rhodes.

6.1 Correlating material, engendering culture

Gender may be defined as 'an individual's self-identification and identification by others to a specific gender category on grounds of their culturally perceived sexual difference'.[1075] Its negotiation involves material culture in an active and dynamic manner. As Stig Sorensen has noted, objects are not an outward representation of 'gender roles' but rather a partner in the production of gendered meaning.[1076] Put simply, gender is made not given. It is historically situated and culturally specific. Lin Foxhall has noted that graves and cemeteries are especially problematic contexts in which to explore gender because it 'might appear even stronger and more fixed than in real life'.[1077] In my analysis, though, I do not wish to retrieve specific notions of gender in everyday life. Rather, I want to identify the sorts of grave goods that were commonly deposited in graves that, as I will show in this chapter, can arguably be associated with women at Kamiros with a view towards mapping their profile – what they contained, in what sorts of combinations, and what types of activities were referenced. I have chosen to discuss sets of graves with stamnoid pyxides, female terracottas, and Attic pots with female narrative scenes because they represent a broad cross-section of Rhodes' material culture in the fifth century BC, and because of their loose affiliation with women. It should be stressed that my final interpretation of the material is based on the correlations that can be drawn between each grave sample containing stamnoid pyxides, female terracottas, and Attic pots with female narrative scenes.

To date, there has been no significant attempt to discuss gender in the context of Rhodian burials. Such reticence may be partially explained by a lack of systematic excavation of bones

[1075] Diaz-Andreu 2005: 14.
[1076] Stig Sorensen 2007: 76.
[1077] Foxhall 2013: 21.

throughout the island's cemeteries, which has prevented osteological analyses. But the principal stumbling block has, in my opinion, been the absence of appropriate analyses of grave samples. Despite compiling a relatively large sample, Gates' analysis of grave assremblages from Kamiros and Ialysos did not extend beyond the shape and dates of grave goods, ignoring important factors such as the production place of terracottas and iconography on pots.[1078] In addition, there is a general lack of understanding about what series of female terracotta figures and protomes were being produced on Rhodes during the fifth century BC. Reynold Higgins' *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (1954) remains a useful reference work on the subject.[1079] But a fundamental reconsideration of the production place of terracottas from Rhodian cemeteries is needed if we are to gain an understanding of how local and imported figures and protomes were used as grave goods at Kamiros and Ialysos, and as votives at Lindos. To address these problems, I will statistically analyse three samples of graves, assessing variables such as production place and iconography, where possible. I will also outline the series of female terracottas made on Rhodes in the fifth century BC. I will begin my analysis by considering the graves from Kamiros and Ialysos that contained stamnoid pyxides, and explore, in particular, the shape's connection to female activities such as spinning. But first, it is necessary to outline the reasons why I have chosen the grave assemblages analysed in the chapter.

[1078] Gates 1979: 287-294.
[1079] Higgins 1954.

6.2 Sample choice and Fikellura 179

The sets of grave assemblages discussed in this chapter represent the entire set of stamnoid pyxides from Kamiros and Ialysos, the entire set of female terracotta figures and protomes from Fikellura cemetery, and the entire set of Attic pots with female narrative scenes from Fikellura cemetery. The set comes of stamnoid pyxides from a wider region of Rhodes because there are only nine graves from Fikellura cemetery that contain these vessels. These nine contexts, however, are important for proving a fundamental correlation between the three sets of graves.

Set 1: Rhodian stamnoid pyxides

Twenty-three graves from Kamiros and Ialysos contain Rhodian stamnoid pyxides; they also include a concentration of female terracotta figures and protomes as well as terracotta spindle-whorls. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Rhodian workshops making stamnoid pyxides in the fifth century BC also made epinetra, which may be associated with women based on their use for working wool.

Set 2: Female terracotta figures and protomes

Thirty-four graves from Fikellura cemetery at Kamiros include female terracotta figures and protomes. Fikellura 179 in particular contains a significant portion of scenes that belong to the smallest category of Attic figural scenes from this cemetery: infant scenes. The combination of these scenes with female terracottas may have kourotrophic connotations, for which there is cultic evidence at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia and in the local production of terracotta ‘temple boys’ and epinetra with protomes of women and children.

Set 3: Attic pots with female narrative scenes

Twenty-eight graves from Fikellura cemetery at Kamiros include Attic pots with female narrative scenes. These graves display three notable trends among their offerings: glass unguent vessels are particularly frequent, themselves often found with bronze mirrors; the only examples of stands for unguent vessels, made of glass and bronze, occur among this sample; and there is a concentration of Attic red-figure pelikai. A significant portion of Rhodian stamnoid pyxides also occur in Fikellura graves containing female narrative scenes.

To introduce the graves sets discussed in this chapter, I would like to start by outlining the contents of a grave whose contents raise many of the issues addressed in this chapter. On 10 March 1864, Biliotti and Salzmann excavated a stone-lined cist grave with a flat roof:[1080]

> Child's tomb (They are almost all covered with stone slabs placed horizontally). Inside there was only an amphora of unglazed red ware, but outside there were:
>
> Aryballi – red figures – children laying on the ground and playing (3 entire)
>
> Terracotta bust of female rather large size (1 entire)
>
> Oinochoe – small red figures – subjects winged figure before a tripod – child playing on the lyre and standing between a bird and a dog. Children disguised as satyrs with white hair (3 entire)
>
> Amphoriskos – olive colour (1 entire)
>
> Lecythus covered with incrustations (1 entire)
>
> Terracotta spindle ring (1 entire)

[1080] Biliotti diary, 10 March 1864.

> Amphora fine paste – good black glaze red figure female holding out a ball reverse male carrying a bow (1 entire)

Among the Attic pots deposited outside the grave were a red-figure neck amphora, three small oinochai (choes), two squat lekythoi, a white-ground lekythos with lozenge patterns, and a black glaze amphoriskos whose surface was discoloured during the firing process.[1081] The neck amphora is decorated with a figure painted in profile on each side.[1082] On one side, a nude athlete stands with his right hand on his hip, holding a strigil in his left hand. The other side depicts a draped ephebos holding an aryballos suspended on cords. Each of the three choes is decorated with different scenes **[Figs.245-247]**: one shows two infant satyrs playing with two jugs lying on the ground; in another Eros is striding towards a tripod; and a boy is playing on a chelys, while a bird stands behind him and a small dog dashes in front.[1083] Choes have been linked to the Anthesteria festival in Athens and, specifically, to the second day of celebrations (called 'Choes') in which these vessels may have been present as gifts to participating infants.[1084] The two squat lekythoi depict the same scene **[Figs.248-249]**: an infant crawling on the ground, playing with a spinning top.[1085] As all six scenes are framed by egg mouldings and a thin ground line, and display a similar manner of painting youthful males, it is possible they were painted in the same workshop in Athens. They can be dated to between 430-410 BC, based on parallels from the Athenian Agora.[1086] This date would roughly correspond to that of

[1081] Although Biliotti records finding three squat lekythoi (mistaken for aryballoi) 'with children lying on the ground playing', only two may be attributed to Fikellura 179 from the British Museum's collection. I have assumed it to be a mistake in Biliotti's diary since no other squat lekythos matching this description exists among the antiquities registered in October 1864, including objects subsequently transferred to the Museum of the Porte in Istanbul.
[1082] BM 1864,1007.190 (Walters E347).
[1083] BM 1864,1007.83; BM 1864,1007.203; BM 1864,1007.231.
[1084] On choes see Parker 2007: 290-301; Hamilton 1992; and van Hoorn 1951.
[1085] BM 1864,1007.234; BM 1864,1007.235.
[1086] Cf. *Agora* XXX 735, pl. 77. For pots from the same workshop see *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 149.1-6, pl. 29.

the amphoriskos with impressed floral patterns, belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1087] The white-ground lekythos is slightly earlier, around 460-450BC.[1088] Along with these pots was found a terracotta spindle-whorl **[Fig.250]**.[1089] It is made of coarse clay and shows signs of wear around the central perforation. Finally, Fikellura 179 yielded a mould-made terracotta protome depicting the head, shoulders and arms of a young woman **[Fig.251]**.[1090] A veil is draped over the back of her head and falls over her shoulders, with folds gathering as she raises her hands towards her breasts. The pinkish-brown clay has a smooth texture, although white salts cover most of the surface, obscuring what is left, if anything, of the original polychromy. The top of the head was pierced before firing, perhaps for hanging in a funerary or non-funerary context. All in all, I would date this burial to 425-400 BC, with an assemblage of grave goods stretching from the middle to the end of the fifth century BC.

The most striking – and contentious – aspect of Biliotti's description of Fikellura 179 is his assertion that it belonged to a child and that flat roofs on stone-lined cists are characteristic of child burials. In Gates' analysis of burial practices at Kamiros and Ialysos, there is no evidence to support the latter claim, showing little correspondence between the age of the occupant of a stone-lined cist and the shape of its roof.[1091] The former claim is, however, more difficult to prove or disprove conclusively: on what grounds did Biliotti make this identification? Does the iconography of the red-figure pots indicate a child burial? The Kerameikos excavations have shown, for instance, that choes at relatively scare in children's burials at Athens, occurring in only four out of almost 200 burials on the Sudhügel.[1092] And even if Fikellura 179 was a child

[1087] BM 1864,1007.1581 (also registered as BM 1864,1007.361); Cf. *Agora* Vol XII 1159, pl. 39.
[1088] BM 1864,1007.1503; Cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.6, pl. 51.
[1089] BM 1864,1007.1856.
[1090] BM 1864,1007.1368.
[1091] Gates 1983 (29-31) notes that stone-lined cists were used for adult and child burials on Rhodes after 550 BC.
[1092] Hamilton 1992: 70.

burial, how do we explain the presence of a terracotta spindle-whorl and female protome? This grave raises important questions about how grave goods were selected in accordance with the gender and age of the deceased. In this chapter, I will argue that Fikellura 179 belonged to a woman who died around child bearing age, and that the goods deposited here were intended to reflect notions of maternity. I will do this through analysing consumption patterns in grave assemblages containing stamnoid pyxides, female terracotta figures and protomes, and Attic pottery with female narrative scenes. By analysing three samples of graves, I hope to prevent a bias towards certain objects and ensure that as many types of objects as possible can be recognised as part of a gendered profile of grave goods. In doing so, I hope to show how the consumption of locally made and imported goods raised the distinctiveness of female grave assemblages over the course of the fifth century BC.

6.3 Weaving a pattern: stamnoid pyxides, spindle-whorls, and epinetra

In the previous chapter, I discussed the development of stamnoid pyxides, their production in different island workshops, and the wider context of their use as paired grave goods. I now wish to extend my analysis of this shape to consider the overall contents of the graves in which they occur. There is a total of 23 datable graves containing stamnoid pyxides, including nine from Fikellura and five from Macri Langoni at Kamiros, and a further nine from Drakidis, Zambico, Marmaro, Ampelles and San Giorgio cemeteries at Ialysos.[1093] The earliest grave is

[1093] Fikellura 41 (BM 1864,1007.1774), 100 (BM 1864,1007.318), 145 (BM 1864,1007.319; BM 1864,1007.2030), 184 (BM 1864,1007.259), 199 (BM 1864,1007.322), 230 (BM 1864,1007.320), 265 (BM 1864,1007.1771; BM 1864,1007.1772), 269 (BM 1864,1007.260; BM 1864,1007.360); Fikellura 72 (3) (RHODES 14109; *ClRh* VI-VII 179-182, fig. 211); Macri Langoni 6 (6) (RHODES 12157; *ClRh* IV 58-63, fig. 34.), 107 (25) (RHODES 12267; *ClRh* IV 211-214, fig. 223), 109 (32) (RHODES 12340 and 12346; *ClRh* IV 220-222, fig. 234), 25 (52) (RHODES 12426; *ClRh* IV 99, fig. 85); Drakidis 180 (239) (RHODES 10609 and 10612; *ClRh* III 185, figs. 178-180); Zambico 168 (132) (RHODES 6585; *ClRh* III 150, fig. 143), 228 (461) (RHODES 11948; *ClRh* III 245 fig. 243); Marmaro 40 (*ClRh* VIII 157, fig. 144, no. 2), 42 (*ClRh* VIII 159, fig.

Drakidis 180 (239), which can be dated to the end of the sixth century BC;[1094] the latest is Zambico 228 (461), which included an Attic black glaze amphoriskos from the second quarter of the fourth century BC.[1095] The largest concentration of graves belong to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, with twelve datable to within this period.

A review of the total contents of these graves, presented in **Fig.252**, displays close similarities to the wider trends of grave goods from Fikellura cemetery: Attic drinking cups are the most popular class of pottery, along with lekythoi and squat lekythoi; terracotta figures and protomes are the most frequent class after pottery vessels, followed by alabastra and glass alabastra. But closer inspection of the spectrum of terracottas found in these graves reveals a more interesting picture. Of the 30 terracotta figures found in the 23 graves**,** only three represent male figures, including two squatting figures and one leaning figure, while there are fourteen female figures, consisting of eleven seated women and three standing women **[Fig.253]**.[1096] There are also ten female protomes.[1097] The most frequent class of terracotta grave good deposited with stamnoid pyxides are spindle-whorls, with a total of eleven between three graves.[1098] Two graves contained multiple examples. Fikellura 199 included four terracotta spindle-whorls **[Fig.254]**, as well as a stamnoid pyxis of the White Slip group, two Attic black glaze kylixes, a small

148, no. 9) 66 (*ClRh* VIII 182, fig. 171, no. 5), 78 (*ClRh* VIII 187, fig. 179, nos. 1-2); Ampelles 153 (155) (RHODES 6642-6643; *ClRh* III 153, fig. 148); San Giorgio 4 (*ClRh* VIII 45, fig. 28, no. 1-4).

[1094] See section 5.2.1.

[1095] RHODES 11943; *ClRh* III 245, fig. 243.

[1096] Male figures: RHODES 12416; *ClRh* IV 101, fig. 88; *ClRh* VIII 192, fig. 179, nos. 25-26; Seated female figures: RHODES 12280, 12282-12283; *ClRh* VI 213, fig. 223; RHODES 12354-12356; *ClRh* IV 226, fig. 23; RHODES 12354-12356; RHODES 12414; *ClRh* IV 97, figs. 85; *ClRh* VIII 189-191, fig. 179, nos. 17, 21-22. Standing female figures: RHODES 12411-12413; *ClRh* IV 97, fig. 85.

[1097]BM 1864,1007.1372 (Higgins 243); BM 1864,1007.1379 (Higgins 240); BM 1864,1007.1378 (Higgins 294); RHODES 12342 and 12345; *ClRh* IV 222, fig. 234; RHODES 12430; *ClRh* IV 102, fig. 85; RHODES 12284-12285; *ClRh* IV 213, fig. 223; *ClRh* VIII 191, figs. 179 and 181, nos. 18-19 (no. 20 is fragmentary).

[1098] BM 1864,1007.1859; BM 1864,1007.1833, 1838, 1848, 1857; RHODES 6588; *ClRh* III 151, fig. 143 [registration number for all six spindle-whorls].

bowl, a red-figure squat lekythos with floral patterns, and a glass oinochoe.[1099] It also included a red-figure hydria attributed to the Christie Painter that depicts a seated woman flanked by her attendants, and another kylix with a youth reaching towards a washbasin.[1100] The red-figure kylix can be dated to 470-460 BC, and the hydria is slightly later, around 440 BC.[1101] The squat lekythos, small bowl and black glaze kylix with flaring foot, however, date this grave to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1102] Zambico 148 yielded six spindle-whorls of pyramidal shape, along with a Late Corinthian kothon, an Attic black-figure lekythos, a black glaze egg cup, and a stamnoid pyxis decorated with floral patterns.[1103] The kothon and lekythos, which is similar to those found in Macri Langoni 32 and attributed to the Cook Class, place this grave toward the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BC.[1104] Significantly, graves containing multiple terracotta spindle-whorls are scarce at Kamiros: Fikellura graves 193 and 219 are the only other graves with more than three spindle-whorls, yielding six and eight respectively. These contexts are especially notable given that the Athenian Kerameikos, for wider comparison, has rarely yielded assemblages containing multiple spindle-whorls.[1105] Together, the frequency of terracotta spindle-whorls in graves with stamnoid pyxides and their overall scarcity at Kamiros suggests these two objects were, in certain circumstances, considered to be complementary grave goods. Further support for this hypothesis arises from considering the contemporaneous production of epinetra by the island workshops that made stamnoid pyxides.

[1099] BM 1864,1007.1833, 1838, 1848, 1857 (spindle-whorls); BM 1864,1007.322 (stamnoid pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1548 and 2112 (kylixes); BM 1864,1007.1640 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1648 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.63 (Harden 257) (glass oinochoe).
[1100] BM 1864,1007.112 (Walters E188; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 85,2) (hydria); BM 1864,1007.81 (Walters E99; *CVA* British Museum 9 [Great Britain 17] pl. 17; *ARV*² 788.1 (kylix).
[1101] *Agora* XXX 1422, pl. 133 (kylix); *Agora* XXX 603, pl. 65 (hydria).
[1102] *Agora* XII 1126, pl. 38 (squat lekythos); *Agora* XII 548, pl. 24 (kylix).
[1103] RHODES 6584 (kothon), 6585 (stamnoid pyxis), 6588 (spindle-whorls), 6586 (egg-cup), 6587 (Lekythos); *ClRh* III 151, fig. 143.
[1104] RHODES 12332-12334; *ClRh* IV 220, figs. 234 and 243; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 83); Cf. Payne 1931: 335, nos. 1519-1526; Amyx 1988: 473-474.
[1105] I am only aware of one grave that contained five spindle-whorls: *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 335.

Frauke Heinrich's *Das Epinetron. Aspekte der weiblichen Lebenswelt im Spiegel eines Arbeitsgeräts* (2006) charts the chronology and decoration of the Rhodian epinetra between the late sixth and early fourth centuries BC. There are three main types. The first is produced by the same workshop as the Bird Painter Group of stamnoid pyxides, with orangey-brown clay and archaising decoration painted in a brownish slip.[1106] For instance, one epinetron is decorated with three roughly painted stripes across the top of the guard, while another depicts a bird painted in outline **[Figs.255-256]**.[1107] Both have a raised lip at the thigh-end of the guard. The knee-end, by contrast, has no plastic moulding. They measure between fifteen and eighteen centimetres long and around twelve centimetres wide. In the absence of a datable grave context, this group may be dated in accordance with the analogous stamnoid pyxides, beginning from around 470 BC and continuing throughout the fifth century BC.[1108] The second type is more finely potted and covered in a yellow slip, with floral and figural decoration painted in a black slip. The group comprises two examples excavated from the same grave at Brykous, on the northern tip of Karpathos **[Figs.257-258]**.[1109] The general composition of their decoration is similar: each side of the guard, left and right, is lined with a floral pattern, while the thigh-end is framed by a series of plain brush strokes. The knee-end is covered in black slip and terminates in a large knob with a "neck". One example has a single bird painted in outline with short, stubby legs.[1110] The other is decorated with a floral pattern with an architectural base that resembles the outline of a column capital.[1111] The overall shape of these epinetra is more

[1106] *ClRh* II 140, fig. 18; Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 14, pl. 28 [from Pontamo, Chalke – no inventory number]; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4552; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 1, pl. 24,1; BERLIN 31573; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 4, pl. 24,3; *CVA* Oxford 2 392; BERLIN 2983; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 3, pl. 24,2; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1909.843; Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 12, pl. 27,3-4; COPENHAGEN 6458; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 5, pl. 24,5; Blinkenberg 1911: 146.
[1107] BERLIN 2983; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 3, pl. 24,2; Furtwängler 1886: 153; COPENHAGEN 6458; Heinrich 2006: 183, Rh. 5, pl. 24,5; Blinkenberg 1911: 146.
[1108] See section 5.2.2.1.
[1109] BM 1886,0310.10 (Walters B96); Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 10, pl. 26,1-3; BM 1886,0310.11 (Walters B97); Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh.11, pls. 27, 1-2.
[1110] BM 1886,0310.11 (Walters B97).
[1111] BM 1862,0310.10 (Walters B96).

sophisticated than the first type, with a sharply carinated lip at the thigh-end that gently tapers towards the knee-end. The sides of the guard also curve inwards, which produces a closer fit over the wearer's knee. It is noteworthy that three stamnoid pyxides from Macri Langoni 234 of varying sizes are reminiscent of these epinetra in terms of their decoration, consisting of floral patterns and birds painted in black over a yellowy slip **[Fig.259]**.[1112] Further examples of this type of stamnoid pyxis have been found at Ialysos and perhaps Pergamon, with the latter example bearing a similar floral and architectural pattern to the epinetra **[Fig.260]**.[1113] The island of Tilos has also yielded two examples.[1114] Unfortunately, Macri Langoni 234 cannot be used to date this series accurately because it only contained a lead pyxis and bronze mirror besides the three stamnoid pyxides, none of which can be closely dated.[1115] I would instead like to consider the small group of graves in which the pair of epinetra were discovered on Karpathos.

Four grave assemblages can be reconstructed from James Theodore Bent's excavations at Karpathos in 1885, during which he found 'chiselled tombs of diverse character' as well as 'natural holes in the cliff [containing]…well glazed things, which had been rare in the chiselled tombs'.[1116] Based on this description, it is reasonable to suggest that Bent discovered a cemetery that consisted of late Archaic and early Classical chamber tombs, including shafts dug into the rock like those at Kamiros, as well as late Classical and Hellenistic chamber tombs with a more rock-cut appearance, much like the tombs found at Kymissala.[1117] A total of four grave assemblages may be reconstructed. Brykous 1 only yielded the pair of epinetra described

[1112] RHODES 13424, 13426, 13428; *ClRh* IV 156, fig. 154.
[1113] *ClRh* III 168, fig. 161. The entry in the Museum Register records the findspot for BM 1882,1205.1 as 'said to be from Pergamon'.
[1114] Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011: 278-278, cat. 50 and 51.
[1115] RHODES 13425 (mirror) and 13427 (lead pyxis); *ClRh* IV 156, fig. 154.
[1116] Bent 1886: 236-237. See also Keepers' Reports 1 January 1886, which records the purchase.
[1117] Gates 1983: 24-28; Mohr 2015: 253-254; Stefanakis and Patsiada 2009-2011.

above, preventing internal dating of this grave. Brykous 2, however, contained an Attic red-figure oinochoe and squat lekthyos.[1118] The oinochoe depicts three ephebes, one of whom is in a stooping position as he prepares to leap. The squat lekythos shows a panther crouching and looking back. Besides these two vessels were found a black glaze kantharos and a stamnoid pyxis.[1119] The oinochoe, which has been attributed to the FB Group, belongs to the second quarter of the fourth century BC, while parallels for the squat lekythos date to 430-400 BC.[1120] However, the kantharos belongs to the second half of the fourth century BC.[1121] The overall assemblage ranges from 430-320 BC, the burial likely around 320-310 BC. Brykous 3 is probably of a similar or later date since it included a Megarian bowl placed inside a banded stamnos with three handles, which bears similarities to the pottery found in the cemeteries of Rhodes town.[1122] Both graves suggest that the epinetra were unlikely to have been produced before the end of the fifth century BC. Given the red-figure vessels found in Brykous 2 and the presence of three stamnoid pyxides at Macri Langoni, a cemetery used extensively during the fifth century BC, I would broadly date the production of these epinetra to 425-375 BC.

Based on the contemporaneous production of epinetra and stamnoid pyxides by the Bird Painter Group, and their similar use of outline birds and geometric patterns, it is possible that these stamnoid pyxides and epinetra were made by the same or a closely related workshop operating sometime after 425 BC – when simpler shapes were replaced by ever more sophisticated handles, stems and knobs. The distribution of these products throughout Rhodes, Tilos, Karpathos, and Asia Minor may reflect a period of increased connectivity following the

[1118] BM 1886,0310.12 (Walters F28) (oinochoe); BM 1886,0310.15 (Walters F29) (squat lekythos).
[1119] BM 1886, 0310.13 (kantharos); BM 1886,0310.4 (stamnoid pyxis).
[1120] *ARV*² 1484-1495; *Agora* XXX 609, pl. 66 (oinochoe); *Agora* XXX 973, pl. 95.
[1121] Cf. *Agora* XII 690, pl. 28.
[1122] BM 1886,0310.6 (bowl); BM 1886,0310.5 (hydria). A similar stamnos with three handles was found on Kamiros acropolis (BM 1864,1007.1746); Giannikouri, Patsiada, and Filimonos 1990: 64-69, pls. 1-3.

establishment of Rhodes town, whereas earlier stamnoid pyxides and epinetra of the Bird Painter Group were limited to Kamiros, Kymissala and Chalke.

The third type of epinetra produced on Rhodes features plastic decorations.[1123] They are entirely mould-made and terminate in one or two hand-made human heads at the knee-end, often representing a woman and a child **[Figs.261-262]**.[1124] A suspension hole located at the thigh-end may have been for storage purposes when not in use. Establishing a broad date for this type of epinetra is difficult because of the lack of specific contexts containing pottery. Three were found on Rhodes, two of which come from graves at Kamiros, and another is possibly from Aegina.[1125] In the absence of associated pottery, Heinrich has dated this group to the first half of the fifth century BC, based on comparison with Attic prototypes that also have moulded heads.[1126]

Overall, it seems that stamnoid pyxides were associated with spinning equipment on Rhodes from the late sixth to the early fourth centuries BC. The evidence for this is twofold. On the one hand, they were associated with terracotta spindle-whorls in terms of their co-occurrence in graves. On the other, they were associated with epinetra in terms of their contemporaneous production by one or more island workshops. But can this association with textile production be framed in terms of female consumption? This question also raises the problem of how far textile production can be associated with women *per se*. When wool-working is shown on Attic

[1123] BM 1864,1007.1938 (Higgins 245); Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 7, pl. 25,1-3; BM 1885,1213.39 (Higgins 149); Heinrich 2006:184, Rh. 8, pl. 25,4; BM 1893,0712.5 (Higgins 151); Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 9, pl. 25,5-6; Paris, Louvre MNB 3054; Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 13, pl. 28,1.
[1124] BM 1864,1007.1938 (Higgins 245); BM 1893,0712.5 (Higgins 150).
[1125] Rhodes: BM 1885,1213.39 (Higgins 149); Kamiros: BM 1864,1007.1938 (Higgins 245) and Louvre MNB 3054; Heinrich 2006: 184, Rh. 13, pl. 28,1; Aegina (?): BM 1893,0712.5 (Higgins 150).
[1126] Heinrich 2006: 151. E.g. Heinrich 2006: 177, Sf. 91, pl. 13,1-2.

pottery, it is always women who are performing the work.[1127] Literary sources clearly show that wool-working was viewed as women's work, and was traditionally a key way in which women contributed to the economy of the *oikos*, e.g. Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 7.35-36; Plato *Republic* 455c-d .[1128] Moreover, the iconography of Attic painted epinetra often refers to 'feminine subjects' including the spinning of wool.[1129] But it would be a serious oversight to assume *a priori* that this connection can be mapped onto Rhodes.[1130] To examine the relationship between textile production and women, it is first necessary to discuss the contents of the Fikellura graves containing female terracotta figures and protomes.

6.4 Sorting fabrics from fabrications: Rhodian terracotta production

Reynold Higgins' *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (1954) lists 297 terracottas he considered to be made on Rhodes.[1131] Most of these were found at Kamiros, although some were found at Melos, Gela, Athens and Naukratis, among other sites.[1132] He identified three phases of production based upon fabric. The first ranges from 700-570 BC and is characterised by a fabric with a brown or pale orange colour and little or no mica, and mainly comprises figures of women, many of them hand-made.[1133] Some of these were excavated from Deposit D&E on Kamiros acropolis.[1134] The second phase dates to 570-500 BC and includes plastic figure vessels, including busts, animals, and animal heads. The fabric of these terracottas is

[1127] Lewis 2002: 62-65.
[1128] Lewis 2002: 60-62;
[1129] Badinou 2003.
[1130] Lewis 2002: 62-65.
[1131] Higgins 1954: 32-101, nos. 1-297, pls. 1-49.
[1132] A portion also have an unknown findspot.
[1133] Higgins 1954: 32-44, nos. 1-45, pls. 1-7.
[1134] BM 1864,1007.1247 (Higgins 21); BM 1864,1007.1250 (Higgins 36); BM 1864,1007.1268 (Higgins 42); BM 1864,1007.1271 (Higgins 19); BM 1864,1007.1272 (Higgins 29); BM 1864,1007.1277 (Higgins 23); BM 1864,1007.1279 (Higgins 31); BM 1864,1007.1280 (Higgins 26).

paler in colour, well levigated, and contains mica.[1135] The final phase is the most prolific, containing figures and protomes that post-date 500 BC. Most of these terracottas were excavated from Fikellura cemetery and display a similar fabric to the previous phase, except there is no mica.[1136] Through dating 50 graves from Fikellura cemetery, Higgins divides this material into early, mid, and late fifth century BC.[1137] This list is attractive it its capacity to sort a wide range of material into separate phases, each with a distinct fabric. Since its publication, however, scientific clay analyses and stylistic studies have shown that many of these terracottas were not made on Rhodes. For instance, a large portion of terracotta figure vessels are now thought to be products of Ionia, along with a variety of female terracotta protomes.[1138] The selection of figurines analysed in Richard Jones' *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: A Review of Scientific Studies* (1986) was an important step in distinguishing Rhodian and non-Rhodian terracotta production. Yet a more extensive reassessment of the corpus of finds from Rhodes is needed to establish the main series produced on the island. To do this effectively, it is important not to rely solely on macroscopically observed fabric types, as these are not a guaranteed diagnostic criterion of terracotta production for two reasons. First, different production centres may have macroscopically similar clays. Second, clays with dissimilar appearances and working properties can sometimes be found in the same area, as is the case at Stegna near Archangelos, where beds of grey, yellow and red clays are found side-by-side **[Fig.263]**. Third, the salts and organic crusts that have accumulated on the surface of many terracottas make identifying fabrics difficult. A broader approach that focusses on three elements – fabric, mould series and the context of finds – is therefore required. I have used this approach to establish a series of female terracotta figures and protomes made on Rhodes during

[1135] Higgins 1954: 44-61, nos. 47-108, pls. 9-20.
[1136] Higgins 1954: 61-101, nos. 109-297, pls. 22-49.
[1137] Higgins 1954: 61-81, nos. 109-203, pls. 22-34 (early); 81-98, nos. 204-283, pls. 36-48 (mid); 98-101, nos. 284-297, pls. 48-49 (late).
[1138] On terracotta figure vessels see Thomas (2013-2015a: 6, n. 26) for bibliography. On Ionian terracotta female protomes see Croissant (1983), especially Groups F and G.

the fifth century BC. I have been able to identify two series of seated figures, three series of standing figures, and three series of protomes. These series are based on finds from Fikellura as well as pieces in the British Museum's collection from Rhodes that lack a specific find-spot. Further terracottas found at Macri Langoni cemetery and at the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos have also been considered, where applicable. Before exploring the chronology and typology of these mould series, I will outline the three main terracotta fabrics found on Rhodes, and the spectrum of terracotta types excavated at Fikellura. This will provide a wider context to the production of female figures and protomes.

6.4.1 Fabrics

Two main Rhodian fabrics and one Ionian fabric can be identified based on macroscopic observation. Higgins, by contrast, had identified three different clays in the terracottas produced on Rhodes. Higgins' first, observed in figures datable to 700-570 BC, is equivalent to my Rhodes fabric 2, and his third, observed in figures datable to 500 BC onwards, is equivalent to Rhodes fabric 1.[1139] However, Higgins' second fabric, which is observed in figures dated to between 570 and 500 BC and described as 'usually micaceous', is equivalent to my Ionia fabric 1.[1140] These fabrics may be assigned to production places based on the distribution of terracotta figures made from these fabrics and, in particular, their similarity to fabrics used in contemporaneous ceramics made on Rhodes and Ionia.[1141] Terracottas made of Rhodes fabrics 1 and 2 are especially prevalent on Rhodes, whereas terracottas made of Ionia

[1139] Higgins 1954: 19.
[1140] Higgins 1954: 19.
[1141] On Ionian terracottas see von Graeve 2017; Huysecom-Haxhi 2016 and Özcan 2016. On terracotta production at Miletos see von Graeve 1999 and 2007; Bîrzescu et al. 2016.

fabric 1 commonly occur at Miletos, among other Ionian settlements.[1142] As mentioned in the previous chapters, pottery made on Rhodes often displays little or no mica, whereas Wild Goat style, Fikellura, and other pottery produced in Miletos and elsewhere in Ionia often contains large quantities of mica.[1143] The colours of the fabrics, ranging from orange-pink on Rhodes to orange-brown colour in Ionia, are further distinguishing criteria.

Rhodes fabric 1 **[Fig.264]**. Pale orange colour, little or no mica. Well levigated and a smooth texture. No visible inclusions.

Most of the mould-made terracottas from Fikellura are made of this fabric. These include kneeling youths,[1144] bald babies,[1145] 'grotesque' figures,[1146] reclining men,[1147] crouching men wearing a *polos*,[1148] pigs,[1149] lions,[1150] tortoises,[1151] and pomegranates.[1152] Each of the series of female figures and protomes discussed below are made of this fabric, which is the most common on Rhodes during the fifth century BC.

Rhodes fabric 2 **[Fig.265]**. Red-brown colour, little mica. Rougher texture and some quartz inclusions visible.

[1142] On the distribution of Ionian terracottas see Thomas 2013-2015a; Nazarov 2007: 547, pl. 71.
[1143] von Graeve 1999.
[1144] BM 1864,1007.1905 (Higgins 262); BM 1864,1007.1906 (Higgins 264); BM 1864,1007.1907 (Higgins 266); BM 1864,1007.144 (Higgins 260).
[1145] BM 1864,1007.1909 (Higgins 258); 1864,1007.1910 (Higgins 259).
[1146] BM 1864,1007.141 (Higgins 141); BM 1864,1007.145 (Higgins 272); BM 1864,1007.142 (Higgins 270); BM 1864,1007.138 (Higgins 160); BM 1864,1007.139 (Higgins 161).
[1147] BM 1864,1007.1912 (Higgins 252); BM 1864,1007.159 (Higgins 152).
[1148] BM 1864,1007.1932 (Higgins 253); BM 1864,1007.147 (Higgins 167).
[1149] BM 1864,1007.1898 (Higgins 274); BM 1864,1007.1889 (Higgins 179); BM 1864,1007.1890 (Higgins 178).
[1150] BM 1864,1007.1895 (Higgins 172); BM 1864,1007.1896 (Higgins 273).
[1151] BM 1864,1007.1893 (Higgins 192); BM 1864,1007.1892; BM 1865,1214.33.
[1152] BM 1864,1007.1930. See also BM 1861,1024.9 (Higgins 198).

The series of hand-made female figures from Kamiros acropolis were produced using this fabric.[1153] Other terracottas include a miniature model of a pyxis made from solid clay, decorated with small impressed circles,[1154] a small bowl containing a range of solid clay fruits such as pomegranates,[1155] a dog,[1156] two examples of standing women, including one holding a tambourine and another a tool,[1157] two seated women,[1158] as well as an epinetron.[1159] While this fabric was used from the seventh to fifth centuries BC, there were no extensive series after the hand-made female figures. This clay is distinct from that used to make Rhodian pithoi, which has lighter reddish colour, and contains higher quantities of quartz inclusions.

Ionia fabric 1 **[Fig.266]**. Orange-brown colour, very micaceous. Rough texture. Some small quartz inclusions.

Ionian terracottas were imported to Rhodes in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Terracotta figure vessels of various shapes were especially popular during the sixth century BC.[1160] During the fifth century BC, Ionian imports constitute the largest series of non-Rhodian female terracottas found on the island, including a group of seated women wearing *polos* hats,[1161] and a range of

[1153] BM 1864,1007.1247 (Higgins 21); BM 1864,1007.1250 (Higgins 36); BM 1864,1007.1268 (Higgins 42); BM 1864,1007.1271 (Higgins 19); BM 1864,1007.1272 (Higgins 29); BM 1864,1007.1277 (Higgins 23); BM 1864,1007.1279 (Higgins 31); BM 1864,1007.1280 (Higgins 26).
[1154] BM 1864,1007.1818.
[1155] BM 1864,1007.11 (Higgins 280).
[1156] BM 1864,1007.1238 (Higgins 3).
[1157] BM 1864,1007.1393 (Higgins 118); BM 1864,1007.1397 (Higgins 247).
[1158] BM 1864,1007.1297 (Higgins 227); BM 1864,1007.1295 (Higgins 127).
[1159] BM 1864,1007.1938 (Higgins 245); BM 1885,1213.39 (Higgins 149); BM 1893,0712.5 (Higgins 150); BM 1948,0502.33 (Higgins 246).
[1160] BM 1860,0201.48 (Higgins 95); BM 1860,0404.51 (Higgins 96); BM 1865,1214.34 (Higgins 83); BM 1860,0404.53 (Higgins 99); BM 1860,0201.39 (Higgins 1623); BM 1864,1007.1920 (Higgins 78); BM 1860,0404.54 (Higgins 77); BM 1861,0425.40 (Higgins 53); BM 1931,1014.1 (Higgins 79); BM 1860,0404.52 (Higgins 54); BM 1926,0318.2 (Higgins 1643); BM 1886,0313.1 (Higgins 1616); BM 1864,1007.1305 (Higgins 1614).
[1161] BM 1862,0512.4 (Higgins 71); BM 1862,0512.5 (Higgins 74); BM 1863,0330.19 (Higgins 70); BM 1864,1007.135 (Higgins 72); BM 1864,1007.1294 (Higgins 120); BM 1864,1007.1901 (Higgins 65); BM 1864,1007.1903 (Higgins 131).

protomes.[1162] Other mould-made series include child plaques,[1163] animals,[1164] and paired figures.[1165]

6.4.2 Types

The terracottas of Rhodes fabric 1-2 and Ionia 1 comprise most of the figures and protomes excavated from Kamiros and dating to the fifth century BC, and earlier. However, they do not comprise the entire spectrum of terracottas found on Rhodes. Figures in brown, sandy and beige fabric were also found, perhaps imported from Cyprus – where sandy and buff fabrics are common – or elsewhere in Aegean.[1166] But these are often unique examples that lack a specific context. An especially wide spectrum of terracottas was excavated from the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, dating from the early seventh to the late fifth centuries BC.[1167] It includes many varieties of terracotta female protomes from the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.[1168] The relation between the terracottas from Lindos and those from Kamiros are discussed below.[1169]

[1162] BM 1861,1024.10 (Higgins 136); BM 1862,0512.10 (Higgins 108); BM 1862,0512.11 (Higgins 134); BM 1864,1007.1372 (Higgins 243).
[1163] BM 1864,1007.137 (Higgins 155); BM 1864,1007.1319 (Higgins 157).
[1164] BM 1864,1007.1894 (Higgins 171); BM 1864,1007.1897 (Higgins 174).
[1165] BM 1864,1007.1319.
[1166] On Cypriot fabrics see Thomas 2013-2015b: 21; Fourrier 2007: 17-20. Miscellaneous fabrics: BM 1864,1007.1904 (Higgins 261); BM 1864,1007.1825 (Higgins 17); BM 1863,0330.14 (Higgins 111); BM 1863,0330.17 (Higgins 284); BM 1863,0330.18 (Higgins 114); BM 1894,1007.1391 (Higgins 113); BM 1864,1007.1290 (Higgins 293); BM 1864,1007.1240; BM 1863,0330.23 (Higgins 263); BM 1864,1007.1007.1269 (Higgins 20); BM 1865,1214.32 (Higgins 103); BM 1864,1007.1390 (Higgins 109); 1864,1007.1309 (Higgins 913); BM 1864,1007.1891 (Higgins 176); BM 1864,1007.2031 (Higgins 229); BM 1864,1007.2032 (Higgins 230).
[1167] *Lindos* I 1860-2529, pls. 80-120.
[1168] *Lindos* I 2447-2529, pls. 115-120.
[1169]

A total of 116 terracottas were excavated from Fikellura cemetery **[Fig.267]**. Of these, 55 (49%) were female figures or protomes, including 22 seated women, 21 standing women, and fifteen protomes. Most of the seated and standing figures are Rhodian. Only five are Ionian.[1170] Many of the female protomes, on the other hand, are from Ionia. Only four protomes are Rhodian.[1171] The remaining 60 (52%) include four kneeling youths,[1172] six 'grotesque' figures,[1173] two reclining male figures,[1174] two bald babies,[1175] two crouching males wearing a *polos*,[1176] four cockerels,[1177] three pigs,[1178] three tortoises,[1179] three lions,[1180] three doves,[1181]two rams,[1182] one goat,[1183] and one pomegranate.[1184] There is also a group of four standing men,[1185] and two sirens.[1186] A large portion of these figures are probably Rhodian, with the exception of two Corinthian dolls,[1187] and one Ionian ram.[1188]

[1170] BM 1864,1007.135 (Higgins 72); BM 1864,1007.1299 (Higgins 128); BM 1864,1007.1901 (Higgins 65); BM 1864,1007.1903 (Higgins 131); BM 1864,1007.1398 (Higgins 286).
[1171] BM 1864,1007.1368 (Higgins 237); BM 1864,1007.1379 (Higgins 240); BM 1864,1007.1380 (Higgins 67); BM 1864,1007.1381 (Higgins 244).
[1172] BM 1864,1007.1904 (Higgins 261); BM 1864,1007.1905 (Higgins 262); BM 1864,1007.1906 (Higgins 264).
[1173] BM 1864,1007.138 (Higgins 160); BM 1864,1007.139 (Higgins 161); BM 1864,1007.141 (Higgins 159); BM 1864,1007.142 (Higgins 270); BM 1864,1007.144 (Higgins 260); BM 1864,1007.145 (Higgins 272).
[1174] BM 1864,1007. 159 (Higgins 152); BM 1864,1007.1912 (Higgins 252).
[1175] BM 1864,1007.1910 (Higgins 259); 1864,1007.1909 (Higgins 258).
[1176] BM 1864,1007.1932 (Higgins 253); BM 1864,1007.147 (Higgins 167).
[1177] BM 1864,1007.1914 (Higgins 278); BM 1864,1007.1915 (Higgins 188); BM 1864,1007.1916 (Higgins 189); BM 1950,0731.4 (Higgins 190).
[1178] BM 1864,1007.1888 (Higgins 177); BM 1864,1007.1889 (Higgins 179); BM 1864,1007.1890 (Higgins 178).
[1179] BM 1864,1007.1892 (Higgins 191); BM 1864,1007.1893 (Higgins 192); BM 1948,0601.18.
[1180] BM 1864,1007.1894 (Higgins 171); BM 1864,1007.1895 (Higgins 172); BM 1864,1007.1896 (Higgins 273).
[1181] BM 1864,1007.1917 (Higgins 275); BM 1864,1007.1921 (Higgins 183); BM 1864,1007.1922 (Higgins 276).
[1182] BM 1864,1007.1897 (Higgins 174); BM 1864,1007.1898 (Higgins 274)
[1183] BM 1864,1007.1899 (Higgins 175).
[1184] BM 1864,1007.1911 (Higgins 153).
[1185] BM 1864,1007.1395 (Higgins 248); BM 1864,1007.1396 (Higgins 250); BM 1864,1007.1397 (Higgins 247); BM 1864.2007.1914 (Higgins 278).
[1186] BM 1864,1007.1301; BM 1864,1007.1302.
[1187] BM 1864,1007.1309 (Higgins 913); BM 1864,1007.1313 (Higgins 928).
[1188] BM 1864,1007.1897 (Higgins 174).

All the terracottas discussed in this chapter are mould-made and hollow, unless otherwise stated. Three hand-made figures were found at Fikellura: a woman in a bath tub and two rider figures, one a man on a donkey and another a monkey on a pig.[1189] I will begin by describing the locally made series of seated women, before moving on to standing women and female protomes – each of which are 'shoulder-busts' depicting the face, shoulders and arms. For each series, I will touch upon typology, chronology and distribution**.** Each terracotta series is summarised in **Table 2.**

6.4.2.1 SEATED WOMAN 1 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Fig.268]**

The first, and largest, group of seated women is represented by fourteen examples from Rhodes.[1190] Representing a woman sat in a chair with a high back, typically reaching to her chest, these figures measure between eight to twelve centimetres in height. The woman wears a *peplos.* The top of her head is covered with a veil, under which is a small cap. She is normally shown with her arms stretched out, her hands reaching towards her knees. There are, however, two variations to this series: one in which the woman holds a dove in her left hand, and another in which the woman's centrally-parted fringe is visible.[1191] On some examples, there are traces of red and white polychromy.[1192] The features of some figures – including facial features, headdress, and garment folds – are barely discernible. This is probably because the moulds used to make the figures were worn through usage, which produces less distinct features. If

[1189] BM 1864,1007.1935 (Higgins 236); BM 1864,1007.1923 (Higgins 105); BM 1864,1007.1924 (Higgins 104).
[1190] BM 1863,0330.21 (Higgins 122); BM 1864,1007.1283 (Higgins 123); BM 1864,1007.1284 (Higgins 121); BM 1864,1007.1285 (Higgins 125); BM 1864,1007.1286 (Higgins 225); BM 1864,1007.1291 (Higgins 129); BM 1948,0501.59 (Higgins 126); RHODES 12255; *ClRh* IV 210, fig. 221; RHODES 13343; *ClRh* IV 142, fig. 137; RHODES 11772; *ClRh* III 142, fig. 135; *Lindos* I 2129, 2133, 2137, 2138, pls. 96-97.
[1191] BM 1864,1007.1291 (Higgins 129); BM 1864,1007.1286 (Higgins 225).
[1192] E.g. BM 1864,1007.1283 (Higgins 123).

Terracotta series	Date	Distribution	Image
Seated Woman 1	500-450 BC	Kamiros, Ialysos, Lindos	
Seated Woman 2	425-400 BC	Kamiros, Lindos	
Standing Woman 1	475-450 BC	Kamiros, Lindos	
Standing Woman 2	c. 450 BC	Kamiros, Lindos	
Standing Woman 3	475-450 BC	Kamiros	

Female Protome 1	510-480 BC	Kamiros, Lindos; Chalke; Naukratis	
Female Protome 2	c. 450 BC	Kamiros	
Female Protome 3	c. 450 BC	Kamiros	

Table 2. Series of Rhodian terracotta female figures and protomes

anything, the use of worn moulds indicates a popular series that was produced and consumed on a large scale. Richard Jones' analysis of BM 1864,1007.1291 has shown conclusively that this series was produced on Rhodes.[1193]

Three grave assemblages from Fikellura cemetery provide a solid basis for dating this series. As well as the seated figure, Fikellura 268 included an Attic black-figure pelike, a stemmed kylix, and a glass alabastron.[1194] While the kylix with reserved bands is from the mid to late sixth century BC, the pelike, which is decorated with two Dionysiac scenes, can be placed around 500 BC.[1195] This date would complement the glass alabastron, which belongs to Mediterranean Group 1.[1196] Together, it is possible to date this grave to 510-490 BC. Fikellura 212 and 124 are slighter later. Besides a terracotta seated figure, Fikellura 212 contained a black-figure lekythos, a red-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Orchard Painter, and a pair of skyphoi, one of which is decorated with a band of leaves and white dots while the other is a covered in black glaze.[1197] These vessels can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, based on comparisons from Rhodes and the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos.[1198] I would therefore date Fikellura 212 to the same period. Fikellura 124 contained two seated figures and one black-figure lekythos with palmettes on the shoulder, dating to between 470-460 BC.[1199] Overall, it seems likely that production of the Seated Woman 1 series began around 500 BC and continued throughout the first half of the fifth century BC. During this period a similar

[1193] Jones 1986: 668, table 8.8, no. 20.
[1194] BM 1952,0204.49 (Higgins 126); BM 1864,1007.270; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl. 44,2; BM 1864,1007.1610; BM 1864,1007.1215 (Harden 114).
[1195] *Agora* XII 389-90, pl.18 (kylix); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 45, 1-2 (pelike).
[1196] Harden 1981: 58-61.
[1197] BM 1864,1007.1284 (Higgins 121) (Seated Woman); BM 1864,1007.1491 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.100; *ARV*² 525.42; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl. 69,1 (neck amphora); BM 1864,1007.1535 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.49 (skyphos).
[1198] *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93, 1-3 (lekythos); *Agora* XXX 18, pl. 7 (neck-amphora); *Kerameikos* IX grave 163.1, pl. 79 (skyphos); *Kerameikos* IX grave E48.1, pl. 91 (skyphos).
[1199] BM 1864,1007.1283 (Higgins 123) (seated figure); BM 1864,1007.1285 (Higgins 125) (seated figure); BM 1864,1007.1510 (lekythos); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 285.13, pl. 56 (lekythos).

series of seated women were being imported to Rhodes from Ionia **[Figs.269-271]**, as demonstrated by Fikellura 211.[1200] Besides a Ionian seated figure, it included a Rhodian figure of a man reclining on a couch, as well as an Attic black-figure kylix by the Haimon Painter, two lekythoi by the Little Lion Class, and a glass amphoriskos of Mediterranean Group 1.[1201] The kylix and two lekythoi date this grave to 500-475 BC.[1202] There are two major differences between the Rhodian and Ionian seated types, however: the Ionian types wear a tall *polos* hat, while those from Rhodes wear a flatter cap; and the edges of the chairs on the Ionian types are pointy and protruding, while the chairs of the Rhodes series are rounded and smooth.

Concerning the type's distribution, there are six examples of Seated Woman 1 from Fikellura, two from Macri Langoni, one from Drakidis cemetery at Ialysos, and four from the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos. It is therefore probable that Seated Woman 1 was made for an island-wide consumer base, which used them as votives or as grave goods.

6.4.2.2 SEATED WOMAN 2 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Fig.272]**

The second series of seated women is represented by five figures, three from Kamiros and two from Lindos.[1203] Like the previous series, the woman is seated in a high chair and wears a *peplos* and a veil. The figures are larger, measuring between fourteen and sixteen centimetres

[1200] BM 1862,0512.4 (Higgins 71); BM 1862,0512.5 (Higgins 5); BM 1863,0330.19 (Higgins 70); BM 1864,1007.135 (Higgins 72); RHODES 10749; *ClRh* III 126, fig. 118; RHODES 12414; *ClRh* IV 97, fig. 85.
[1201] BM 1864,1007.1299 (Higgins 128); BM 1864,1007.159 (Higgins 152); BM 1864,1007.1690; BM 1864,1007.1200 (Harden 176).
[1202] *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 92,4 (Haimon painter); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 15.4, pl 8 (lekythos); *Agora* XXIII 1162-1176, pl. 86 (lekythos).
[1203] BM 1864,1007.1287 (Higgins 288); BM 1864,1007.1288 (Higgins 290); BM 1864,1007.1289 (Higgins 289); *Lindos* I 2202, 2217, pls. 101-102.

in height. The overall proportions of the woman are slenderer. She has a thinner face and oval eyes. Her most distinct feature is a thick fringe of hair defined by a series of bobs lining the forehead. Her feet also protrude from under the hem of the *peplos*. There are three variations: one with hands resting on knees, another holding a phiale, and another with an arm raised. There are traces of red paint on the veil of one figure.[1204] Unlike the previous series, these figures have a vent at the base, which may have been required during the firing process to prevent cracking.

The three figures from Fikellura belong to two assemblages. Fikellura 257 contained two terracotta seated women, a small Ionian olpe, a plainware lekythos, and a chytra, along with a group of Attic vessels: a white-ground lekythos by the Tymbos Painter, a pair of bolsals, three small bowls, a stemless cup, and an askos.[1205] The plainware pottery is difficult to date, but the Attic black glaze vessels can be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1206] The white-ground lekythos can be dated to 460-440 BC.[1207] Overall, this grave can be placed in the last quarter of the fifth century BC. Fikellura 41 yielded a more idiosyncratic range of grave goods, including a terracotta female protome, a terracotta spindle-whorl, a stamnoid pyxis decorated with a band and a shallow wave, an Attic red-figure squat lekythos painted with a sphinx, a kylix, a mug with pine-cone protrusions, a glass amphoriskos, and a terracotta Seated Woman.[1208] The mug and kylix date to 425-400 BC; the squat lekythos also dates to the late

[1204] BM 1864,1007.1287 (Higgins 288).
[1205] BM 1864,1007.1287 (Higgins 288) (Seated Woman); BM 1864,1007.1288 (Higgins 290) (Seated Woman); BM 1864,1007.2029 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1754 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1937 (chytra); BM 1864,1007.173 (Walters D44); *ARV*² 757.73 (white-ground lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1602 (bolsal); BM 1952,0204.42 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1458 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.1639 (small bowl); BM 1949,0220.19 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.1596 (stemless cup); BM 1949,0220.22 (askos).
[1206] *Agora* XII 905, pl. 34 (small bowl); *Agora* XII 872, pl. 33 (small bowl); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 161.3, pl. 30 (small bowl); *Agora* XII 1174-1176, pl. 39 (askos).
[1207] *Agora* XXX 898, pl. 90.
[1208] BM 1864,1007.1378 (Higgins 294) (protome); BM 1864,1007.1859 (spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1774 (stamnoid pyxis); BM 1864,1007.102 (Walters E667) (squat lekythos); BM 1949,0220.13 (kylix); BM

fifth century BC.[1209] Along with the glass amphoriskos of Mediterranean Group 1, it is possible to date this assemblage to between 425-400 BC. In all likelihood, then, this series of terracotta seated women was made on Rhodes during the last quarter of the fifth century BC. Their distribution between Kamiros and Lindos shows, once again, a dual use as votive and grave goods.

6.4.2.3 STANDING WOMAN 1 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Fig.273]**

The first series of terracotta standing women is the most extensive. There are a total of thirteen figures, eleven from Kamiros and two from Lindos.[1210] They measure between 16-21 cm in height, including a squarish plinth. The woman is depicted wearing a *chiton* with a *himation* draped over the left shoulder. She also wears a *sakkos* on her head, with a centrally parted fringe visible. Her right leg is slightly bent and she is raising her right arm to her breast. The figure is framed by three deep folds of the *himation* that run over the left shoulder, across the lower chest, and down on the sides of her legs. Judging by the appearance of some examples, where the folds are barely distinguishable, their moulds were often used extensively before being discarded. For instance, on BM 1856,0902.31 the folds are not particularly visible around the legs and there is little detail in the fringe of hair. The series is generally uniform in its appearance with no discernible variations; each figure has a vent at the base of the plinth and a smooth reverse side.

1864,1007.1481 (mug); BM 1864,1007.1201 (Harden 216) (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1289 (Higgins 289) (Seated Woman).

[1209] *Agora* XII 222, pl. 11 (mug); *Agora* XII 459, pl. 21 (kylix); *Agora* XXX 964, pl. 95 (squat lekythos).

[1210] BM 1856,0902.31 (Higgins 210); BM 1863,0330.15 (Higgins 211); BM 1864,1007.1392 (Higgins 214); BM 1864,1007.1927 (Higgins 212); BM 1948,0501.4 (Higgins 213); BM 1948,0501.1 (Higgins 5 bis); BM 1948,0502.2 (Higgins 218 bis); BM 1948,0502.3 (Higgins 218); BM 1948,0501.5 (Higgins 216); BM 1848,0601.20 (Higgins 215); *Lindos* I 2269, pl. 105 (citing fragments of two figures).

Fikellura 147 contained five examples of Standing Woman 1 and another standing figure (Standing Woman 3, see below), as well as a white glass alabastron with purple stripes belonging to Mediterranean Group 1.[1211] No pottery was recovered from this grave. Similarly, Fikellura 224 contained a single terracotta Standing Woman. There are two graves, however, that did contain pottery. Besides a terracotta standing figure, Fikellura 171 included an Attic black glaze olpe with an egg and tongue band, a glaux, a small black glaze stamnoid pyxis, two Mediterranean Group 1 glass unguent vessels – a blue amphoriskos and a white alabastron with purple stripes – and a small terracotta female protome.[1212] The olpe and glaux date to between 480-460 BC.[1213] The stamnoid pyxis, which may be Rhodian, is unique and is not comparable to other groups of this shape. The terracotta protome is small, measuring eleven centimetres in height, and may also be Rhodian. Altogether, I would date this grave to between 475-450 BC. As well as a Standing Woman, Fikellura 182 included a black glaze one-handler that belongs to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1214] It is therefore possible to date the start of the series to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, with examples continuing to be deposited in graves much later.

The most striking aspect of the Standing Woman 1 series is its concentration at Kamiros, with a single grave containing five examples. When considered together with a minor presence at Lindos and absence at Ialysos, I would argue that the series was made in or around Kamiros, where it was commonly deposited in graves. Its votive use is not evident in the archaeological

[1211] BM 1864,1007.1382 (Higgins 221); BM 1948,0501.4 (Higgins 213); BM 1948,0501.5 (Higgins 216); BM 1948,0502.1 (Higgins 217); BM 1948,0502.4 (Higgins 222); BM 1948,0502.8 (Higgins 217); BM 1948,0601.20 (Higgins 215); BM 1864,1007.1229 (Harden 94) (glass alabastron).
[1212] BM 1864,1007.1392 (Higgins 214) (Standing Woman); BM 1864,1007.1660 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1566 (glaux); BM 1864,1007.321 [stamnoid pyxis]; BM 1864,1007.69 (Harden 185) (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1231 (Harden 90) (glass alabastron); BM 1948,0502.5 (Higgins 138) (protome).
[1213] Cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl. 10 (olpe); *Agora* XII 361-362, pl. 17 (glaux).
[1214] Cf. *Agora* XII 773, pl. 31.

record of Kamiros acropolis. These figures were not so popular as votives at Lindos either, where only two examples have been found on the acropolis. An abbreviated version of this series was produced as a female protome (see Female Protome 3).

6.4.2.4 STANDING WOMAN 2 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Figs.274-275]**

The second series survives in nine figures, one of which is oversized and measures over 40 cm in height.[1215] The standard-sized figures are fifteen to 25 cm in height. The general composition is not dissimilar to that of the previous series, with a woman standing on a plinth wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. In this series, however, the *himation* hangs more loosely over the shoulders. The folds of the garments are more delicately moulded, gathering around the right side. In most examples, the woman raises her right hand to her breast and tugs at her garments with her left hand while bending her left leg slightly. This arrangement is inverted in one figure.[1216] The face is full, with a strong chin, and is framed by a thick, centrally-parted fringe. There is no headdress. On one figure, there are traces of red polychromy on the plinth.[1217] Each figure has a vent in the base of the plinth and a smooth reverse side.

There are six grave assemblages to date this series – four from Fikellura and two from Macri Langoni. Fikellura 253 contained a terracotta Standing Woman, a pair of terracotta squatting youths, a Mediterranean Group 1 glass alabastron, an Attic white-ground lekythos, and a red-

[1215] BM 1864,1007.1384 (Higgins 220); BM 1864,1007.1385 (Higgins 204); BM 1864,1007.1387 (Higgins 205); BM 1864,1007.1900 (Higgins 207); RHODES 12411-12413; *ClRh* IV 97, fig. 85; RHODES 12458; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89.
[1216] BM 1864,1007.1384 (Higgins 220).
[1217] BM 1864,1007.1387 (Higgins 205).

figure pelike depicting Eos and Kephalos, which has been attributed to the Comacchio Painter.[1218] The lekythos may be assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century, and the pelike can be dated to 460-450 BC.[1219] I would therefore date this grave to between 460-440 BC. Fikellura 260 included four bronze rings, an Attic black glaze askos and prochoos, a black-figure hydria depicting a Seated Woman holding a mirror, a red-figure kylix attributed to The Calliope Painter, and a glass amphoriskos.[1220] The hydria is the earliest object, dating to 500-475 BC, while the askos, small bowl, and prochoos belong to 475-450 BC.[1221] However, the red-figure kylix with an athlete preparing to throw a discus is later, and can be dated to around 430 BC.[1222] This grave may be dated to 440-420 BC, with an assemblage stretching from 500-430 BC. Fikellura 74 contained a terracotta cockerel, as well as a Standing Woman, an alabaster alabastron, and an Attic red-figure pelike that depicts the discovery of Erichthonios by the daughters of Kekrops on one side, and two draped ephebe on the other.[1223] It is attributed to the Erichthonios Painter and dates to around 450 BC.[1224] This grave may therefore be dated to the middle of the fifth century BC, around the same time as Fikellura 176, which also contained a terracotta cockerel and an Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Athena Painter.[1225] Macri Langoni 26 (54) also included a red-figure pelike by the Ericthonios Painter, as well as a bronze mirror, three glass alabastra, a black-figure kylix with palmette decoration, a black glaze prochoos and small cup, a sea shell, a bone fibula, three bonze stands, and a range of

[1218] BM 1864,1007.1384 (Higgins 220) (Standing Woman); BM 1864,1007.1905 (Higgins 262) (squatting youth); BM 1864,1007.1906 (Higgins 264) (squatting youth); BM 1864,1007.1221 (Harden 120) (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1496 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.110 (Walters E355); *ARV*² 957.33 (pelike).
[1219] *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl. 93, 1-2 (lekythos); *Agora* XXX 18, pl.7 (pelike).
[1220] BM 1864,1007.389-393 (bronze stands); BM 1864,1007.1631 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1659 (prochoos); BM 1864,1007.1716 (*CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 98,8) (hydria); BM 1864,1007.104 (Walters E96; *ARV*² 1263.1 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.73 (Harden 180) (glass amphoriskos).
[1221] *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl.56, 1-4 (hydria); *Agora* XII 1166-1172, pl. 39 (askos); *Agora* XII 856, pl.33 (small bowl); *Agora* XII 175, pl. 10 (prochoos [parallel oinochoe])
[1222] *Agora* XXX 1463, pl 137.
[1223] BM 1864,1007.1914 (Higgins 278) (cockerel); BM 1864,1007.1387 (Higgins 205) (Standing Woman); BM 1864,1007.1165 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.125 (Walters E372) (pelike).
[1224] *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12.
[1225] BM 1864,1007.1385 (Higgins 204) (Standing Woman); BM 1950,0731.3 (Higgins 190) (cockerel); BM 1864,1007.237; *ABV* 531.5 (oinochoe).

terracottas, including a Rhodian Standing Woman 2, a terracotta figure group consisting of one male and one female figure, a Ionian Seated Woman, and a figure of a dove.[1226] It is difficult to accurately date the glass vessels, mirror, and other terracottas, but the black-figure kylix can be dated to 480-470 BC and the red-figure pelike to around 450 BC. The assemblage therefore probably stretches from 480-450 BC.[1227]

All in all, it appears that this series of standing women were produced on Rhodes from the middle of the fifth century BC. This fits neatly with the extensive assemblage of Macri Langoni 25 (52), which included a stamnoid pyxis of the White Slip Group as well as three terracotta standing women.[1228] The production of this series in regular and oversize versions, paired with their distribution at Kamiros and Lindos, suggests that it was mass-produced for a range of uses across the island. Like the previous series, these figures do not appear as grave goods at the cemeteries of Ialysos.

[1226] RHODES 12454; *ClRh* IV 104, fig. 90-92; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Italy 9] pls. 1.2-3, 2.1; *ARV*² 1218.2 (pelike); RHODES 12466; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (mirror); RHODES 12462-12464; *ClRh* IV 105, fig 89 (glass alabastra); RHODES 12456; *ClRh* IV 105, fig 89 (black-figure cup); RHODES 12455; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (oinochoe); RHODES 12465; *ClRh* IV 105, fig, 89 (cup); RHODES 12457; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (shell); RHODES 12469; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (bone fibula); RHODES 12467; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (three bronze stands); RHODES 12458; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89 (Standing Woman); RHODES 12461; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 94 (Demeter & Persephone); RHODES 12459; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89 (Seated Woman); RHODES 12460; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89 (dove).

[1227] *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (pelike); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 33.1 (black-figure kylix).

[1228] RHODES 12426; *ClRh* IV 101, fig. 85 (stamnoid pyxis); RHODES 12411-12413; *ClRh* IV 101, figs. 85-86 (standing women).

6.4.2.5 STANDING WOMAN 3 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Figs.276-277]**

The third series of Standing Woman is the most elusive. It only survives in two fragmentary figures from Fikellura cemetery.[1229] The most complete figure measures just over eighteen centimetres in height. The pose is like the previous two series: a standing woman wearing a *chiton* and a long *himation* raises her right hand to her breast, and tugs are her garments with her left hand. The broad, pointed *sakkos* on hear head is the most characteristic feature of this series. Both figures were produced using well-worn moulds, making it difficult to comment on their details. The deep folds of their garments, though, are reminiscent of those from Standing Woman 1, although they gather around the upper chest and down the left side of the figure. The only figure from this series to come from a known grave context is BM 1864,1007.1382 (Higgins 221). It was found in Fikellura 147, together with five figures from the Standing Woman 1 series.[1230] Based on this co-occurrence in a grave and a similar method of rendering folds in draped garments, I would suggest that this series was produced around the same period, i.e. the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Again, this series may be associated with a series of locally made female protomes (see Female protome 2).

6.4.2.6 FEMALE PROTOME 1 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Fig.278]**

The largest series of terracotta female protomes made on Rhodes is known through at least eight copies, from Kamiros and Lindos on Rhodes, as well as Chalke and Naukratis.[1231] It was

[1229] BM 1864,1007.1382 (Higgins 221); BM 1948,0502.4 (Higgins 222).
[1230] See section 6.4.2.3.
[1231] BM 1856,0902.54 (Higgins 242); BM 1885,1213.41 (Higgins 238); Thomas 2013-2015a: 8, n. 46; BM 1951,0307.2 (Higgins 145); Jones 1985: 668-671; *Lindos* I 2525, pl. 120 (noting three copies from same mould); Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA390, N850, NA426, NA803, NA509; Thomas 2014: 8, fig. 16 (joining fragments); RHODES 13877; *ClRh* II 130-132, fig. 12-13; Florence, National Archaeological Museum 86970 (published in Iozzo 2019).

produced in different sizes, ranging from 17 to 27 cm in height. It represents a woman wearing a stephane, *chiton*, and *himation*. Her hands are raised to her breasts, causing folds of drapery to gather around her left arm. It is possible that a reduced-scale series was produced that omits the shoulder area.[1232] Each protome is pierced at the top of the head, possibly allowing them to be suspended in domestic or religious contexts, or during a procession.[1233] An example of this type, BM 1885,1214.41, has recently been assigned to chemical group RhodA following NAA.[1234] There are three grave contexts for this protome series that are worth considering.

Fikellura 34, a chamber tomb, contained a red-figure pelike attributed to the Painter of Oxford 529; an Attic oinochoe painted in the Six Technique; a white-ground lekythos and black glaze lekythos with fluted body; two small red-figure skyphoi, one of which depicts Nike and has been attributed to the Lewis Painter; a red-figure askos with dolphins; two small black glaze hydriai; a stemmed dish; and a lamp.[1235] In addition, there were three terracotta figures including a large Ionian seated figure, a Rhodian Seated female 1, a bald baby figure, and a hand-made figure of a woman sitting in bath tub.[1236] There was also a fragment of a terracotta protome belonging to this series, which Jones, in his scientific analyses, attributed to his Rhodes Group C **[Fig.279]**.[1237] The oinochoe may be dated to 450 BC.[1238] The Seated Figure

[1232] BM 1864,1007.1380 (Higgins 67). On the topic of abbreviations between terracotta protomes and figures see Muller 2009. See also Salapata 2015 on the deposition of sets of terracotta figures in Greek sanctuaries that are abbreviations of monumental stone sculpture groups, such as the Geneleos group.
[1233] Sabetai 2015: 157.
[1234] Villing and Mommsen 2017: 119, fig. 14.
[1235] BM 1864,1007.129 (Walter E354); *ARV*² 1119.5; BM 1864,1007.230 (Walter B695) (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1723 (white-ground lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1651 (fluted lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1675; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 32,14 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.198 (Walters E143); *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 29,1; *ARV*² 975.2 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1712 (Walter E762); BM 1952,0204.79 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1572 (hydria); BM 1949,0220.11 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1670 (Bailey Q377).
[1236] BM 1864,1007.1903 (Higgins 131) (Seated Woman); BM 1864,1007.1291 (Higgins 129) (Seated Woman); BM 1864,1007.1909 (Higgins 258); BM 1864,1007.1935 (Higgins 236).
[1237] BM 1951,0307.2 (Higgins 145); Jones: 668-671.
[1238] Compare shape to *Agora* XII 113, pl .6.

1, white-ground lekythos, miniature hydria, and skyphos by The Lewis Painter may be dated to between 475-450 BC, while the red-figure pelike was probably made around 440 BC.[1239] The fluted lekythos and black glaze askos are later, dating to 430-400 BC.[1240] I would therefore broadly date this assemblage to 475-420 BC. Whether the fluted lekythos and askos are later additions to this grave is possible given the evidence for multiple burial in chamber tombs at Kamiros.[1241] The bulk of the assemblage suggests that Female Protome 1 was being produced from around the beginning of the second quarter of the fifth century BC. A similar date is suggested by a grave containing a possible reduced-scale version of the same series. Fikellura grave 11 contained a miniature protome of a woman wearing a stephane **[Fig.280]** as well as black-figure olpe representing Heracles and the Amazons, a black glaze kylix, and four further terracottas: two female protomes, one seated figure from Ionia, and a fragment of a Seated Woman.[1242] Both the kylix and the olpe may be dated to around 500 BC, so the burial likely dates to the beginning of the fifth century BC.[1243] Finally, it should also be noted that a large amount of Attic black-figure pottery was discovered with a female protome at the cemeteries of Xipei hill and Andramassos valley on Chalke, including kylikes with floral patterns.[1244] I would therefore suggest that production of these protomes began on Rhodes sometime between 510 and 480 BC. They were soon moved along a shipping route running through the Dodecanese and into Egypt, where they were deposited as votives in the Hellenion at Naukratis.[1245]

[1239] *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 289.1. pl. 58 (lekythos); *Agora* XII 46, pl. 3 (miniature hydria); *Agora* XII 1240, pl. 117 (skyphos); *Agora* XXX 45, pl. 12 (pelike).
[1240] *Agora* XII 1129-1130, pl. 38 (lekythos); *Agora* XXX 1153-1154, pl. 109 (askos).
[1241] See section 2.6.
[1242] BM 1864,1007.1390 (Higgins 67); BM 1864,1007.1714 (Walters B472) (olpe); BM 1949,0220.12 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1371 (Higgins 142) (protome); BM 1864,1007.1376 (Higgins 135) (protome); BM 1864,1007.1901 (Higgins 65) (Seated Woman); BM 1948,0502.9 (Higgins 66) (fragment, Seated Woman).
[1243] *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 72, 1-4 (olpe).
[1244] Iozzo 2019; Monaco 2004 and 2007; Cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E10.1 (kylix).
[1245] Thomas 2013-2015a: 8.

6.4.2.7 FEMALE PROTOME 2 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Figs.281-283]**

One complete copy and two fragments survive from the Female Protome 2 series. The complete copy measures 36 cm in height, making it the largest type of female protome known to have been made on Rhodes.[1246] The two fragments comprise a head, from Fikellura 269, and a section of the right arm and chest area.[1247] Like the previous series, a woman wearing a *himation* and a *chiton* is shown raising both hands. This series is distinguished by the thick *sakkos* covering the woman's head. The drapery is also more delicately moulded, with folds gathering around her right arm. Her face is thick-set and has a strong chin. Again, the protome was perforated before firing at the top of the head for suspension in a context other than a grave. I would like to suggest that this series was an abbreviation of the Standing Woman 3, for two reasons. First, the broad *sakkos*, the bulging curls of hair around the temples, and the overall physiognomy of the face are similar to those of Standing Woman 3. Secondly, the find-spots for these figures and protomes, where known, are restricted to Kamiros. Although the assemblage recovered from Fikellura 269 may be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century, it seems more fitting to place the origin of this type around 450 BC based on its severe style and the co-occurrence of a figure with five examples of Standing Woman 1 in Fikellura grave 147, themselves dating to the second quarter of the fifth century BC.[1248] Given the absence of these protomes and figures from Ialysos and Lindos, I would argue they were produced in or around Kamiros, where they were used as grave goods.

[1246] BM 1895,1027.6 (Higgins 239).
[1247] BM 1864,1007.1379 (Higgins 240); BM 1864,100.1928 (Higgins 241).
[1248] On Fikellura 269 see section 5.1 and 5.3.2.1.

6.4.2.8 FEMALE PROTOME 3 (Rhodes fabric 1) **[Fig.284]**

The only example of the Female Protome 3 series comes from Fikellura 179. It measures 28 cm in height.[1249] The dress and pose is comparable to the two previous series, except that the woman wears a thin *sakkos* and her centrally-parted fringe of hair is especially prominent. The drapery is also drawn over the *sakkos*. Her face is severe, with a strong jaw and full lips. Again, there is a small pre-firing perforation at the top of the head. The contents of Fikellura 179, in which the Kamiros copy was found, were outlined at the beginning of this chapter and can be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[1250] However, I would suggest that production of this series began around 450 BC based on similarities to the Standing Woman 1 series, including the centrally-parted fringe of hair and the gathering of folds around the left arm and running across the lower chest. No examples of this series have been found at Lindos or Ialysos. Interestingly, the lower part of the mould used to produce Female Protome 2 is much like that of this series: the area around the left arm, where the folds of drapery gather, are almost identical. I would therefore suggest that this series was produced at Kamiros, possibly as an abbreviated version of Standing Woman 1.

6.2.4.9 *Summary and consumption*

The above series of seated women, standing women, and female protomes cover the main groups of female terracottas made on Rhodes during the fifth century BC. It should be noted that I have omitted certain types that may have been produced on the island but either lack context to establish their date and distribution or do not survive in enough copies to constitute

[1249] BM 1864,1007.1368 (Higgins 237).
[1250] See section 6.2.

a series. These include a disparate group of standing women wearing a stephane **[Fig.285]** and two female protomes **[Figs.286-287]**, whose facial features are more rounded that the others described.[1251] Finally, it is possible that protomes depicting only the head and neck area, omitting the shoulders, were made on Rhodes **[Fig.288]**.[1252] As there are so many Ionian varieties of this type, it is difficult to discern what is Rhodian and what is imported.[1253]

The distribution of the terracotta series tells us much about consumption across the island in two respects. First, Ialysos seems not to have been a major consumer of terracottas in the same way that Kamiros and Lindos were. Among the graves published from Ialysos' cemeteries with images of assemblages dating to the late sixth and fifth centuries BC, it is only possible to discern eleven graves containing female figures or protomes, while there are 34 graves from Fikellura cemetery alone at Kamiros.[1254] Secondly, and most importantly, the concentration and production of two related series of terracottas at Kamiros – namely Standing Woman 1 and Female Protome 3 as well as Standing Woman 3 and Female Protome 3 – says much about the role of Lindos as a maritime sanctuary. Whereas hundreds of terracottas from around the Greek world were deposited at Lindos, including examples from Cyprus and Ionia, the sanctuary was not a major consumer of certain series of Rhodian terracottas in the fifth century BC.[1255] In other words, there appears to have been a split between Kamiros on the west coast and Lindos on the east coast, with distinct channels of terracotta production and consumption. Lindos consumed outwardly, with many imported terracottas being deposited, while Kamiros

[1251] BM 1863,0330.13 (Higgins 110); BM 1863,0330.14 (Higgins 111); BM 1864,1007.1388 (Higgins 209); BM 1867,0506.47 (Higgins 147); BM 1885,1213.40 (Higgins 148).
[1252] E.g. BM 1948,0502.5 (Higgins 138); BM 1864,1007.1375 (Higgins 137). These protomes are far smaller than many of the Ionian types, measuring between 11-13 cm in height (Cf. BM 1864,1007.1370 measuring 22 cm in height).
[1253] Croissant 1983: 141-180, Groups F and G.
[1254] *ClRh* III: Drakidis 189 (277), 217 (431), 204 (326), 90 (282), 122 (421); Kremasti 91 (289); Zambico 128 (428). *ClRh* VIII: Mamaro 3, 8, 35, 47, 78.
[1255] E.g. *Lindos* I 1993-2005, pl.89; 2103-2118, pl. 95; 2119-2126, pl. 96.

consumed inwardly, producing many of its own figures and protomes. To an extent, the production of terracottas as Kamiros can be viewed as an indirect result of the 'votive gravity' of Lindos, which attracted droves of imported terracottas and left little more tha Ionian figures and protomes for those living on the opposite side of the island. Moreover, the different audiences that were depositing terracottas at Lindos and Kamiros, from the travellers to the former to the local inhabitants of the latter, may have encouraged this pattern of production and consumption across the island. To be sure, I am not arguing that Kamirans were unable to procure imported terracottas since there is clear evidence that they did. Rather, it seems probable based on the concentration of imported terracottas at Lindos, which may have been deposited by overseas travellers, that this sanctuary enjoyed a heightened level of accessibility and an audience more receptive to imported terracottas compared to the cemeteries of Kamiros. This disparity may have encouraged the production of terracottas on the west side of Rhodes.

Twenty-nine of the 34 graves excavated from Fikellura that contained female terracotta figures and protomes can be dated based on their contents: twelve (41%) can be dated to 475-450 BC, while thirteen (45%) belong to the second half of the fifth century BC **[Fig.289]**. Is it possible to connect the use of female terracottas to a female pattern of consumption in graves? The popularity of standing and seated figures and female protomes says little about local female patterns of consumption on Rhodes because terracottas, including female figures and protomes, were used in all kinds of contexts throughout Greece in the fifth century BC.[1256] A comparison of the quantities of female figures and protomes found outside of Rhodes, such as those found at Miletos, is therefore likely to be of limited use in establishing a relation between Rhodian female terracottas and a female pattern of consumption in graves.[1257] I would argue, however,

[1256] Salapata (2015) argues that craftsmen benefited from producing generic types with a broad appeal.
[1257] von Graeve 1999 and 2007; Panteleon and Senff 2008.

that a connection to the female sphere can be made based on the iconography of associated pottery finds.

Recent scholarship has called into question the divide between mythological and non-mythological scenes on Attic pottery. As Gloria Ferrari and Kathryn Topper have shown, one permeates the other to a point where no distinction is possible – sometimes myth is interpreted as showing reality and vice versa.[1258] For instance, a psykter by the Kleophrades Painter belongs to the 'broad category of 'unknown' imagery; while nothing suggests a connection to myth, there is also nothing that positively identifies it as a depiction of contemporary life.'[1259] I agree with Ferrari that the distinction, rather than between myth and non-myth, lies in the narrative capacity of the subject represented.[1260] I therefore make a distinction between 'myth-specific scenes', which appear to depict a specific myth moment or include figures with mythological attributes, and 'narrative scenes' that do not appear to depict a specific myth moment and do not include figures with mythological attributes identifying them as deities, Amazons, or Maenads (etc.). These narrative scenes occupy a grey area in which there may be a mythological connection but where no elements in the imagery to directly connect them to a known myth. As I will show, the Fikellura graves that include pots with narrative scenes that focus on women – female narrative scenes – display interesting patterns in their assemblages.

Of the 211 figural scenes on Attic pots (black- and red-figure) excavated from Fikellura **[Fig.290]**, the largest category is myth-specific scenes (133, 63 %). These consist of images of goddesses, such as Athena, Nike and Artemis, as well as Amazons, Maenads and other

[1258] Ferrari 2003; Topper 2012.
[1259] Topper 2012: 3.
[1260] Ferrari 2003: 43

mythical figures like Andromache, as well as consisting of Dionysiac scenes and images of Herakles, Apollo, and Trojan heroes such as Ajax and Achilles. The second largest category is male narrative scenes (57, 27%), comprising of warriors, musicians, quadrigas, bearded men, and ephebes. The smallest categories of figural scenes are female narrative, with only 30 examples (14%), and infants, totalling only five examples (2%). It is striking that three out of the five Attic pots with infant scenes occur with female terracottas, specifically in Fikellura 179.[1261] The occurrence of infant scenes in graves containing female terracottas is highlighted in **Table 3,** which shows the percentages of Attic figural scenes containing men, women, and infants from graves with or without female terracottas at Fikellura cemetery. A further infant scene occurs in Fikellura 229, which includes a squat lekythos with a female narrative scene. The occurrence of infant scenes in graves containing female terracottas or female narrative scenes may have kourotrophic connotations.[1262] A significant portion of Rhodian stamnoid pyxides were also deposited in Fikellura graves containing Attic pots with female narravtive scenes, namely in Fikellura 199, 230, and 269.[1263] It is not sufficient, however, to analyse female narrative scenes only through grave assemblages containing female figures and protomes as it risks producing a bias towards terracottas. I would therefore like to consider all those graves from Fikellura cemetery that contain pots with female narrative scenes.

[1261] See section 6.2.
[1262] See section 6.5.3.
[1263] See section 6.6.

Fikellura Sample	**Total graves**	**Total scenes**	***Of which* Men**	***Of which* Women**	***Of which* Infants**
All graves	288 (100%)	211 (100%)	100 (100%)	106 (100%)	5 (100%)
Graves without female terracottas	254 (88%)	168 (76%)	75 (75%)	88 (83%)	2 (40%)
Graves with female terracottas	34 (12%)	35 (17%)	15 (15%)	18 (17%)	3 (60%)

Table 3. Fikellura graves containing Attic pots featuring men, women, and infants.

6.5 Sophisticated women: female narrative scenes

This section explores the relationship between objects commonly found in graves containing Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes, before considering the specific relationship between those scenes and scenes of infants. In doing so, I will explore the popularity of red-figure pelikai decoratated with female narrative scenes, the common occurrence of glass unguent vessels and bronze mirrors in graves containing female narrative scenes, and the production of Rhodian 'temple boy' figures alongside the consumption of Attic infant scenes.

There are 30 female narrative scenes on Attic pots from 28 graves at Fikellura cemetery. In all, 23 of these are painted in red-figure technique and seven in black-figure technique. Only four examples can be dated to 500-475 BC, while thirteen examples can be dated to 475-450 BC **[Fig.291]**. A further thirteen examples can be dated to the second half of the fifth century BC. In terms of their content, thirteen depict standing or seated women**.**[1264] These include a woman standing next to a chair being passed a soap-holder; five seated female figures holding wreaths; a woman seated between two bearded men conversing; a woman seated at the door of a house; a woman seated on a stool with a wreath hanging above; a seated woman flanked by her attendants; a seated woman holding a wreath; a seated woman playing on flutes; a standing woman holding a rectangular box; a standing woman holding up a mirror; two scenes of seated women holding mirrors; and a chariot with two draped women behind, in front of which is a seated woman. A further nine are miscellaneous scenes, including a woman holding a plant;

[1264] BM 1864,1007.119 (Walters E376); *ARV*² 1078.8; BM 1864,1007.1687 (Walters B448); Beazley *ABV* 560.519; BM 1864,1007.97 (Walters E352); *ARV*² 586.53; BM 1864,1007.186 (Walters E91); *ARV*² 396.23; BM 1864,1007.279; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 98,1; BM 1864,1007.112 (Walters E188); *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 85,2; *ARV*² 1048.42; BM 1864,1007.1677 (Walters E404); *ARV*² 531.31; BM 1864,1007.114 (Walters E191); *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 86,2; BM 1864,1007.91 (Walters E87); BM 1864,1007.105 (Walters E594); BM 1864,1007.117 (Walters E147); *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 29,5; BM 1864,1007.1716 (*CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 98,8; BM 1864,1007.176; *ABV* 542.116.

three dancing women, one of which is playing the lyre; a woman standing next to an animal; a girl with an ephebos; a hetaira and a bearded man; a woman standing next to a crawling infant and a bearded man; two women possibly holding textiles; a girl in a sleeved chiton looking backwards; and a draped woman mounting a chariot next to another woman with a lyre.[1265] Four scenes depict youths chasing women.[1266] Two scenes show women pouring libations.[1267] And, finally, two scenes depict show the profile of a woman's head.[1268]

The volume and range of grave goods represented by the 28 assemblages with female narrative scenes are generally unremarkable, with Attic drinking cups and lekythoi the most popular choices **[Fig.292]**. There are three notable trends though: glass unguent vessels are particularly frequent; the only examples of stands for unguent vessels, made of glass and bronze, occur here in Fikellura 254 and 260; and there is a concentration of Attic red-figure pelikai. I will start by considering the latter trend before turning to the alabastra. My focus here will be on combinations of grave goods found in graves throughout the fifth century BC. I will make specific assessments of chronological changes once I have pooled the evidence to outline the burial profile of Kamirian women.

[1265] BM 1978,0512.1 (Walters B565); BM 1864,1007.95; BM 1864,1007.123 (Walters E260); *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl. 5,3; *ARV*² 565.34; BM 1864,1007.189 (Walters E396); BM 1864,1007.107; *ARV*² 1358.1; BM 1864,1007.111 (Walters E373); BM 1864,1007.1681 (Walters E666); BM 1864,1007.301.
[1266] BM 1864,1007.113 (Walters E197); *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl. 80,2; *ARV*² 506.30; BM 1864,1007.304 (Walters E145); *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 29,3); BM 1864,1007.115 (Walters E173); *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl. 78,1; BM 1864,1007.111 (Walters E373).
[1267] BM 1864,1007.192 (Walters E369); BM 1864,1007.172 (Walters E661); BM 1864,1007.109 (Walters E412).
[1268] BM 1864,1007.169 (Walters E659); BM 1864,1007.204 (Walters E683).

6.5.1 Attic red-figure pelikai

A total of 27 Attic pelikai were excavated from Fikellura cemetery. Twenty-one of these are decorated in the red-figure technique, two in black-figure, and four are coated in black glaze.[1269] The 28 graves containing vessels with female narrative scenes yielded ten red-figure pelikai. To put this into context, a 37% share of the total pelikai occur in a sample of graves constituting only 10% of Fikellura cemetery. Furthermore, eight of these red-figure pelikai are decorated with female narrative scenes, which account for over a quarter of this category of scenes **[Fig.293-295]**.[1270] Two further pelikai depict mythical scenes, including Thetis and a Nereid bringing arms to Achilles, and Dionysus holding a kantharos and thyrsos.[1271] The frequency of Attic pelikai decorated with female narrative scenes is also visible at Macri Langoni cemetery. Five out of the seven pelikai found here are decorated with female scenes, four of which are domestic (one standing, one libation, two music) and one mythical, showing the Birth of Aphrodite.[1272] It should be noted that the popularity of female narrative scenes on pelikai is a matter of selection at Kamiros, and not of production in Athens – red-figure pelikai decorated with scenes depicting only men have also been found on Rhodes.[1273] The full spectrum of scenes of red-figure pelikai is relatively broad, ranging from Dionysiac scenes,[1274]

[1269] Red-figure: BM 1864,1007.96 (Walters E358); BM 1864,1007.97 (Walters E352); *ARV*² 586.53; BM 1864,1007.98 (Walters E371); *ARV*² 486.44; BM 1864,1007.99; BM 1864,1007.107; *ARV*² 1358.1; BM 1864,1007.109 (Walters E412); BM 1864,1007.110 (Walters E355); BM 1864,1007.111 (Walters E373); BM 1864,1007.118 (Walters E353); BM 1864,1007.119 (Walters E376); *ARV*² 1078.8; BM 1864,1007.120 (Walters E364); BM 1864,1007.125 (Walters E372); BM 1864,1007.126 (Walters E363); BM 1865,1007.127 (Walters E368); BM 1864,1007.129 (Walters E354); BM 1864,1007.151 (Walters E359); BM 1864,1007.188 (Walters E365); BM 1864,1007.189 (Walters E396); BM 1864,1007.192 (Walters E369); BM 1864,1007.1677 (Walters E404); *ARV*² 531.31; BM 1864,1007.1678 (Walters E374). Black-figure: BM 1864,1007.254 (Walters B192); *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl. 44,1; BM 1864,1007.270; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl. 44,2. Black-glaze: BM 1864,1007.1513; BM 1864,1007.1531; BM 1864,1007.1532; BM 1864,1007.1810.
[1270] BM 1864,1007.119 (Walters E376); *ARV*² 1078.8; BM 1864,1007.97 (Walters E352); *ARV*² 586.53; BM 1864,1007.1677 (Walters E404); *ARV*² 531.31; BM 1864,1007.192 (Walters E369); BM 1864,1007.109 (Walters E412); BM 1864,1007.189 (Walters E396); BM 1864,1007.107; *ARV*² 1358.1; BM 1864,1007.111 (Walters E373).
[1271] BM 1864,1007.126 (Walters E363); BM 1864,1007.98 (Walters E371); *ARV*² 486.44.
[1272] RHODES 12454; *ClRh* IV 104, figs. 90-92; RHODES 13128; *ClRh* IV 121, fig. 116; RHODES 13057; *ClRh* IV 164, fig. 162; RHODES 12887; *ClRh* IV 168, figs. 172-173; RHODES 13104; *ClRh* IV 81, fig. 194.
[1273] E.g. RHODES 13205; *ClRh* IV 253, figs. 281-282.
[1274] E.g. BM 1864,1007.98 and BM 1864,1007.151.

pursuit scenes such as Boreus and Oreithyia as well as Eros and Kephalos,[1275] the departure of warriors and warrior pouring libations,[1276] to specific moments in myths, such a Perseus fleeing with the head of Medusa and the birth of Athena.[1277] This spectrum of images is broader than that of black-figure pelikai which, as Alan Shapiro has shown, generally display Panathenaic scenes, including musical contexts, and 'banausic' scenes that provide glimpses into commercial establishments in Athens, including the sale of perfumed unguent.[1278] Indeed, there is iconographical evidence that pelikai were used to store perfumed unguent, which could be extracted using a funnel or straw-like tube and transferred to smaller receptacles such as alabastra.[1279] After 470 BC in Athens, pelikai seem to have been exclusively used in funerary contexts as grave goods, not dissimilar to Attic white-ground lekythoi.[1280]

Attic red-figure pelikai with female narrative scenes commonly occur in graves with female terracottas at Macri Langoni. Among other grave goods, Macri Langoni 54 included a Ionian seated figure and a figure of the Standing Woman 2 series;[1281] Macri Langoni 123 yielded a large seated figure, along with a terracotta bald baby, and a male figure wearing a pointed hat;[1282] and Macri Langoni 138 included a Seated Woman and a female bust, besides many terracottas.[1283] This is emphatically not the case at Fikellura, where not a single pelike with a female narrative scene occurs with a terracotta of any sort – figure, protome, or spindle-whorl.

[1275] E.g. BM 1864,1007.110; *Agora* XXX 36, pl. 11.
[1276] E.g. BM 1836,0224.219 and BM 1867,0508.1151.
[1277] E.g. BM 1849,0620.14 and BM 1867,0508.1150. On the iconography of red-figure pelikai see Karouzou 1971: 138-145.
[1278] Shapiro 1997: 64-65.
[1279] Shapiro 1997: 64-65; Smith 2014: 144.
[1280] Shapiro 1997: 68; Karouzou 1971: 145.
[1281] RHODES 12458; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89 (standing woman); RHODES 12459; *ClRh* IV 106, fig. 89 (seated woman).
[1282] RHODES 13059; *ClRh* IV 164, fig. 162 (seated woman); RHODES 13061; *ClRh* IV 165, fig. 162 (temple boy); RHODES 13060; *ClRh* IV 165, fig. 162 (standing man).
[1283] RHODES 13122; *ClRh* IV 117, fig. 115 (female bust); RHODES 13119; *ClRh* IV 117, fig. 114 (seated woman).

Interestingly, terracotta figures of the Standing Woman 1 series are popular at Fikellura, yet they do not feature in graves at Macri Langoni. The explanation for these two trends may be unrelated, but they nevertheless reveal disparities in the selection of grave goods between two contemporaneous cemeteries at Kamiros.

Most significantly, Attic pelikai with female narrative scenes are usually deposited outside of stone-lined cist graves, flat and gabled. For instance, Biliotti's diary records three instances in which they were found outside (Fikellura 54, 168, 205), as opposed to two in which they were inside the grave (Fikellura 98, 137).[1284] There are two further cases where pelikai were deposited outside stone-lined cists at Macri Langoni (Macri Langoni 54, 123).[1285] It is therefore possible that Attic pelikai were considered appropriate as small grave markers, perhaps also containing offerings of unguent, when decorated with female narrative scenes.

6.5.2 Glass unguent vessels and bronze mirrors

There is evidence to suggest that glass unguent vessels were popular choices in graves with female narrative scenes on Attic pots. A total of nine glass unguent vessels, including five amphoriskoi, three alabastra, and one oinochoe, were found in the 28 graves with female narrative scenes.[1286] This is 17% of the glass unguent vessels found at Fikellura in a sample of

[1284] Outside: Biliotti diary, 8 December 1863 (Fikellura 54, BM 1864,1007.192); 2 March 1864 (Fikellura 168, BM 1864,1007.97); 19 March 1864 (Fikellura 205, BM 1864,1007.1677); Inside: Biliotti diary, 29 January 1864 (Fikellura 98, BM 1864.1007.109); 20 February 1864 (Fikellura 137, BM 1864,1007.119).
[1285] RHODES 12454; *ClRh* IV 104 (Macri Langoni 26 (54)); RHODES 13057; *ClRh* IV 164 (Macri Langoni 66 (123)).
[1286] BM 1864,1007.1218 (Harden 97); BM 1864,1007.1213 (Harden 113); BM 1864,1007.1217 (Harden 119); BM 1864,1007.2020 (Harden 183); BM 1864,1007.1199 (Harden 204); BM 1864,1007.67 (Harden 191); BM 1864,1007.1198 (Harden 119); BM 1864,1007.73 (Harden 180); BM 1864,1007.63 (Harden 257).

graves constituting 10% of the cemetery. Considering that only 21 of the 28 graves contained more than a single ceramic object, this represents a prominent concentration in these assemblages.[1287] Two further pieces of evidence bear out a connection between female narrative scenes and unguent vessels more widely: the choice of glass and bronze stands as grave goods, and several female narrative scenes on Attic pots in which women are depicted with unguent vessels.

Two glass stands for unguent vessels were found in Fikellura 254, along with two glass amphoriskoi **[Fig.296]**.[1288] These were presumably intended as a complementary set of grave goods, possibly with the glass amphoriskoi placed upright in the stands. The grave also included a red-figure lekythos depicting a standing woman holding a mirror, among other grave goods.[1289] Fikellura 260, on the other hand, contained four bronze stands for unguent vessels and a single glass amphoriskos **[Fig.297]**.[1290] Both the amphoriskos and the bronze stands were deposited outside the stone-lined cist grave, along with a black-figure hydria representing a Seated Woman holding a mirror and other grave goods.[1291] Significantly, these two graves are the only examples of assemblages containing stands for unguent vessels to have been excavated from Fikellura cemetery. Moreover, Fikellura 254 is one of only two graves to have yielded glass stands for unguent vessels at Kamiros.[1292] Macri Langoni 6 (6) and 26 (54) contained further examples of bronze stands.[1293] Besides four bronze stands Macri Langoni 6 (6), a chamber tomb dating to around 460 BC, contained two alabaster alabastra and a black-figure

[1287] Fikellura 54, 98, 137, 141, 168, 169, and 258 each contained a single ceramic object.
[1288] BM 1864,1007.2006-2007 (glass stands); BM 1864,1007.67 (Harden 191); BM 1864,1007.1198 (Harden 119) (glass amphoriskoi).
[1289] BM 1864,1007.105 (Walters E594). For full assemblage see section 6.6.
[1290] BM 1864,1007.390-393 (bronze stands); BM 1864,1007.73 (Harden 180).
[1291] BM 1864,1007.1716; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 98,8. For full assemblage see section 6.6.
[1292] See also Triantafyllidis (2014b: 352) who has identified one further glass stand at Rhodes Archaeological Museum. It apparently comes from Macri Langoni 84 (162) dating to the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.
[1293] RHODES 12163; *ClRh* IV 63, fig. 34 (4 x bronze stands). For full assemblage see section 6.6.

alabastron, as well as a stamnoid pyxis of the Bird Painter group and other graves goods. Macri Langoni 26 (54), dating to around 450 BC, contained three bronze stands and three glass alabastra, as well as a red-figure pelike representing the Birth of Aphrodite and a terracotta figure of the Standing Woman 2 series, among other grave goods.[1294]

Female narrative scenes on Attic pots imported to Rhodes often depict women with unguent vessels. For instance, a red-figure pelike from Fikellura 137 shows two women standing with a water-bird **[Fig.298]**.[1295] One holds a small object in her right hand, while carrying an alabastron in her left. Fikellura 252 included a kylix with a Seated Woman on its tondo **[Fig.299]**.[1296] She is holding a mirror and is surrounded by domestic objects, including an alabastron suspended from cords and a kalathos with distaffs. Finally, Cufos 471 at Ialysos contained a red-figure lekythos that shows a Standing Woman holding an alabastron **[Fig.300]**.[1297] These kinds of scenes are far from unique and regularly occur on Attic vessels.[1298] However, the Rhodian graves display some interesting synchronicities between images and other objects found in the same assemblage. Cufos 471, for instance, also included two glass alabastra and two glass amphoriskoi.[1299] The same grave yielded bronze mirror along with a a red-figure squat-lekythos depicting a woman holding such a bronze mirror.[1300] A similar synchronism is found in Macri Langoni 27 (63), which included a red-figure hydria depicting a Seated Woman holding a mirror, as well as a bronze mirror.[1301] The graves at

[1294] See section 6.4.2.4.
[1295] BM 1864,1007.119 (Walters E376); *ARV*² 1078.8.
[1296] BM 1864,1007.91 (Walters E87);
[1297] RHODES 11966; *ClRh* III 248, fig. 245 (lekythos).
[1298] Badinou 2003: 76-87; Schmidt 2005: 132, fig. 65.
[1299] RHODES 11984-11985; *ClRh* III 249, fig. 244 (glass amphoriskoi); RHODES 11986-11987; *ClRh* III 250, fig. 244 (glass alabastra).
[1300] RHODES 119700; *ClRh* III 248, fig. 244 (lekythos); RHODES 11991; *ClRh* III 250, fig. 244 (bronze mirror).
[1301] RHODES 12885; *ClRh* IV 107, figs. 96-97 (hydria); RHODES 12883; *ClRh* IV 107, fig. 96 (bronze mirror).

Kamiros containing bronze mirrors frequently include one or more examples of glass or alabaster alabastra: Macri Langoni 26 (54) included three glass alabastra;[1302] Macri Langoni 27 (63) contained two alabaster alabastra,[1303] so too did Macri Langoni 33 (124);[1304] and finally, Macri Langoni 6 (6) and 41 (179) each included two alabastra alabastra and one black-figure alabastron.[1305] Fikellura 89 and Macri Langoni 47 (188) contained a glass and alabaster alabastron respectively, as well as a bronze mirror, and an Attic pot decorated with a female narrative scene **[Figs.301-303]**.[1306] The red-figure squat lekythos from Fikellura 89 shows a woman pouring a libation, while the red-figure hydria from Macri Langoni 47 (188) depicts a Seated Woman receiving guests.[1307]

Overall, the concentration of glass unguent vessels and stands for unguent vessels in graves containing Attic pots with female narrative scenes at Kamiros indicates a connection between these two choices of grave goods. This is compounded by the presence on Rhodes of female narrative scenes involving women handling alabastra, with two 'sychnronised' graves containing glass alabastra alongside depictions of this shape. The common accompaniment of multiple glass or alabaster alabastra with bronze mirrors, sometimes in graves containing pots with female narrative scenes, suggests that there was also a broader association between these images, unguent vessels, and bronze mirrors. In this context, it is noteworthy that painted

[1302] RHODES 12466; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (bronze mirror); RHODES 12462-12464; *ClRh* IV 105, fig. 89 (glass alabastra).
[1303] RHODES 12883; *ClRh* IV 107, fig. 96 (bronze mirror); RHODES 12880-12881; *ClRh* IV 107, fig. 96 (alabaster alabastra).
[1304] RHODES 13068; *ClRh* IV 114, fig. 108 (bronze mirror); RHODES 13066-13067; *ClRh* IV 114, fig. 108 (alabaster alabastra).
[1305] RHODES 12162; *ClRh* IV 63, fig. 34 (bronze mirror); RHODES 12149; *ClRh* IV 61, figs. 38-39 (black-figure alabastron); RHODES 12150-12151; *ClRh* IV 61, fig. 34 (alabaster alabastron); RHODES 13273; *ClRh* IV 133, fig. 126 (bronze mirror); RHODES 13270; *ClRh* IV 132, fig. 126 (black-figure alabastron); RHODES 13271-13273; *ClRh* IV 133, fig. 126 (alabaster alabastra).
[1306] BM 1864,1007.1213 (Harden 113) (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.344 (bronze mirror); RHODES 13294; *ClRh* IV 138, fig. 132 (glass alabastron); RHODES 13296; *ClRh* IV 138, fig. 132 (alabaster alabastron).
[1307] BM 1864,1007.172 (Walters E661); RHODES 13293; *ClRh* IV 137, fig. 133.

alabastra produced in Athens were often decorated with scenes of female activities, such as wool spinning and women adorning themselves. It has recently been suggested, based on this spectrum of scenes, that alabastra must have been exclusively associated with female users and had a particular connection with luxury exotic perfumes.[1308] That Attic black-figure pelikai depicted the sale of perfumed unguent and its transfer from pelikai into smaller vessels, such as alabastra, is further evidence of a wider association between pelikai, alabastra, unguent, and the feminine sphere.[1309]

6.5.3 Attic infants and Rhodian 'temple boys'

Attic pots decorated with scenes of infants crawling on the ground, sometimes playing with a spinning top, comprise the smallest category of scenes among the figural pots at Fikellura. There are five examples spread over three graves. Fikellura 169 contained a single red-figure pelike **[Fig.304]**.[1310] It depicts a walking lesson in which a woman encourages an infant to crawl towards her, while a bearded man looks on with interest. Fikellura 229 included a bronze mirror and four red-figure squat lekythoi, one decorated with a plain reserved band and three with figural scenes.[1311] One lekythos shows a baby crawling on the ground towards a plant, another shows Eros flying toward an altar, and another squat lekythos depicts the head of a woman next to a plant **[Figs.305-306]**. The other three examples of infant scenes come from Fikellura 179, dated to 425-400 BC and outlined at the beginning of this chapter.[1312] Briefly, it

[1308] Badinou 2003.
[1309] Shapiro 1997: 64-65.
[1310] BM 1864,1007.189 (Walters E396).
[1311] BM 1864,1007.348 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.89 (Walters E681) (squat lekythos, infant scene); BM 1864,1007.204 (Walters E683) (squat lekythos, female head); BM 1864,1007.233 (Walters E668) (squat leythos, Eros); BM 1864,1007.1488 (squat lekythos, reserved band).
[1312] See section 6.2.

included a Female Protome 3, a terracotta spindle-whorl, a while ground lekythos, a black-glaze amphoriskos, a red-figure neck amphora with an athlete and ephebe, three small oinochoai, two with infant scenes and one with Eros, and two squat-lekythoi with infant scenes.

What is interesting about these three graves is the consistent emphasis on maternal qualities, expressed in various ways. On the pelike of Fikellura 169 this is evident in the imagery itself; in Fikellura 229, two of the four squat lekythoi show an infant and the head of a woman; and in Fikellura 179 there are three infant images, on two squat lekythoi and one chous, along with a terracotta Female Protome 3 and spindle-whorl. Considering this pattern, I would argue that Fikellura 179 is the grave of a young woman, who possibly died around child bearing age. The choice to deposit a female terracotta protome and spindle-whorl, paired with a group of choes decorated with infant scenes, may be explained as signifying the important life-stage of child raising that she was deprived of.[1313] Despite their relation to the Anthesteria festival in Athens, and possible function as gifts to children participating in the festival, there is little evidence to suggest that choes were necessarily deposited in the graves of children: only four choes were found in almost 200 child burials in the Südhügel of the Kerameikos.[1314] Indeed, their deposition in Fikellura 179 may have kourotrophic connotations. Such an interpretation is consistent with the emphasis on maternity in the production of Rhodian terracotta epinetra with mouldings of a woman and child. There was also a prominent kourotrophic cult at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, which is evidenced by the deposition of terracottas figures of women holding infants;[1315] Price describes the cult of Athena Lindia as the 'strongest cult of the nursing Goddess in the [Greek] islands.'[1316] More broadly, a maternal interpretation of Fikellura 179 is

[1313] For similar interpretation of Boeotian protomes in graves see Sabetai 2015: 160.
[1314] Hamilton 1992: 70.
[1315] Heinrich 2006: 151; *Lindos* I 2226, 2227, 2229, 2230, 2239, 2241, 2242, 2256, pls. 102-104.
[1316] Price 1978: 154.

cohesive with recent scholarship on terracotta figures and protomes in Boeotia and elsewhere, which sees their meaning as flexible, arising from their context of use.[1317] An example of this flexibility are terracotta female protomes, used as votives at the sanctuaries of various female deities – from Athena to Artemis, Hera, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Nymphs –, as well as being deposited as grave goods.[1318] In addition, the female interpretation of Fikellura 179 is supported by the presence of a Female Protome 2 and Ionian protome in Fikellura 269.[1319] It is also notable that the only red-figure squat lekythoi decorated with the profile of a woman's head occur in the assemblages of Fikellura 269 and 229, which also include scenes of a crawling infant.[1320] It is not my intention to argue that all three graves belonged to young women. Their assemblages, however, do suggest that the terracottas in Fikellura 179 were selected on grounds of notions of maternity. These notions appear to have informed the wider selection of grave goods at Kamiros and of votive offering at Lindos.

Given the deposition of Attic pots with infant scenes in Fikellura 179, it is worth considering the use of terracotta 'temple boys' produced on Rhodes. These types of terracotta figures, which depict children crouching on the floor with one knee bent up, are commonly consecrated to deities concerned with fertility or childcare, including the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos and the sanctuary of Demeter at Halikarnassos.[1321] Early versions of the type have been found in Cyprus and Phoenicia, where their production may be connected to Egyptian influences, specifically to crouching faience figures of deities such as Ptah-Sekar-Osiris and Horus.[1322]

[1317] Muller 2009; Sabetai 2015.
[1318] Sabetai 2015: 155.
[1319] BM 1864,1007.1379 (Higgins 240) (Female Protome 2); BM 1864,1007.1372 (Higgins 243) (Ionian protome).
[1320] BM 1864,1007.169 (Walters E659); BM 1864,1007.204 (Walters E683).
[1321] Price 1969: 104; *Lindos* I 2364-2384, pls. 111-112.
[1322] Price 1969: 96. For figures of crouching Egyptian deities on Rhodes see: *Lindos* I 339, pl. 53, nos. 1220 and 1123; *ClRh* IV 313, fig. 346; *ClRh* VI-VII 279 ff.

The earliest example from Cyprus has been dated to around 520 BC and is made of limestone.[1323] Previous scholars have connected these figures to a Cypriot ritual practice concerned with the priesthood of boys.[1324] On the Phoenician coast, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, 'temple boy' figures may have been deposited by parents at sanctuaries on precise occasions to ensure divine protection of their children.[1325] The type became popular in Rhodes, Attica, and Corinth from the second quarter of the fifth century BC, although these figures are smaller in scale and made of terracotta.[1326] While their deposition in the sanctuary at Lindos is well documented, less is known about the use of Rhodian 'temple boys' in graves. Three graves from Kamiros need to be mentioned in this respect. Fikellura 27 included a black-figure olpe attributed to the Painter of Vatican G49 depicting Herakles making a sacrifice, the foot of a black-glaze kylix, and terracotta bald baby **[Fig.307]**.[1327] Based on the black-figure olpe, this grave may be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC.[1328] Fikellura 34 included a large selection of grave goods, including a bald baby figure **[Fig.308]**.[1329] Significantly, the assemblage, datable to 475-425 BC, was found in a chamber tomb. It is therefore likely to be the grave of an adult because children were either buried in storage jars (*enchytrismos*) or in stone-lined cist graves in the fifth century BC – not in chamber tombs.[1330] The presence of a Rhodian bald baby, along with a terracotta female protome and figures of seated women, demonstrates that these figures were not necessarily deposited in infant graves and, once again, could have been used as grave goods to reference maternity. Having said this, a bald baby figure was found in Macri Langoni 123, along with a red-figure pelike showing a woman pouring a libation, a black-figure skyphos with floral patterns, an unglazed small bowl,

[1323] Price 1969: 96.
[1324] Price 1969: 97.
[1325] Caneva and Pizzi 2015: 505.
[1326] Price 1969: 97; Price 1978: 155
[1327] BM 1864,1007.221 (Walters B473) (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1704 (kylix foot); BM 1864,1007.1910 (Higgins 259).
[1328] *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 72, 1-2.
[1329] See section 6.4.2.6.
[1330] Gates 1983: 30; Mohr 2015: 254.

and two terracotta figures: a standing man with a pointed hat, and a seated woman.[1331] The stone-lined cist grave measured under one metre in length, which, considering most are around two meters in length, suggests that it was the grave of an infant.[1332]

The associations just described between female narrative scenes, glass alabastra, and infant scenes demonstrate that pottery imported from Athens to Rhodes in the fifth century BC was not used a passive manner. Rather, it was strategically deployed in graves according to Rhodian preferences. These preferences were likely motivated through popular concerns on the island, such as the kourotrophic cult of Athena Lindia. More broadly, the strategic use of pottery expands on Stefan Schmidt's research into the relation between scenes on Attic pottery in Athenian contexts by showing that new, island-relevant meanings were created in Rhodian contexts.[1333]

6.6 Profiling the women of Kamiros

Before outlining the burial profile of Kamirian women in the fifth century BC, it is necessary to answer a question raised earlier in this chapter: to what extent can stamnoid pyxides and spinning equipment be framed in terms of female consumption? So far in this chapter, I have explored the production of female terracottas on Rhodes and the consumption of Attic pots with female narrative scenes scenes at Kamiros, which concerns a total set of 61 graves from

[1331] RHODES 13061; *ClRh* IV 165, fig. 162 (temple boy); RHODES 13058; *ClRh* IV 164, fig. 162 (pelike); RHODES 13063; *ClRh* IV 166, fig.162 (skyphos); RHODES 13060; *ClRh* IV 165, fig. 162 (standing man); RHODES 13059; *ClRh* IV 164, fig. 162 (Seated Woman).
[1332] *ClRh* IV 164; Gates 1981: 29-30.
[1333] Schmidt 2005.

Fikellura cemetery (31 graves containing female terracottas only; 26 graves with female narrative scenes only; four graves containing female terracottas as well as female narrative scenes only). Stamnoid pyxides are present in five of these graves (stamnoid pyxides in graves containing female terracottas only: Fikellura 41, 171, 269; stamnoid pyxides in graves containing female narrative scenes only: Fikellura 199, 230, 269).[1334] These examples account for five of the nine graves in which stamnoid pyxides were found at Fikellura – or 56% of the graves with stamnoid pyxides among 24% of the Fikellura graves. Terracotta spindle-whorls are also noticeably present across both samples, with four in graves containing female terracottas (Fikellura 41, 179, 242, 252) and six in graves with female narrative scenes (Fikellura 89, 199 [x4], 252).[1335] Overall, I would argue that the relative frequency of stamnoid pyxides and terracotta spindle-whorls in graves containing female terracottas and/or female narrative scenes is evidence of a perceived association between these kinds of grave goods at Kamiros. The basic correlations between female terracottas, female narrative scenes, and stamnoid pyxides at Fikellura cemetery are summarised in **Table 4**.

[1334] BM 1864,1007.1774; BM 1864,1007.321; BM 1864,1007.260; BM 1864,1007.360; BM 1864,1007.322; BM 1864,1007.320.
[1335] BM 1864,1007.1859; BM 1864,1007.1856; BM 1864,1007.1851; BM 1864,1007.1865; BM 1864,1007.1833; BM 1864,1007.1838; BM 1864,1007.1848; BM 1864,1007.1857; BM 1864,1007.1887.

[set] correlated to [set]	***% share of* object type**	***% share of* Fikellura graves**	***%* correlation**
Female terracottas – stamnoid pyxides	28	12	16
Female narrative scenes – stamnoid pyxides	28	10	18

Table 4. Fikellura graves with stamnoid pyxides, female terracottas, and stamnoid pyxides.

Between stamnoid pyxides and textile production equipment, terracotta female protomes and figures, and Attic pots with female narrative scenes, it is reasonable to assert that their associated consumption at Fikellura cemetery is motivated by the occupants of their graves: women. Of course, I do not wish to argue that every instance of their deposition in graves – alone or in combination – is without doubt a female grave. But it is possible to suggest that the assemblage of grave goods in a burial of a Kamirian woman during the fifth century BC would likely have included one or more of the following objects: stamnoid pyxides and terracotta spindle-whorls; terracotta female protomes and figures, locally made and imported; Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes; glass unguent vessels; stands for unguent vessels in glass or bronze; and bronze mirrors, commonly with glass or alabaster alabastra. In addition, Attic pots with infant scenes and Rhodian terracotta bald babies may have been deposited in graves of younger women. I would now like to demonstrate this aspect of Kamirian funerary ideology – the female burial 'profile' – by listing twelve graves with assemblages that combine three or more of the objects mentioned above. I would regard these as graves of women.

Grave: Fikellura 41 // **Type:** Stone-lined cist // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Glass amphoriskos (BM 1864,1007.1201; Harden 216); terracotta Seated Woman [Seated Woman 2] (1864,1007.1289; Higgins 289); terracotta female protome (BM 1864,1007.1378; Higgins 294); terracotta spindle-whorl (BM 1864,1007.1859); stamnoid pyxis (BM 1864,1007.1774); red-figure squat lekythos [sphinx] (BM 1864,1007.102); mug (BM 1864,1007.1481); kylix (BM 1949,0220.13).[1336]

Grave: Fikellura 89 **// Type:** Stone-lined cist **// Date:** 425-400 BC

Glass amphoriskos (BM 1864,1007.2020; Harden 183); glass alabastron (BM 1864,1007.1213); bronze mirror (BM 1864,1007.344); bronze rings x 3 (BM 1864,1007.394-396); terracotta spindle-whorl (BM 1864,1007.1887); sea shell (BM 1864,1007.1962); red-figure squat lekythos [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.172; Walters E661); plates x 2 (BM 1864,1007.1618-1619); small bowl (BM 1864,1007.1638); askos (BM 1952,0204.92).[1337]

Grave: Fikellura 135 // **Type:** Chamber tomb // **Date:** 475-450 BC

Glass aryballos x 2 (BM 1864,1007.1210-1211; Harden 221-222); bronze mirror (BM 1864,1007.353); terracotta female protome (BM 1864,1007.1373; Higgins 143); terracotta Seated Woman (BM 1864,1007.1295; Higgins 127); kothon (BM 1864,1007.324); black-figure skyphos [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.1718); stemless cup (BM 1864,1007.1702); small bowl (BM 1864,1007.1440); skyphos (BM 1864,1007.1555); cup [fragment] (BM 1864,1007.1583); black-figure alabastron (BM 1864,1007.1354).[1338]

[1336] See section 6.4.2.2.
[1337] Harden 181-218, pls. 11-12 (glass amphoriskos); Harden 112-123, pls. 8-9 (glass alabastron); Cf. *Agora* XXX 929, pl. 92 (squat-lekythos); *Agora* XII 1026, pl. 59 (plate); *Agora* XII 867, pl. 33 (small bowl).
[1338] Harden 219-225, pl. 7 (glass aryballos); Croissant 1983: 155-180, pl.51-64 (terracotta protome); Payne 1931: 335, nos. 1519-1526; Hopper 1949: 232, no. 5; Amyx 1988: 474 (kothon); *Agora* XII 456, pl.21 (stemless cup); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 32.2, pl 10 (small bowl); *Kerameikos* IX grave 265.1, pl.79 (skyphos); Cf. *Kerameikos* VIII,2 graves 90.3 and 91.3 (alabastron – Cf. lekythoi with floral patterns); *Agora* XXIII 1540, pl. 104.

Grave: Fikellura 171 **// Type:** Stone-lined cist **// Date:** 475-450 BC

Glass amphoriskos (BM 1864,1007.69; Harden 185); glass alabastron (BM 1864,1007.1231; Harden 90); terracotta Standing Woman [Standing Woman 1] (BM 1864,1007.1392; Higgins 214); terracotta female protome (BM 1948,0502.5; Higgins 138); stamnoid pyxis (BM 1864,1007.321); glaux (BM 1864,1007.1566); olpe (BM 1864,1007.1660).[1339]

Grave: Fikellura 179// **Type:** Stone-lined cist // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Terracotta female protome [Female Protome 3] (BM 1864,1007.1368; Higgins 237); terracotta spindle-whorl (B, 1864,1007.1856); lekythos (BM 1864,1007.1503); amphoriskos (1864,1007.1581); oinochoe x 2 [infant scene] (BM 1864,1007.83; Walters E530; 1864,1007.231; Walters E527); oinochoe [Eros] (BM 1864,1007.203; Walters E526); neck-amphora [male narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.190; Walters E347); squat lekythoi x 2 [infant scene] (BM 1864,1007.234; Walters E679; BM 1864,1007.235; Walters E680).[1340]

Grave: Fikellura 185 // **Type:** Chamber tomb // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Bronze mirror (BM 1864,1007.505); kothon (BM 1864,1007.325); lekanis x 2 (BM 1864,1007.1571; 1549); small bowl x 2 (BM 1864,1007.1448; 1759); red-figure pelike [female narrative scene, Painter of Bonn 2053] (BM 1864,1007.107; *ARV*² 1358.1); red-figure pelike [mythological scene] (BM 1864,1007.98; Walters E371; *ARV*² 486.44); askos (BM 1864,1007.103; Walters E745); bolsal (BM 1864,1007.1603); chytra (BM 1864,1007.1655).[1341]

[1339] See section 6.4.2.3.
[1340] See section 6.5.3.
[1341] Cf. *Agora* XII 1245, pl. 42 (lekanis); *Agora* Vol XII 464, pl. 21 (lekanis); Payne 1931: 335, nos. 1519-1526; Hopper 1949: 232, no. 5; Amyx 1988: 474 (kothon); *Agora* XII 872, pl. 33 (small bowl); *Agora* XII 819, pl. 32 (small bowl); *Agora* XXX 49, pl. 13 (pelikai); *Agora* Vol XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); *Agora* XII 1400, pl. 45 (chytra).

Grave: Fikellura 199 // **Type:** Chamber tomb // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Stamnoid pyxis [White Slip group] (BM 1864,1007.322); terracotta spindle-whorl x 4 (BM 1864,1007.1833; 1838; 1848; 1857); glass oinochoe (1864,1007.63; Harden 257); kylix x 2 (1864,1007.1548, 2112); small bowl (1864,1007.1640); squat lekythos (BM 1864,1007.1646); hydria [female narrative scene, Christie Painter] (BM 1864,1007.112; Walters E188; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 85,2; *ARV*² 1048.42); kylix [youth at basin, Painter of London E99] (BM 1864,1007.81; Walters E99; *CVA* British Museum 9 [Great Britain 17] pl. 17; *ARV*² 788.1).[1342]

Grave: Fikellura 229 // **Type:** Stone-lined cist // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Bronze mirror (BM 1864,1007.348); squat lekythos (1864,1007.1488); squat lekythos [infant scene] (BM 1864,1007.89; Walters E681); squat lekythos [Eros] (BM 1864,1007.233; Walters E668); squat lekythos [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.204; Walters E683).[1343]

Grave: Fikellura 252 // **Type:** Chamber tomb // **Date:** 475-450 BC

Terracotta female protome (BM 1864,1007.1374; Higgins 146); terracotta Standing Woman (BM 1864,1007.1394; Higgins 151); terracotta Standing Woman [Standing Woman 2] (BM 1864,1007.1286; Higgins 225); terracotta Seated Woman (BM 1864,1007.1294; Higgins 120); terracotta doll (BM 1864,1007.1309); terracotta doll (BM 1864,1007.1313); terracotta spindle-whorl (BM 1864,1007.1865); glass amphoriskos (BM 1864,1007.1199; Harden 204); alabaster alabastron (BM 1955,1026.2); white-ground lekythos (BM 1949,0220.8); black-figure lekythos x 2 (BM 1949,0220.9; 10); red-figure kylix [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.91; Walters E87).[1344]

[1342] Cf. Harden 245-262, pls. 13-14; *Agora* XII 1126, pl. 38 (squat lekythos); *Agora* XII 867-868, pl. 33 (small bowl).
[1343] See section 6.5.3.
[1344] Cf. Croissant 1983: 155-180, pl.51-64 (terracotta protome); Harden 181-216, pls. 11-12 (glass amphoriskos); *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (white-ground lekythos); *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl. 93, 1-2 (black-figure lekythos); *Agora* XXX 1489, pl. 140 (red-figure kylix).

Grave: Fikellura 254 // **Type:** Chamber tomb // **Date:** 475-450 BC

Glass amphoriskos x 2 (BM 1864,1007.67; Harden 191; BM 1864,1007.1198; Harden 1198); glass stands x 2 (BM 1864,1007.2006; 2007); one-handler (1864,1007.1478); kantharos (1864,1007.2027); pelike [mythological scene] (BM 1864,1007.126; Walters E363; *ARV*² 486.44); red-figure lekythos [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.105; Walters E594; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 29,5); black-figure lekythos (BM 1864,1007.1499); black-figure kylix (BM 1864,1007.289).[1345]

Grave: Fikellura 260 // **Type:** Stone-lined cist // **Date:** 440-420 BC

Terracotta Standing Woman [Standing Woman 2] (BM 1864,1007.1386; Higgins 206); glass amphoriskos (BM 1864,1007.73; Harden 180); bronze stands x 4 (BM 1864,1007.389-392); red-figure kylix [male narrative scene, Calliope Painter] (BM 1864,1007.104; Walters E96); black-figure hydria [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.1716); small bowl (BM 1949,0220.20); prochoos (BM 1864,1007.1659); askos (BM 1864,1007.1631).[1346]

Grave: Fikellura 269 // **Type:** Stone-lined cist // **Date:** 425-400 BC

Terracotta female protome (BM 1864,1007.1372; Higgins 243); Terracotta female protome [Female Protome 2] (BM 1864,1007.1379; Higgins 240); stamnoid pyxis x 2 [Bird Painter group] (BM 1864,1007.260; 360); bolsal x 2 (BM 1864,1007.1601; 1634); lekythos x 3 (BM 1864,1007.1649; 1650; 1650); olpe (BM 1864,1007.1657); squat lekythos [female narrative scene] (BM 1864,1007.95); squat lekythos [female head] (BM 1864,1007.169; Walters E659).[1347]

[1345] Cf. Harden 181-216, pls. 11-12 (glass amphoriskos); Triantafyllidis 2014b (glass stands); *Agora* XII 743, pl. 30 (one-handler); *Agora* XXX 38, pl. 12 (red-figure pelike); *Agora* XXX 868, pl. 88 (red-figure lekythos); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 92, 5-6 (black-figure lekythos); *Agora* XXIII 1769, pl. 113 (black-figure kylix).
[1346] Harden 176-180, pl. 11 (glass amphoriskos); *Agora* XII 856, pl. 33 (small bowl); *Agora* XXX 1447, pl. 136 (red-figure cup); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 56, 1-2 (black-figure hydria); *Agora* XII, 1166-1172, pl. 39 (askos).
[1347] Cf. Croissant 1983: 155-180, pl.51-64 (terracotta protome); *Agora* XII 1129-1130, pl.38 (lekythoi); *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsals); *Agora* XXX 969, pl.94 (squat lekythos).

It is striking that two out of the three Corinthian kothoi from Fikellura cemetery occur in these ten graves, specifically Fikellura 135 and 185 **[Figs.309-310]**.[1348] Corinthian kothones decorated in the conventionalising style were produced between 550-450 BC.[1349] They are scarce at Macri Langoni, appearing in only two graves: Macri Langoni 133 (28) and 75 (99). Macri Langoni 133 (28) is a child burial inside a pithos, so I will not discuss it in this context.[1350] Macri Langoni 75 (99) included a terracotta female protome, two seated figures, a Milesian amphora and amphoriskos, an Attic black-figure stamnos depicting three men with a horse, a black-figure kylix with floral patterns, a black glaze kylix, egg cup, stemmed dish, salt cellar, and an unglazed small bowl.[1351] There was also a miniature skyphos, a banded pyxis without a lid, an unglazed small bowl, some bits of glass, a piece of iron, and a large sea shell.[1352] The Milesian Fikellura amphora can be broadly dated to the second half of the sixth century BC,[1353] while finds from Miletos and Ephesos indicate that the Fikellura amhporiskos can be dated to 510-500 BC.[1354] The Attic wares can also be dated to the end of the sixth century BC.[1355] The overall composition of the stamnos scene is similar to that of a hydria from Marmaro cemetery at Ialysos, which Lemos had dated to around 540 BC.[1356] The black glaze stemmed dish, egg cup, saltcellar, and kylix have parallels from the Athenian Agora dating to around 500 BC.[1357] Similarly, the black-figure kylix belongs to the end of the sixth century

[1348] BM 1864,1007.324; BM 1864,1007.325. The other kothon (BM 1864,1007.326) belongs to Fikellura 1, which also contained an Attic hydria depicting an ephebos pursing a young girl (BM 1864,1007.113; Walters 197; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl. 80,2; *ARV*² 506.30).
[1349] Payne 1931: 335, nos. 1519-1526; Hopper 1949: 232, no. 5; Amyx 1988: 474.
[1350] RHODES 12306-12318 (*ClRh* IV 263-265, fig. 290).
[1351] RHODES 12936; *ClRh* IV 172, fig. 182 (Milesian amphora); RHODES 12950; (*ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (Milesian amphoriskos); RHODES 12945; *ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (female protome); RHODES 12946-47; *ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (seated figures); RHODES 12937; *ClRh* IV 173, figs. 183-184 (stamnos); RHODES 12943; *ClRh* VI 173, fig. 181 (black-figure kylix); RHODES 12949; *ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (kylix); RHODES 12938-41; *ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (egg cup, stemmed dish, salt cellar, small bowl).
[1352] RHODES 12842; *ClRh* IV 173, fig. 181 (skyphos); RHODES 12944; *ClRh* 173, fig. 181 (small bowl); RHODES 12948; *ClRh* IV 174, fig. 181 (pyxis); RHODES 12951; *ClRh* IV 174, fig. 181 (sea shell).
[1353] Cf. Coulié 2014a: 152-153, cat. 34; Wascheck 2008: 55-56, cat. M7.
[1354] Wascheck 2008: 57.
[1355] Cf. Coulié 2014a: 152, cat. 34. (Milesian amphora); Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Ionian amphoriskos)
[1356] *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pls. 48-49.
[1357] Cf. *Agora* XII 402-403, pl. 19 (kylix); *Agora* XII 923, pl. 34 (saltcellar); *Agora* XII 992, pl. 35 (egg cup); *Agora* XII 975, pl. 35 (stemmed dish).

BC.[1358] These dates would complement the Late Corinthian skyphos and the female protome, perhaps imported from Clazomenai.[1359] All considered, the assemblage of this grave stretches throughout the second half of the sixth century BC, with the burial around 500 BC. Together, the concentration of these vessels among the Fikellura graves listed above and their occurrence in Macri Langoni 99 with a terracotta female protome and two figures of seated women provides a firm basis on which to assert that Corinthian kothoi were also regarded as an appropriate grave gift for Kamirian women, from the late sixth century BC onwards. Much like Rhodian terracotta bald babies, however, they could also be deposited in graves of infants.[1360]

As the twelve graves listed above represent the most characteristic female assemblages from Fikellura cemetery in terms of their contents, I would like to make two assertions with regards to the chronology of the burial profile of Kamirian women. First, the profile only becomes visible in the second quarter of the fifth century BC. Despite the use of this cemetery from the second half of the sixth century BC, there are no graves dating to 500-475 BC containing multiple combinations of the 'typical' goods found in a fifth-century BC female grave. Four graves however may be dated to 475-450 BC (Fikellura 135, 171, 252, 254). Secondly, the profile becomes especially visible towards the end of the fifth century BC, with seven out of the twelve graves datable to 425-400 BC (Fikellura 41, 89, 179, 185, 199, 229, 269). To be sure, caution is advisable when making chronological assertions based on a small sample of graves. I would argue nevertheless that there were three changes on Rhodes, beginning around 475 BC, which produced a distinct burial profile for Kamirian women.

[1358] Cf. *Kerameikos* VII, grave 21a.1, pl.11.
[1359] Cf. Payne 1931: 334, 1516-1518; Croissant 1983: 176, no. 104, pl. 61.
[1360] See section 6.5.3.

Intensification of production on Rhodes. From around the beginning of the fifth century BC there is a marked increase in the number of locally produced wares on Rhodes **[Fig.47]**, which were often used as graves goods. These includes stamnoid pyxides of the Bird Painter Group and their associated varieties of epinetra. Many series of female terracottas were also produced from 475-450 BC onwards, namely Seated Woman 1, Standing Woman 1-3 and Female Protome 2-3. The Seated Woman 1 and Female Protome 1 series were produced from around 500 BC and continued to be consumed as grave goods well into the fifth century BC.

Localisation of workshops at Kamiros. There is a pronounced localisation of this production at Kamiros from the second quarter of the fifth century BC, based on the distribution of finds. The workshops making the Bird Painter Group of stamnoid pyxides (and epinetra) – including early versions and later iterations – were probably based in or around Kamiros. So too were the artisans producing the terracotta series of Standing Woman 1 and 3 as well as Female Protomes 2 and 3, which are either exclusive to Kamiros or found in minor quantities elsewhere.

Concentration of imports from Attica. In addition to the above, Attic pottery continued to be imported on a massive scale throughout the fifth century BC, accounting for 87% of the pottery found at Fikellura cemetery. Significantly, 55% of pottery from Fikellura is concentrated to within the last three quarters of the fifth century BC (27% in 475-450 BC; 14 % in 450-425 BC; 14% in 425-400 BC), and 87 % of the female narrative scenes are datable to this period.

Together, I would argue that these three conditions – intensification of production for graves, localisation of workshops, and concentration of imports – facilitated a distinctive burial profile of Kamirian women in which certain types of grave goods, locally made and imported, could be recurrently selected and deposited in multiple, and variable, combinations.

6.7 Athens, Rhodes, and family choice

Is there an underlying social motivation for the distinctive burial profile of Kamirian women? Taking a broader view of the evidence by comparing it to the burial record from late fifth century BC Athens, this development appears to be connected to the growing importance of the family unit or *oikos*, and the symbolic use of material culture in articulating that importance.

The symbolic significance of material culture in Athenian cemeteries throughout the Archaic and Classical periods has been a focus of much scholarship. Adopting a long-term approach, Sanne Houby-Nielsen regards the abandonment of secondary cremation in the late Geometric period and the subsequent adoption of inhumation and primary cremation as an important stage in this development, involving the appearance of decorated grave markers and Opferrinnen in which vessels of 'symbolic character' with high-feet, elaborate figural scenes, and protome attachments were placed.[1361] Examples of the latter dating to the late fifth century BC include lebetes gamikoi, lekanides, and pyxides forming 'bridal service' sets that were probably specially commissioned.[1362] Stefan Schmidt has argued that Athenian pottery and its iconography acquired an increasingly symbolic meaning over the course of the fifth century BC that gradually became matched to the use contexts of the vases.[1363] According to his paradigm, Attic decorated vessels became steadily less important for what they contained than as a canvas to display the virtues of those who used them.[1364] For example, lebetes gamikoi carried images that functioned as good wishes for weddings.[1365] Athenian material culture

[1361] Houby-Nielsen 1996. See also Houby-Nielsen 1995.
[1362] Roberts 1973: 436; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 51.
[1363] Schmidt 2005.
[1364] Schmidt 2005: 286-291; Shapiro 2007: 413.
[1365] Schmidt 2005: 101-107.

therefore seems to have developed a symbolic role that stressed certain civic virtues between the seventh and fifth centuries BC. In cemeteries, the virtuous lifestyle of the deceased was displayed at death and burial through the contents of offering trenches and by sculptured funerary monuments.[1366] However, an important change occurs in Athens' cemeteries in the second half of the fifth century BC: women are now frequently represented on sculptured funerary moments, whereas prior to 500 BC they scarcely appeared on them.[1367] Attic white-ground lekythoi made after 450 BC are also dominated by scenes involving women.[1368] In addition, a similar distinction of female grave assemblages to that shown at Kamiros occurs in Athenian graves dating to the second half of the fifth century BC, where pyxides are used almost exclusively in tombs of girls and women.[1369] I would argue that these developments in Rhodian and Athenian cemeteries were part of a related phenomenon involving the symbolic use of material culture as a way of articulating the growing importance of the *oikos* at the time.

Three concurrent elements of the material culture of Athens and Rhodes in the late fifth century BC further point towards that importance of the family. Firstly, the choice of iconography in funerary monuments and pottery associated with burials mark the disruption caused to the family by the loss of a member, especially women. In Athens, funerary stelai often show women in a domestic setting with her family or with another female in attendance.[1370] As Osborne has observed, by putting the figure of the deceased into a setting in which relationships are prominent, these monuments serve to 'register the scale and nature of the loss to others, and particularly to the family circle.'[1371] Similarly, the 'mistress and maid' scenes decorating

[1366] Houby-Nielsen 1996: 54.
[1367] Osborne 1998: 14.
[1368] Osborne 1998: 16-17.
[1369] Schmidt 2005: 100.
[1370] Osborne 1998: 26.
[1371] Osborne 1998: 28.

Attic white-ground lekythoi after 450 BC 'evoke the household from which the deceased has gone'.[1372] On Rhodes, the Attic painted pottery deposited in the Fikellura graves that I identified as belonging to women often reference a familial or household setting. For instance, the red-figure hydria attributed to the Christie Painter found in Fikellura 199 depicts a seated woman in a domestic context, with ornaments hanging on the wall and women standing either side of her.[1373] The famous stele of Krito and Timarista found at Macri Langoni cemetery at Kamiros, dated to 420-410 BC, also depicts a mother and her daughter embracing.[1374] Secondly, the increased representation of, and provision for, textile production emphasises the contribution of women in maintaining the household. In Athens, pottery with scenes of wool-working become more common in the second half of the fifth century, serving 'as a metaphor for harmonia in a marriage or in the *oikos*'.[1375] I have already outlined the associations between stamnoid pyxides with spinning equipment through their co-occurrence in Rhodian graves with terracotta spindle-whorls and their contemporaneous production with epinetra by one or more island workshops.[1376] The production of decorated epinetra in Athens and Rhodes during this period also underlines household work carried out by women, at least through their deposition of grave goods.[1377] And thirdly, the practice of depositing pairs of grave goods became more prevalent on Rhodes and in Athens from the mid-fifth century BC onwards.[1378] As I suggested in the previous chapter, the long tradition of this practice on Rhodes suggests that its explanation lies with a constant physical factor at funerals, specifically the presence of

[1372] Osborne 1998: 22-23.
[1373] BM 1864,1007.112 (Walters E188; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl. 85,2). See also BM 1864,1007.91 (Walters E87) and BM 1864,1007.107; *ARV*² 1358.1.
[1374] Fraser 1977: 9, fig. 16a; *ClRh* IV 37 figs. 10-11.
[1375] Bundrick 2008: 322.
[1376] See section 6.3.
[1377] Heinrich 2006: Chapter 3.
[1378] See section 5.3.2.

relatives.[1379] The proliferation of pairings at this time may indicate a movement towards a more active participation of relatives at funerals, which stresses the relationships of the family unit.

Altogether, the symbolic use of material culture to articulate the importance of the *oikos* during the second half of the fifth century BC appears to have not only existed in Athens but also on Rhodes. How do we explain this development in funerary ideology? In Athens, the legislation of 451/0 proclaiming that for a man to be an Athenian citizen both of his parents had to be native born (Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 26.4) has been linked to the proliferation of pottery scenes relating to marriage, textiles, and women more generally.[1380] The law changed how Athenian citizens thought of their wives and of their families, and may be connected to the growing emphasis on the family in Athens' cemeteries.[1381] The similarities in the archaeological record of Rhodes could be interpreted as indicating a comparable situation, but any such claim would be speculative. We cannot expect the exact same structures and processes to have shaped developments at the two sites, and need to take care not to impose Athenian explanations onto Rhodian evidence, especially given our incomplete understanding of Rhodian society and politics in the period. Nonetheless, it seems possible that certain parallel developments were at play at both sites.

[1379] See section 5.3.1.
[1380] Bundrick 2008: 328.
[1381] Osborne 1998: 4.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to uncover the burial profile of Kamirian women during the fifth century BC. In doing so, I have addressed the two issues that have so far prevented the identification of female graves on Rhodes: the absence of appropriate analyses of grave samples, and the lack of understanding surrounding the island's production of terracottas. Beginning with the Rhodian terracotta industry during the fifth century BC, it is possible to discern eight series of mould-made female terracottas. These include two series of seated women, three series of standing women, and three series of female protomes. Seated Woman 1 was produced from around 500 BC, while Seated Woman 2 was produced later, from around 425 BC. Two series of standing women – series 1 and 3 – were made from around 475-450 BC and Standing Woman 2 was produced from the mid-fifth century BC. The most extensive series of female protome was produced around 510-480 BC, while the other two series began during the mid-fifth century BC. Kamiros seems to have been an important centre of the production and consumption of local female terracotta figures and protomes, with Standing Woman 1 and 3 and Female Protome 2 and 3 concentrated in graves at this site. By contrast, Rhodian female terracottas are numerically much less common at Ialysos and at the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, where large quantities of imported terracottas were deposited as votives.

I have analysed three groups of graves in this chapter: graves from Ialysos and Kamiros containing stamnoid pyxides, graves from Fikellura cemetery containing female terracotta figures and protomes, and graves from Fikellura cemetery containing Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes. In doing so, it has been possible to trace correlations between each grave sample: a significant portion of Rhodian stamnoid pyxides occur in Fikellura graves that contain female terracottas and/or female narrative scenes. Furthermore, Rhodian stamnoid

pyxides can be associated with the activity of spinning based on their consumption in graves with terracotta spindle-whorls and the production of epinetra by the Bird Painter Group workshop. Through these correlations, it is possible to reconstruct a profile of goods commonly deposited in female graves at Kamiros during the fifth century BC. This includes stamnoid pyxides and terracotta spindle-whorls; Corinthian kothoi; terracotta female protomes and figures, locally made and imported; Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes, including pelikai, possibly used as small grave markers and vessels for offerings of unguents; glass unguent vessels; stands for unguents in glass or bronze; and bronze mirrors, commonly with glass or alabaster alabastra. Additionally, Attic pots with infant scenes and Rhodian terracotta bald babies could be deposited in graves of women. It is notable that certain types of grave goods, including Rhodian bald baby terracotta figures and Corinthian kothoi, were used interchangeably in graves of women and children, which indicates a process of selection that is structured around notions of maternity. A good example of this process is Fikellura 179, where a Female Protome 3 and terracotta spindle-whorl was deposited with Attic pots with images of infants playing. This emphasis on maternity not only informed deposition in graves, but also the dedication of votives at Lindos, where there was a prominent kourotrophic cult, and the production of Rhodian terracotta epinetra, which are decorated with mouldings of a woman and child.

The burial profile of Kamirian women gains visibility around 475-450 BC and becomes particularly distinct during the last quarter of the fifth century BC, when many female graves from Fikellura can be identified. The increasing distinctiveness of this profile during the fifth century BC was facilitated by the intensification of production on Rhodes – of stamnoid pyxides and female terracottas; the localisation of workshops at Kamiros – of the Bird Painter Group of stamnoid pyxides and epinetra, and Standing Women 1 and 3 and Female Protome 2

and 3; as well as by the concentration of pottery imports from Attica during the second half of the fifth century BC. This profile should be viewed against the background of the wider 'feminine culture' of fifth century BC Rhodes, which is traceable in three aspects of the island's material culture: (a) the distinct burial profile of women at Kamiros; (b) the production of female terracottas, stamnoid pyxides, and epinetra, which were associated with spinning; and (c) the thriving cult of Athena Lindia. This feminine culture was supported by imports of female terracottas from Ionia and figural pottery from Attica. The island's own products found their way to neighbouring islands in the Dodecanese and further afield, from Chalke, Tilos, and Karpathos, to (perhaps) Pergamon and Naukratis. Along with the increased deposition of pairings in the late fifth century BC, the female burial profile was part of a symbolic use of material culture on Rhodes as a way of articulating the growing importance of the *oikos*. This phenomenon is evident at the same time in Athenian cemeteries.

To conclude, the burial profile of women was raised throughout the fifth century BC by maritime connectivity, on the one hand, and by Rhodes' feminine culture, on the other. It would be a mistake to draw a clean distinction between the two, however, as connectivity is the motor of island material culture, and, in this instance, it facilitated the distinction for Kamirian women.

7

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought assess the material culture of Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods, and the role of maritime connectivity in forming that culture. Bringing together over 2,000 objects excavated from Kamiros, kept in the British Museum and Rhodes Archaeological Museum, it has shown that Rhodes imported goods from throughout the Mediterranean between 700 BC and 400 BC. After 700 BC, Kamiros imported material from various parts of the Aegean and beyond, including faience amulets and vessels from Egypt; limestone statues from Cyprus; sporadic bronze statuettes from Samos, Phrygia, and Assyria; and pottery from Miletos and elsewhere in Ionia, Kos, Knidos, Corinth, and Laconia, among other areas. After 500 BC, however, Attic pottery is imported on a mass-scale. Throughout this period, the island was also consistently manufacturing goods across a range of materials, including pottery, terracotta, bone and ivory, gold, glass, faience, and bronze, which were dedicated in sanctuaries as votives and deposited in cemeteries as grave goods. Before outlining the relationship between Rhodes' material culture and maritime connectivity, I will summarise the preceding chapters.

During the second half of the eighth century BC, a sanctuary dedicated to Athena was established on Kamiros acropolis, which had previously functioned as a cemetery. Subsequent cemeteries were established on the hillsides surrounding the acropolis: Papatislures to the south (725-700 BC to 325-300 BC); Kechraki to the east (725-700 BC to 500-475 BC); Macri Langoni to the north-east (625-600 BC to 400-375 BC); and Fikellura to the west (550-525 BC to 350-325 BC). Votive offerings accumulated on Kamiros acropolis between 750 BC and 550 BC. Three votive deposits can be reconstructed, including Kamiros well, Deposit D&E, and

the contents of a paving hole – as well as the contents of a child's tomb. The majority of votives dedicated at the sanctuary of Athena Kamiras refer to the female sphere and local fauna. The sophisticated votive spectrum was simultaneously diverse and articulate, and included object groups diverged from contemporaneous burials, whose display and deposition involved the possible suspension and probable charring of certain materials. During this period, an innovative votive sector consisting of local artisans producing objects in bronze, bone and ivory, terracotta and faience emerged on Rhodes. This sector catered to the needs of dedicants across the island and likely operated frequent periodic markets at the sanctuaries of Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos. The development of Rhodes' strong votive culture was encouraged by its maritime networks which among others involved Euboean, Cypriot and Phoenician traders and perhaps artisans, through which a range of materials were imported and the embodied knowledge of how to produce those materials was diffused.[1382] More specifically, the innovation of locally produced votives was fostered by the geographic position of Rhodes on major shipping routes; the cluster of three major sanctuaries on the island – at Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros; and by the embeddedness of votive production in the island's local economy, which allowed artisans to trade across the island. Despite the Mediterranean-wide origins of these objects, the votive deposits from Kamiros highlight indigenous systems of use: Rhodian bronze figures and fibulae were inspired by local fauna; female terracotta figures were made using fewer wheel-made aspects than their Cypriot counterparts; and faience perfume vessels reacted to the existing unguent market. The disparate levels of fibulae recovered from the acropoleis of Ialysos and Lindos compared to Kamiros, and the importance of hillsides to the development of Archaic Kamiros, also show that topography contributed towards the formation of differentiated depositional practices on Rhodes.

[1382] On the diffusion of ancient techniques through bodily learning see von Rüden 2015.

Outside the votive sector, Rhodes was importing pottery from various regions of the Aegean between 725-525 BC, including Corinth, Ionia, Crete, Kos, Knidos, Laconia, and the Levantine coast. Local workshops operating during this period either made a range of shapes or specialised in a narrow repertoire of shapes. Of the diverse workshops, those producing Spaghetti wares (725-625 BC), Protovroulian wares (625-580 BC), Vroulian wares (600-525 BC), and semi-lipped wares (625-475 BC) are most prominent. Smaller workshops include ones making subgeometric figural vessels (700-650 BC), ivory imitation pottery (750-675 BC), incised hemispherical bowls, jugs, and plates (725-675 BC), stamped pithoi (725-500 BC), glazed vessels (650-600 BC), stemmed dishes and segment plates (600-575 BC). Rhodian potters also imitated Cypriot, Phoenician, and Corinthian unguent vessels as well as Melian plates.

The collective output of these workshops indicates that local potters exploited three main features of the island's markets: the absence of certain shapes that were not being imported to the island, such as bowls, stamnoi, and horn flasks from the spaghetti workshop; the production of unguent vessels, notably spaghetti aryballoi, glazed vessels, and imitations of Cypriots and Phoenician vessels as well as Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra; and the participation in regional pottery trends, namely the manufacture of incised hemispherical bowls, jugs and plates, also found on Kos and Astypalaia, as well as segment plates made on Kos and possibly on Nisyros. Rhodes' potters contributed to the wider Mediterranean (unguent) trade, while also producing wares for which there was a regional or local demand. These different scales of production and various qualities of product that imitated or adapted imports, or else were entirely distinct, are symptoms of the market opportunities afforded to local potters, who employed various methods of decoration, from painting to stamping, incision, and glazing. This process of agglomeration of Rhodes pottery workshops between 725 BC and 525 BC

occurred through a combination of long-range knowledge spillovers from its travellers and merchants, and short-range knowledge spillovers between pottery workshops across the island.

From the late sixth century BC, however, Rhodes pottery workshops began to focus on a specific pottery shape: the stamnoid pyxis. Following the importation of convex-sided pyxides from Corinth to Rhodes in the sixth century BC, local variations of this shape were produced by the island's potters. They differed from Corinthian prototypes in three respects: their larger size, sloping shoulders, and handles set at an angle. These alterations that may be attributed to the influence of local tradition such as Vroulian stamnoi, made on Rhodes in the second half of the sixth century BC. Stamnoid pyxides were made in several workshops specialising in their own types, including the Bird Painter Group (475-400 BC), White Slip Group (475-425 BC), and versions decorated with bands and shallow or deep waves (425 BC onwards). The products of the Bird Painter Group, which also made epinetra, have been found at Kamiros and Siana, and on the neighbouring island of Chalke. Their painted decorations consisted of traditional geometric motifs, such as cross-hatched triangles, which had a long history of use in Rhodian pottery workshops. Overall, the different shapes and sizes of stamnoid pyxides made on Rhodes suggest that they were used for various storage purposes. A relation to the nuptial sphere is suggested by the close affinity of late fifth-century BC stamnoid pyxides to Attic lebetes gamikoi, which also appear in Rhodian graves.

The funerary use of stamnoid pyxides should be viewed as part of a wider practice of depositing pairs of grave goods in a wide range of different materials, including pottery, terracotta, and glass. Its development can be traced throughout the Archaic period, notably with pottery imported from Ionia, Corinth, and Attica. This practice becomes especially visible at Fikellura

cemetery in the late fifth century BC, where some graves contained upwards of three pairs. This change was facilitated by a thriving market that catered to the funerary needs of Kamiros. This market was supplied by intensive trade with Attica, among other areas; consisted of a wide selection of materials, from the ubiquitous to the unique; and extended to Chalke. The distribution of stamnoid pyxides and epinetra produced by the Bird Painter Group as well as Rhodian terracotta protomes across Kamiros and Chalke, the common occurrence of paired grave goods at Fikellura and Pontamo cemeteries, and the geographic proximity of these settlements raise the possibility that Kamiros and Chalke shared the same territorially defined public body, or *ktoina*. The continued use of geometric patterns to decorate stamnoid pyxides, on the one hand, and the continued pairing of grave goods, on the other, demonstrates that local traditions were sustained, and indeed thrived, in the context of Rhodes' maritime connections to Attica in particular.

Away from pottery workshops, Rhodes was producing terracotta female figures and protomai in the fifth century BC. These include two series of seated women, three series of standing women, and three series of female protomai. Seated Woman 1 was produced from around 500 BC, while Seated Woman 2 was produced later, from around 425 BC. Two series of standing women – series 1 and 3 – were made from around 475-450 BC and Standing Woman 2 was produced from the mid-fifth century BC. The most extensive series of female protome was produced around 510-480 BC, while the other two series began during the mid-fifth century BC. Kamiros seems to have been an important centre of the production and consumption of local female terracotta figures and protomai, with Standing Woman 1 and 3 and Female Protome 2 and 3 concentrated in graves at this site. By contrast, Rhodian female terracottas are numerically much less common at Ialysos and at the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, where large quantities of imported terracottas were deposited as votives.

An analysis of three sets of graves – graves from Ialysos and Kamiros containing stamnoid pyxides, graves from Fikellura cemetery containing female terracotta figures and protomes, and graves from Fikellura cemetery containing Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes – demonstrated correlations between each grave sample. These correlations permit the reconstruction of the profile of goods commonly deposited in female graves at Kamiros during the fifth century BC. This includes stamnoid pyxides and terracotta spindle-whorls; Corinthian kothones; terracotta female protomes and figures, locally made and imported; Attic pots decorated with female narrative scenes, including pelikai, possibly as small grave markers, and perhaps vessels for offerings of unguents; glass unguent vessels; stands for unguent in glass or bronze; and bronze mirrors, commonly with glass or alabaster alabastra. Additionally, Attic pots with infant scenes and Rhodian 'temple boys' could be deposited in graves of women. It is notable that certain types of grave goods were used interchangeably in graves of women and children, which indicates a process of selection structured around notions of maternity. This emphasis on maternity not only informed deposition in graves, but also the dedication of votives at Lindos, where there was a prominent kourotrophic cult.

The burial profile of Kamirian women gained visibility around 475-450 BC and became particularly distinct during the last quarter of the fifth century BC. The increased distinction of this profile during this period was facilitated by the intensification of production on Rhodes; the localisation of workshops at Kamiros; and by the concentration of pottery imports from Attica during the second half of the fifth century BC. This profile should be viewed against the background of the wider 'feminine culture' traceable in burial profile of women at Kamiros; the production of female terracottas and wares associated with textile production; and the cult of Athena Lindia. This feminine culture was supported by imports of female terracottas from Ionia and figural pottery from Attica. Along with the increased deposition of pairings in the

late fifth century BC, the female burial profile was part of a symbolic use of material culture on Rhodes as a way of articulating the growing importance of the *oikos*. This phenomenon is evident at the same time in Athenian cemeteries.

This thesis has outlined four developments encouraged by Rhodes' maritime connectivity, from the innovation of votive offerings to the agglomeration of pottery workshops, the tradition of paired grave goods, and the distinction of female grave assemblages at Kamiros. Together, these developments allow for four observations about Rhodes' material culture during the Archaic and Classical periods: its participation in the shared material culture of an 'insular arc' running through the eastern Aegean, the importance of consumer choice, the conspicuous nature of storage, and the significance of the Rhodian *ktoinai* before the synoicism.

7.1 Reframing Rhodes and the Dodecanese

On the basis of origins of imports to Rhodes, the distribution of ceramic goods made on the island, and similarities of material culture between islands, the following connections to Rhodes and other Aegean islands can be traced: Crete displays wide cultural affinities with Rhodes, especially Kamiros, through the making of stamped and straight-sided pithoi as well as mythological connections; Karpathos imported Rhodian epinetra of the Bird Painter Group (425-375 BC) and is known to have later operated a system of *ktoinai*; Chalke, as part of the Kamirian *ktoinai*, imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides of the Bird Painter Group (after 470-450 BC) and Female Protome 1 (510-480 BC), and also partook in a shared economy with Kamiros; Tilos imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides of Bird Painter Group (425-375 BC);

Nisyros possibly exported segment plates to Rhodes (600-575 BC) and imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides; Kos exported segment plates to Rhodes, which inspired local variations (600-575 BC), and, earlier, made incised hemispherical bowls that are also found on Astypalea, versions of which were produced on Rhodes (725-675 BC). In all, there appears to have been an insular arc through the Aegean that included Crete, Karpathos, Rhodes, Chalke, Tilos, Nisyros, Kos, and Astypalea. There is further evidence of inter-island connections dating from the Late Bronze Age.[1383] Rhodes would have been an essential stopover for ships as a centrally located node along this arc. The island operated primarily as an importer of goods from other islands prior to the fifth century BC. During the fifth century and into the early fourth century BC, however, Rhodes' exports to neighbouring islands appear to have increased. Based on their shared material culture, a reframing of the Dodecanese to focus on these seven islands – the insular arc of the eastern Aegean – as the regional context of Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods is therefore recommended.

7.2 Consumer choice: pottery and pairings, grave goods and votives

There is a proliferation in the choice of goods consumed on Rhodes from the late eighth to the fifth century BC in terms of volume and variety. Votive offerings from Cyprus, Egypt, mainland Greece, Melos, Ionia, and Assyria were deposited on Kamiros acropolis. In addition, locally made bronze statuettes and figures; ivory and bone carvings, including long bones and female figures; hand-made terracotta female figures; and faience aryballoi, alabastra, and New Year's flasks were available to dedicants. The suspension of sparkling votives on Kamiros

[1383] Seroglou and Sfakianakis 2015.

acropolis, such as faience amulets and gold jewellery, and placement of figures on a votive table are methods of display encouraged by an increased ability to select what votives were deposited where, and in what manner. Similarly, the access to imported goods during the fifth century BC facilitated the pairing of grave goods and the distinction of the female burial profile. Both developments in funerary ideology required the consumer to be able to carefully select and compose the contents of a grave assemblage. The pottery workshops of Rhodes, whose output ranged from diverse to specialised high-quality or low-quality wares, provided the island's inhabitants with an abundance of choice in local pottery products. When viewed in the context of imports from across the Aegean between 725-525 BC and the mass importation of Attic pottery in the fifth century BC, the selection of pottery available to the island's inhabitants seems to have been extensive. It is the production of various types of stamnoid pyxides above all, however, that demonstrates the importance of choice on Rhodes: while earlier workshops produced different repertoires of shapes, those operating in the fifth century BC specialised on a single shape, altering the decoration or size. While imports arrived on the island on a mass-scale from Attica, Rhodes' potters instead worked on a micro-scale, making different versions of a distinctively local shape. The fragmentation of local production on Rhodes may be connected to the *ktoina*, discussed below.

7.3 Conspicuous storage: pithoi and pyxides, death and display

The storage and display of foodstuffs, domestic objects, votives, and grave goods, was above all a conspicuous practice on Archaic and Classical Rhodes. The most obvious example of this practice is the construction of monumental pithoi at Kamiros and Ialysos with elaborate stamped decoration, used to inhume adults and possibly also for storage in houses. In addition,

Protovroulian and Vroulian wares of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC produced a range of storage pots, from amphorae, to stamnoi, and situlae – some of which were distributed to Egypt and beyond – not to mention the earlier stamnoi and pyxides of the spaghetti and ivory imitation workshops. Rhodian stamnoid pyxides, whose different shape and sizes suggests that they were used for a variety of storage purposes, became more ornamental in shape over the course of the fifth century BC. Added to this ceramic evidence, the varying modes of votive display on Kamiros acropolis demonstrates a willingness to store votives. Grave goods, in addition, were stored in rock-cut chamber tombs that were contructed on the crescents of hillsides surrounding an acropolis, prominent positions at both Kamiros and Kymissala. While this emphasis on conspicuous storage may have had different motivations, Kamiros seems to have been a major centre for all three of these elements, particularly in its funerary ideology. Here, domestic storage, dedication (of votives), and deposition (of grave goods) was an embellished activity that had a strong visual character – from the decoration of pottery to vistas in the surrounding landscape.

7.4 Rhodian ktoinai before the synoicism

The specific nature of the Rhodian *ktoinai*, or territorially defined units, that existed prior to the island's synoicism has remained poorly understood to date. However, this thesis has shed light on three main aspects of Archaic and Classical Rhodes' material culture indicative of these territorial divisions and symptomatic of how the Rhodian *ktoinai* were organised. Firstly, the distinct votive spectrum at Kamiros, which contains far fewer fibulae than the sanctuaries of Ialysos and Lindos. Lindos' votive spectrum also has a stronger emphasis on kourotrophic cult, including terracottas with women carrying babies. Secondly, many pottery workshops

seem to have been located in or around Kamiros, including those making early orientalising figural wares, stamnoid pyxides and epinetra of the Bird Painter Group, pithoi with stamped decoration, and possibly the workshop producing segment plates and stemmed dishes. In addition, the terracotta series of Standing Woman 1 and 3 as well as Female Protomes 2 and 3 are concentrated at Kamiros. The distribution of these products often extends between Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke: stamnoid pyxides and epinetra of the Bird Painter Group are found at Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke; Rhodian segment plates and stemmed dishes are found a Kamiros and Siana; and Female Protome 1 has been found at Kamiros and Chalke. By contrast, Ialysos focused on producing unguent vessels, particularly in the late eighth and seventh centuries BC. These include imitation of Cypriot and Phoenician wares as well as Rhodian Spaghetti wares. The distribution of these wares is concentrated at Ialysos cemeteries. Importantly, Ialysos seems not to have been a major consumer of terracottas in the same way that Kamiros and Lindos were. There is therefore a strong case to suggest that local production was connected to Rhodian *ktoinai* with regards to consumption patterns, with Kamirian pottery and terracottas often distributed between Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke, i.e. the region of Kamiros, and Ialysian pottery concentrated at this settlement only. Thirdly, the burial practices of Kamiros and Ialysos are also distinctive. Chamber tombs are found at Kamiros, Siana, and Chalke from the eighth through the fifth centuries BC, whereas at Ialysos there is evidence for cremation and inhumation in stone-lined cists graves – but not of chamber tombs after the Mycenean period. Overall, the distinctive votive spectrums, production centres, and burial practices observable across Archaic and Classical Rhodes suggest that the Rhodian *ktoinai* referred to in later epigraphic evidence existed insofar as material culture was concerned. That Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos were each minting their own coinage using different standards

during the sixth and fifth centuries BC should be considered as further evidence for the *ktoinai*.[1384]

7.5 Synoicism and island continuity

The major political convulsions that led to the synoicism of Rhodes in 408 BC are poorly understood: the installation of an oligarchic government in 411 BC supported by the Spartan fleet, which moved from Knidos to Kamiros, is the final historic event reported prior to the island's union. Based on the above, however, the synoicism should be understood not as an abrupt change in the political landscape of Rhodes, but as a measure to ensure continuity in two respects: the temperance of island division and the progression of new political structures. The synoicism was a strategy to unify the regions of Rhodes at a time when the mass-importation of Attic pottery as well as the consumption of locally made and imported terracottas increasingly accentuated the divisions between Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos. The existence of a local political organisation after the synoicism, however, shows a willingness to temper the territorial divisions of the island with a new federal government. This local organisation is attested mainly through a structure of demes, though *ktoinai* also appear in inscriptions relating to public units of a territorially defined character and to members of private associations. As an expression of multi-polis island identity, the synoicism served to sustain and intensify Rhodian unity. [1385] The influence of Athens on the island in the second half of the fifth century BC, through membership of the Delian League and as an extensive trade partner, contributed to shaping the role of material culture in social discourse on the island. Overall, the

[1384] Stefanakis 2016.
[1385] Constantakopoulou 2005.

unification of Rhodes was driven by an inward reflection of local communities, rather than its outward relations to the wider Mediterranean, as argued by Malkin.[1386] Maritime connections, especially with Athens, played an important role in this process, but the emphasis must be on the interior, not exterior, relations of the Rhodians.

To conclude, between the eighth and fifth centuries BC Rhodes developed a material culture in which consumer choice proliferated, storage became a conspicuous practice, and there was division in consumption patterns across Rhodian *ktoinai*. This material culture, which was part of a wider shared material culture of an insular arc running through the eastern Aegean, witnessed four developments that were encouraged by Rhodes' maritime connections: the innovation of locally made votives, the agglomeration of pottery workshops, the tradition of paired grave goods, and the distinction of female grave assemblages at Kamiros. The cumulative effect of the island's maritime connections during the Archaic and Classical periods was to stimulate and sustain local production, on the one hand, and to accentuate local consumption patterns, on the other. These maritime connections also contributed to the eventual decision to temper island division and progress new political structures through the synoisicm of Rhodes in 408 BC. Having contextualised local production and consumption on the island, Rhodian material culture, and the role of maritime connectivity in forming that culture, can now be compared to broader case studies to appreciate its broader context within the Mediterranean.

[1386] Malkin 2011: 65-95.

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Fig.1 Map of Eastern Mediterranean

Fig. 2 Map of Central and South-East Aegean.

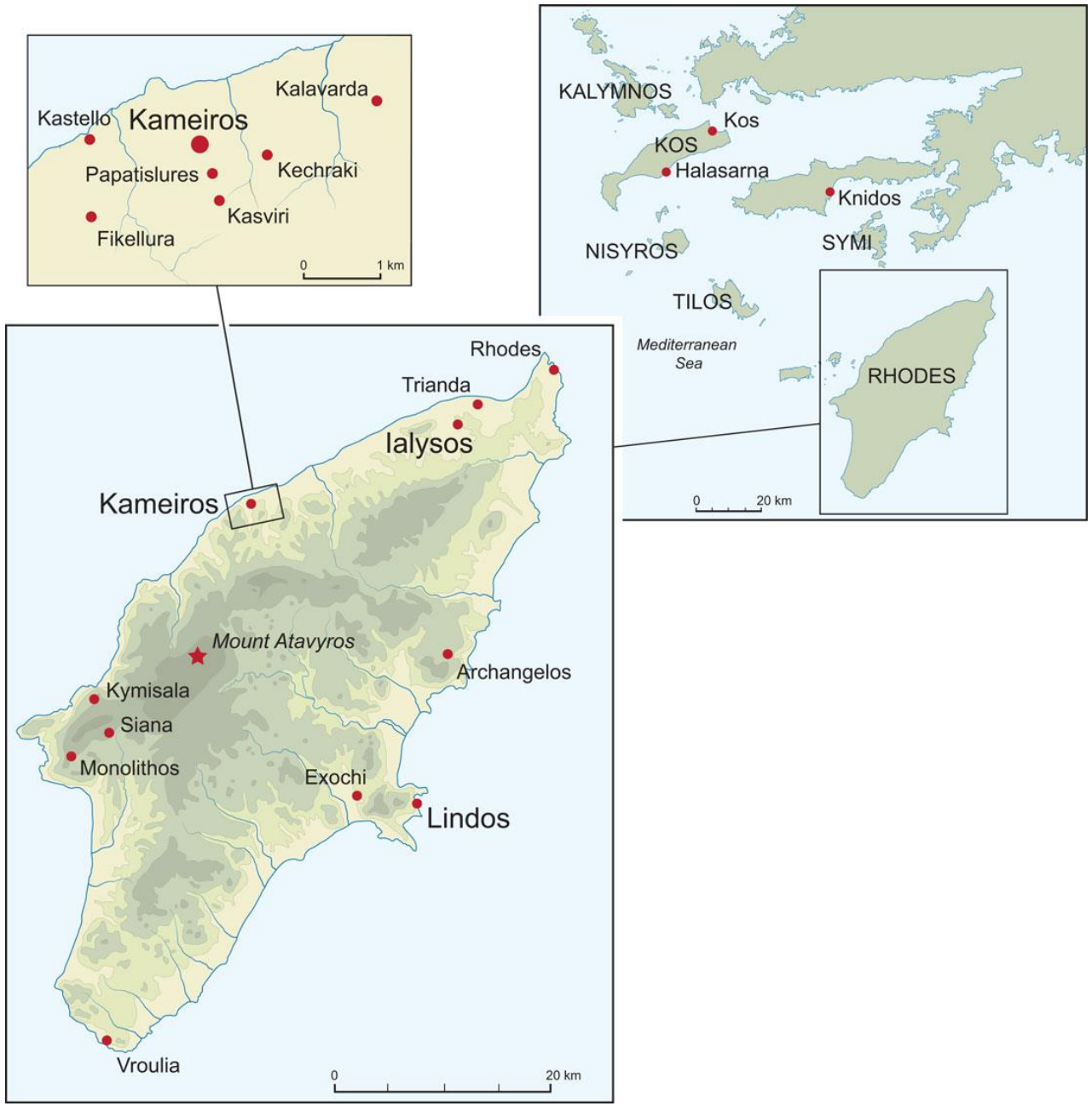


Fig.3 Map of Rhodes and the Dodecanese.

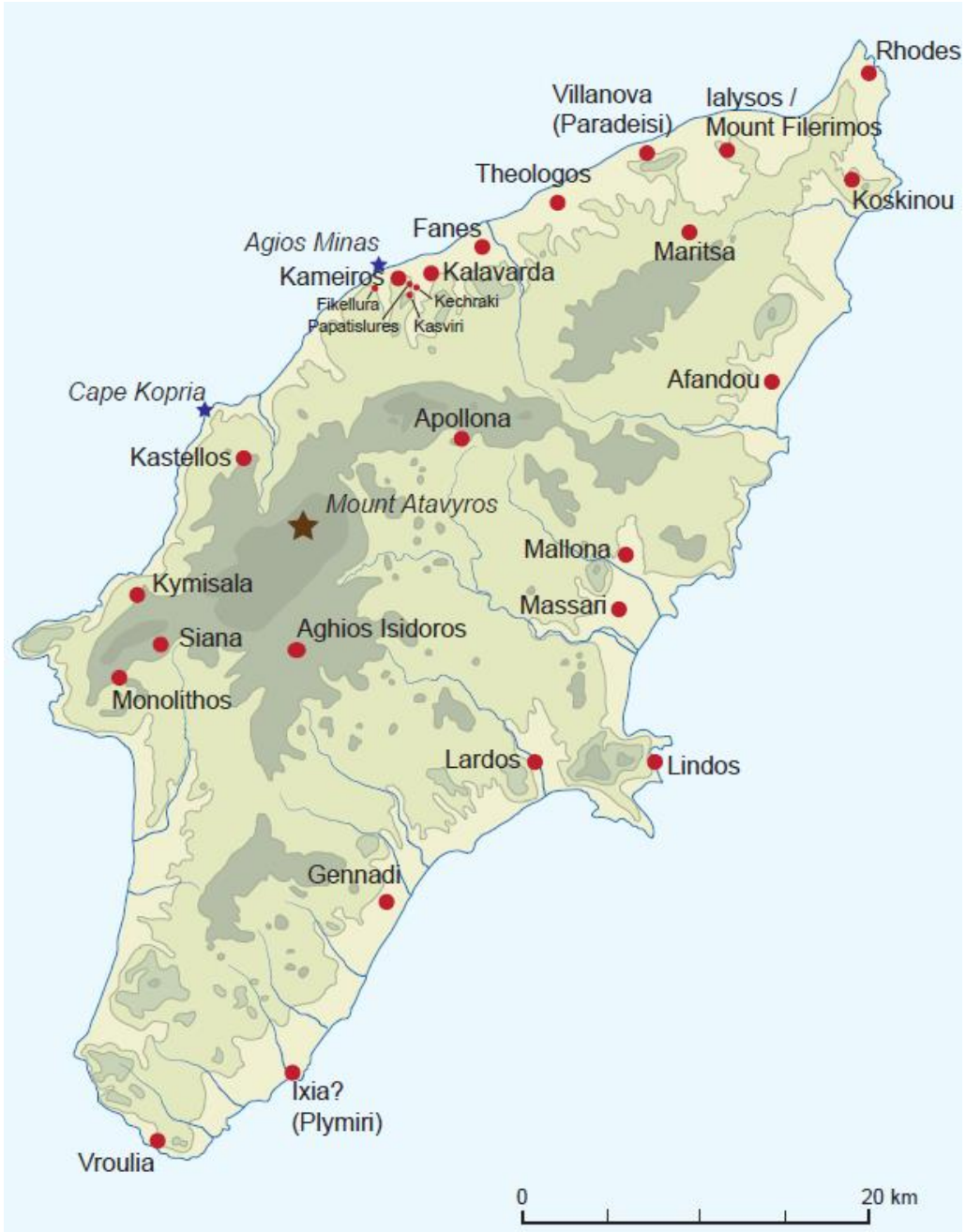


Fig.4 Map of Rhodes.

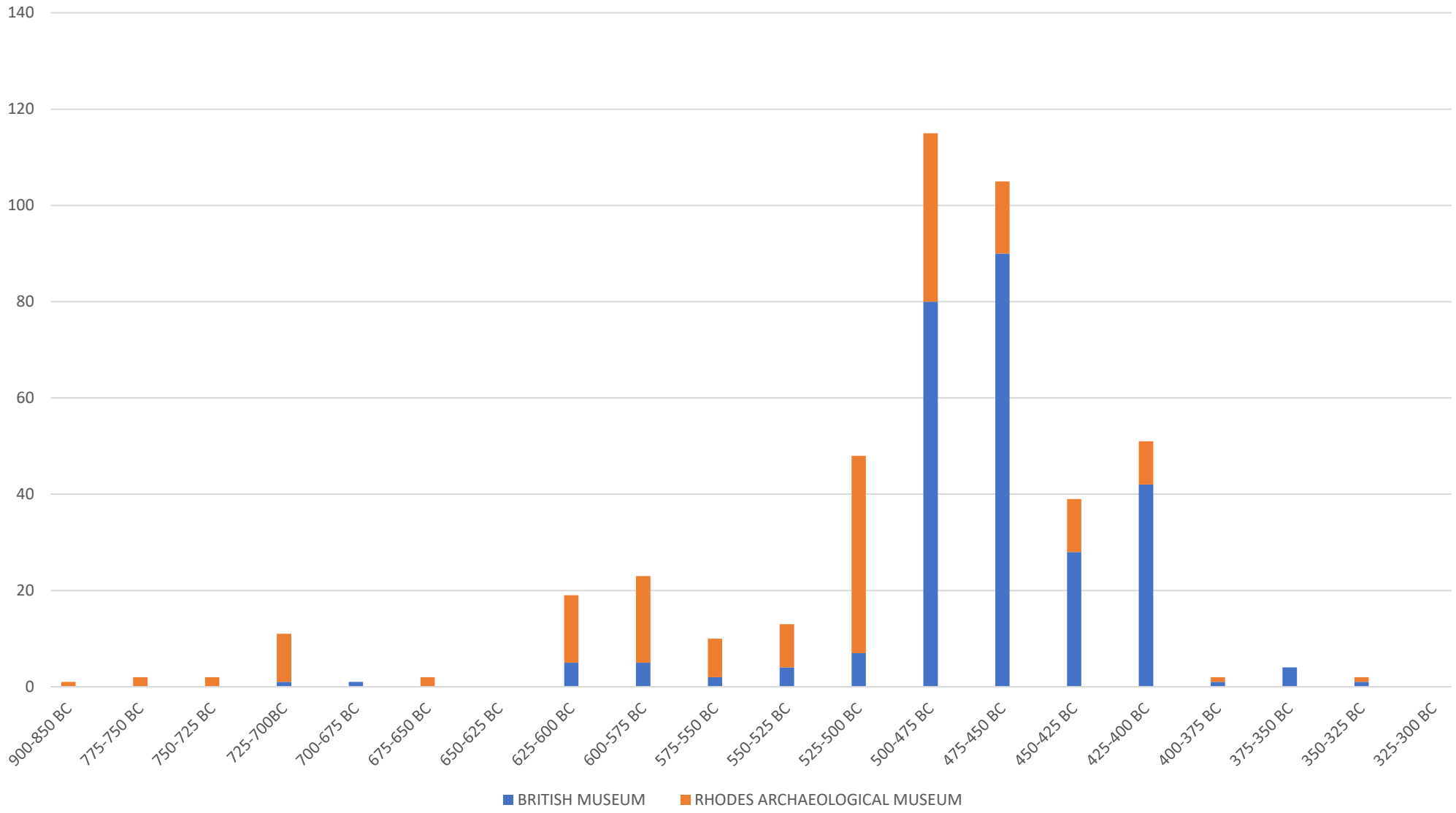


Fig.5 Kamiros graves according to museum collection [450].

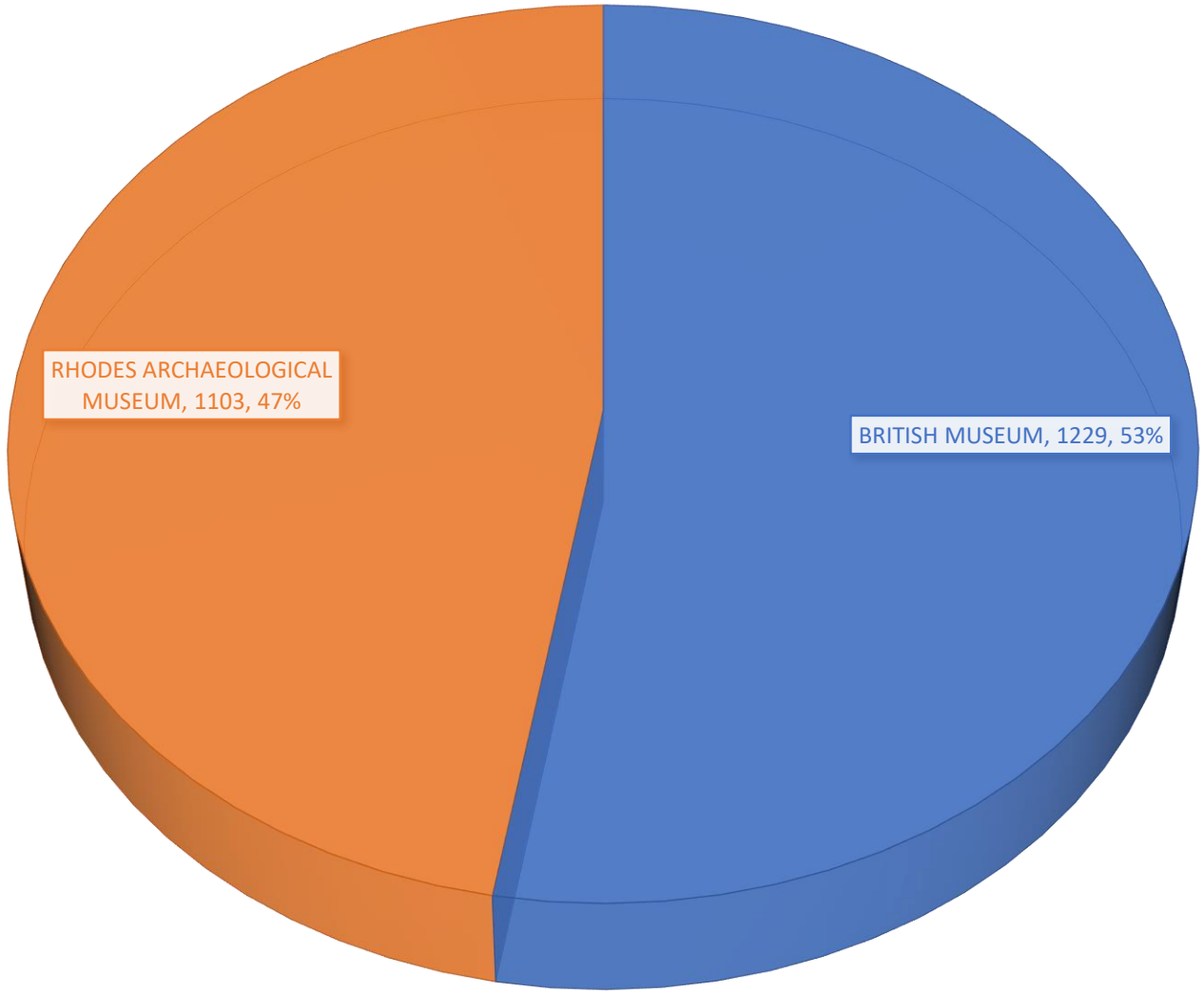


Fig.6 Total sample from Kamiros according to museum collection [2,332).

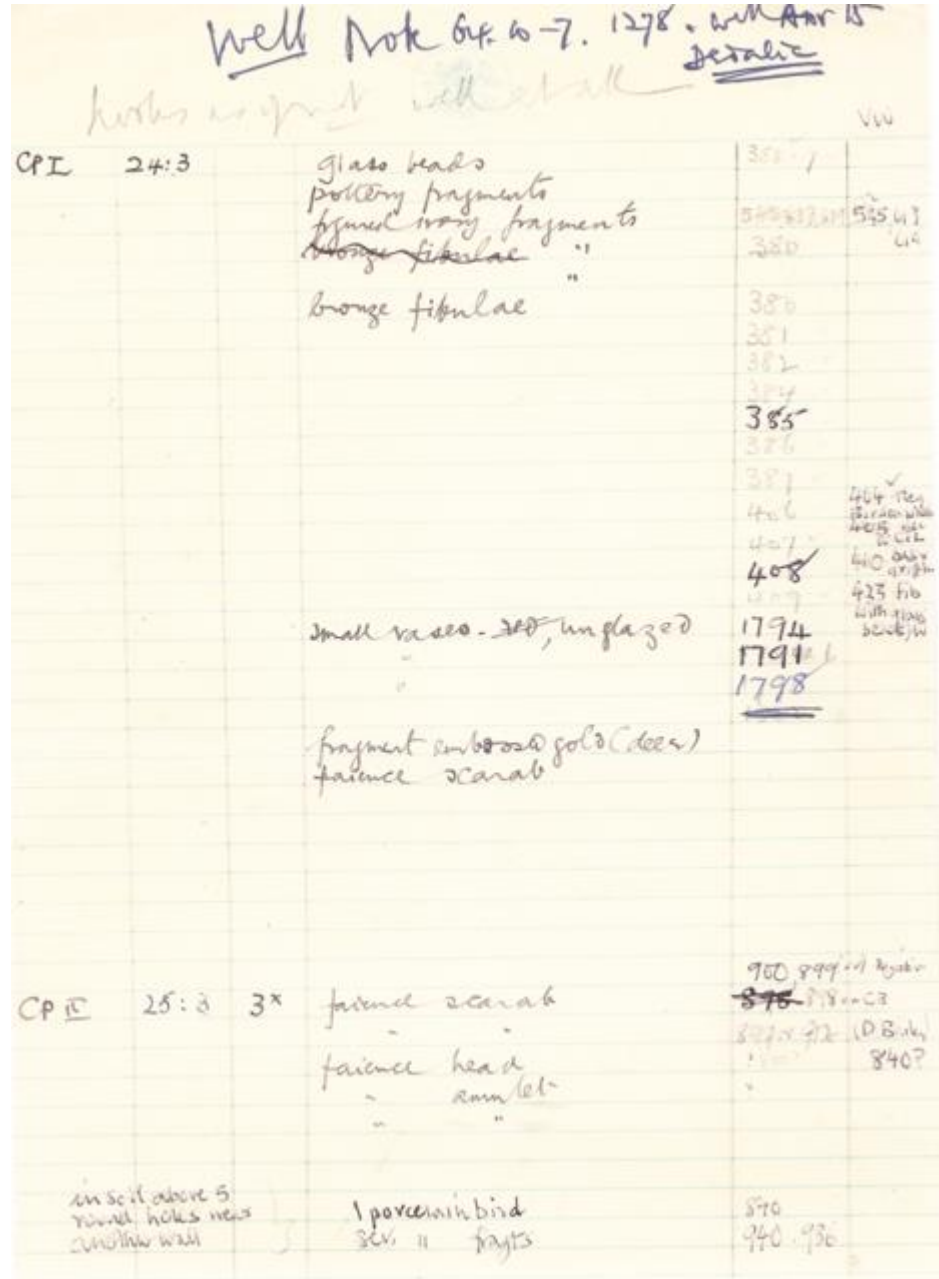
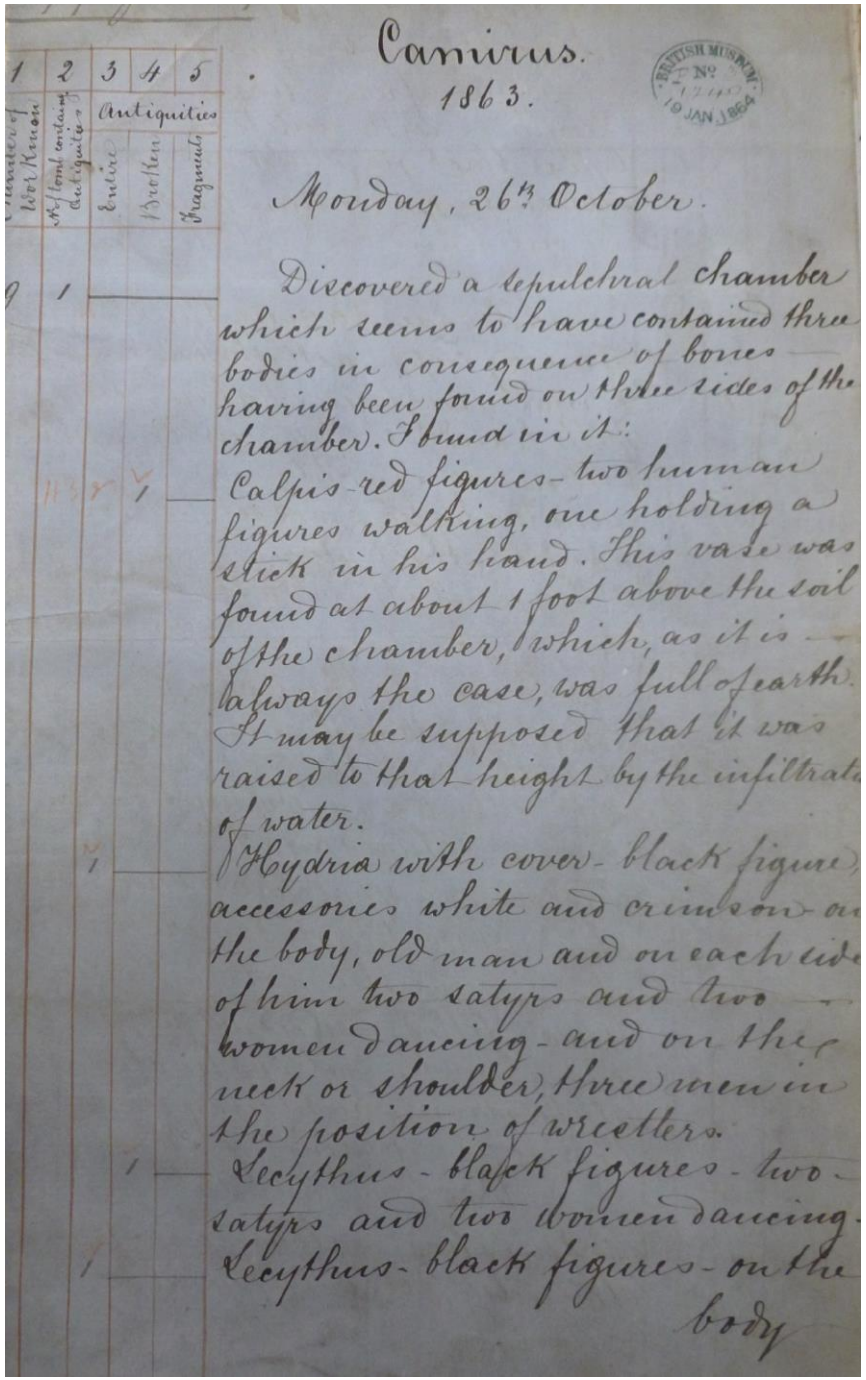


Fig.7 Reynold Higgins' notes on the contents of Kamiros well.

Fig.8 Foot of Attic black-glaze kylix marked [Fikellura] ‘79’; BM 1864,1007.2113; H. 14 cm.

Fig.9 Terracotta spindle-whorl marked ‘Camiros [acropolis] 4’; BM 1864,1007.1849; H. 2.54 cm.



Camirus.
1863.

Monday, 26th October.

Discovered a sepulchral chamber which seems to have contained three bodies in consequence of bones having been found on three sides of the chamber. Found in it:
Calpis-red figures-two human figures walking, one holding a stick in his hand. This vase was found at about 1 foot above the soil of the chamber, which, as it is always the case, was full of earth. It may be supposed that it was raised to that height by the infiltrat of water.
Hydria with cover-black figure accessories white and crimson-on the body, old man and on each side of him two satyrs and two women dancing-and on the neck or shoulder, three men in the position of wrestlers.
Lecythus-black figures-two satyrs and two women dancing.
Lecythus-black figures-on the body

Fig.10 Biliotti diary, Monday 26 October 1864.

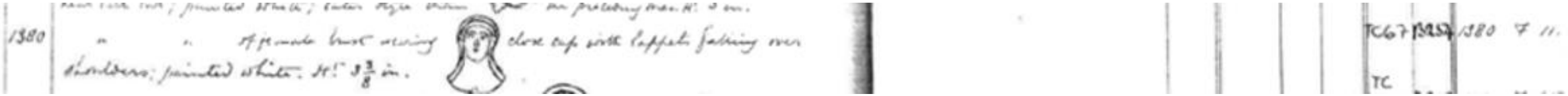


Fig.11 Museum Register entry for BM 1864,1007.1380, from ‘F[ikellura] 11.

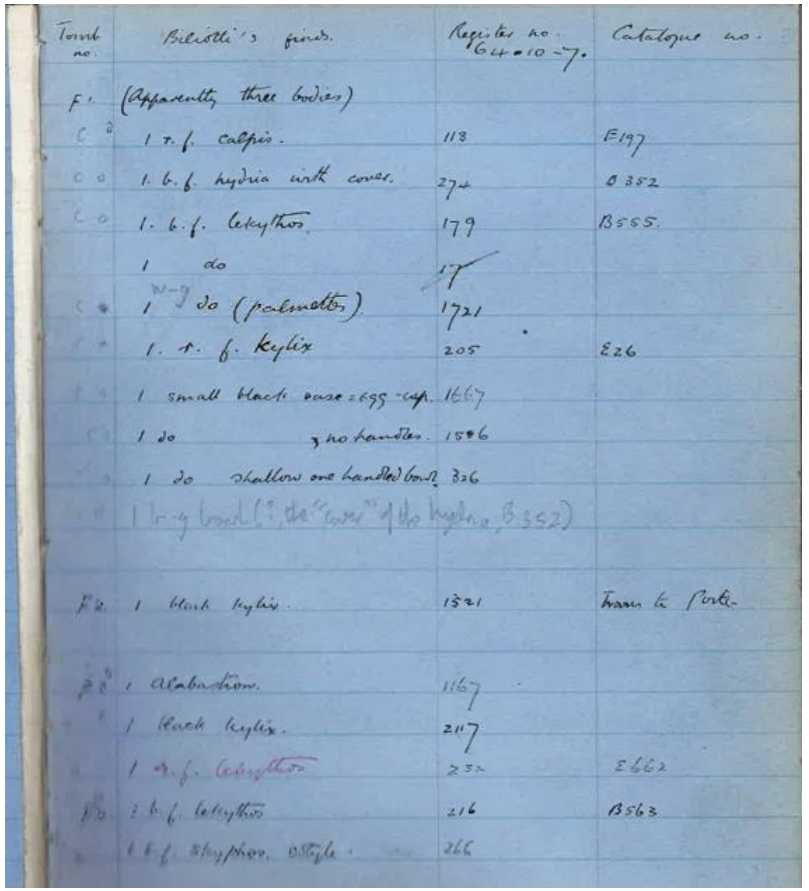
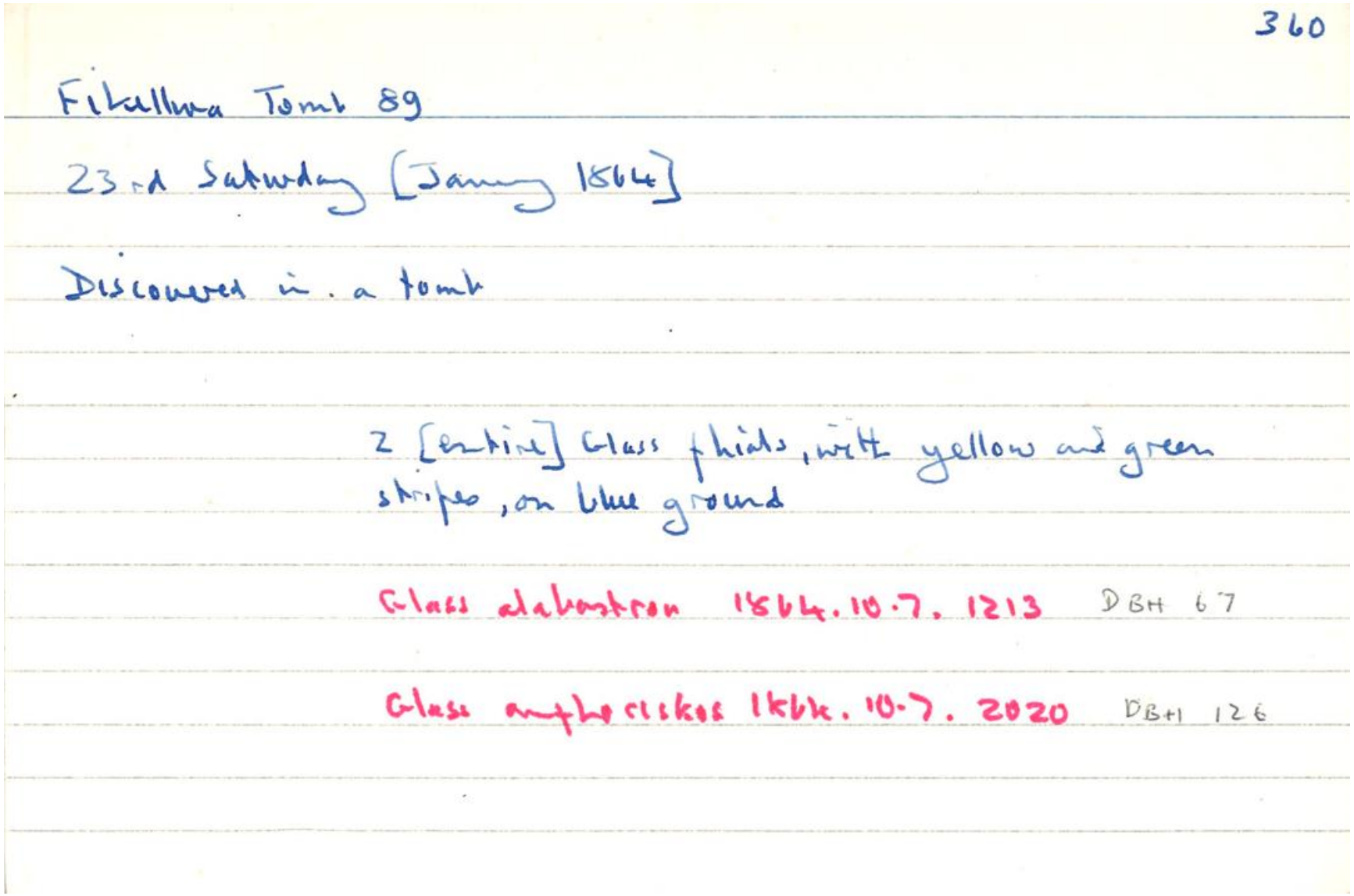


Fig.12 Kamiros Tomb List by Arthur Smith.


360

Fikellura Tomb 89

23rd Saturday [January 1864]

Discovered in a tomb

2 [entire] Glass phials, with yellow and green stripes, on blue ground

Glass alabastron 1864.10-7. 1213 DBH 67

Glass amphoriskos 1864. 10-7. 2020 DBH 126

Fig.13 Index card for Fikellura 89 by Donald Bailey.

REGISTRATION NUMBER	GRAVE NUMBER	DATE EXCAVATED	BILIOTTI DIARY DESCRIPTION	BILIOTTI NUMBER	MUSEUM REGISTER	KAMIROS TOMB LIST	KAMIROS INDEX CARDS
1864.1007.113	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Calpis red figures – two human figures walking, one holding a stick in his hand. This vase was found at about 1 foot above the soil of the chamber which, as it is always the case, was full of earth. It may be supposed that it was raised to that height by the infiltration of water	INSCRIBED	YES	YES	YES
1864.1007.274	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Hydria with cover. Black figured, accessories white and crimson on the body, old man and on each side of him two satyrs and two women dancing and on the neck or shoulder, three men in the position of wrestlers (1 entire)	INSCRIBED	YES	YES	YES
1864.1007.1806	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Lekythos black figures two satyrs and two women dancing (1 broken)	INSCRIBED	YES	NO	YES
1864.1007.179	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Lekythos black figures on the body three seated human figures, and on the neck a grey body three seated human figures, and on the neck a grey hound... running after a hare (1 entire)	INSCRIBED	YES	YES	YES
1864.1007.1721	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Lekythos with antefixal ornaments (1 broken)	INSCRIBED + STICKER	YES	YES	YES
1864.1007.205	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Cylix black glaze inside red figure representing a woman holding a stick in one hand, and a Cylix in the other (1 broken)	NO MARK	YES	YES	YES
1864.1007.1667	1	Monday 26 October 1863	Small vase having the shape of an egg cup black glaze (1 broken)	NO MARK	YES	YES	YES

Fig.14 Screenshot of Kamiros database.

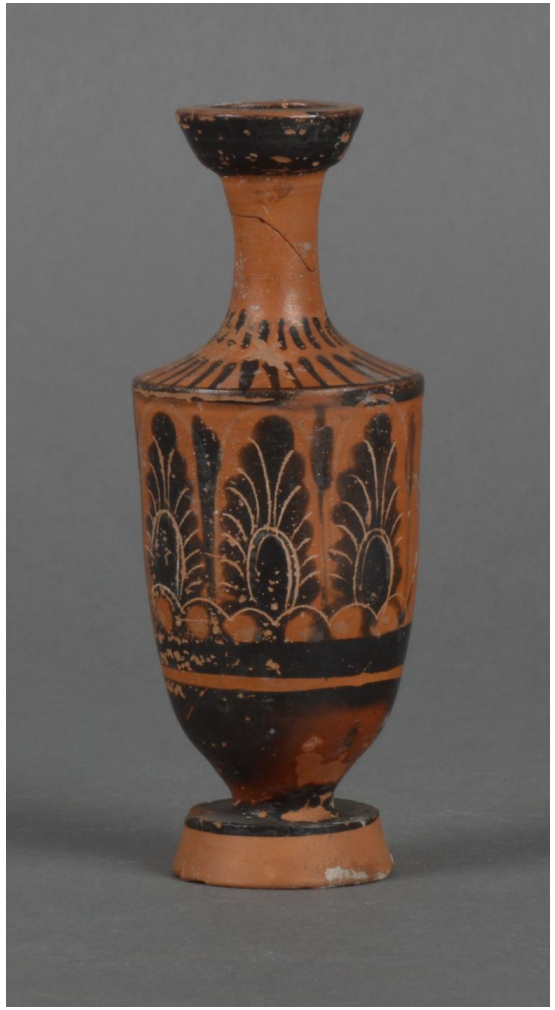


Fig.15 Attic black-figure lekythos described in Biliotti's diary on 5 April 1864 as 'Cylixes – black ornaments (3 entire); BM 1949,0220.9; H. 7 cm.

Fig.16 Oinochoe; BM 1864,1007.149; H. 26.6 cm.

Fig.17 Foot of oinochoe with sticker marked ‘P[apatislures] 11’ and ‘P[apatislures] 16’ incised; BM 1864,1007.149; H. 26.6 cm.

Fig.18 Foot of Attic black-glaze small bowl marked ‘F[ikellura] 55’; BM 1864,1007.1482; H 5.25 cm.

Fig.19 Foot of Attic black-glaze small bowl marked ‘191’; BM 1864,1007.1482; H 5.25 cm.

Fig.20 Map of Rhodes (with Chalke and Alimia).

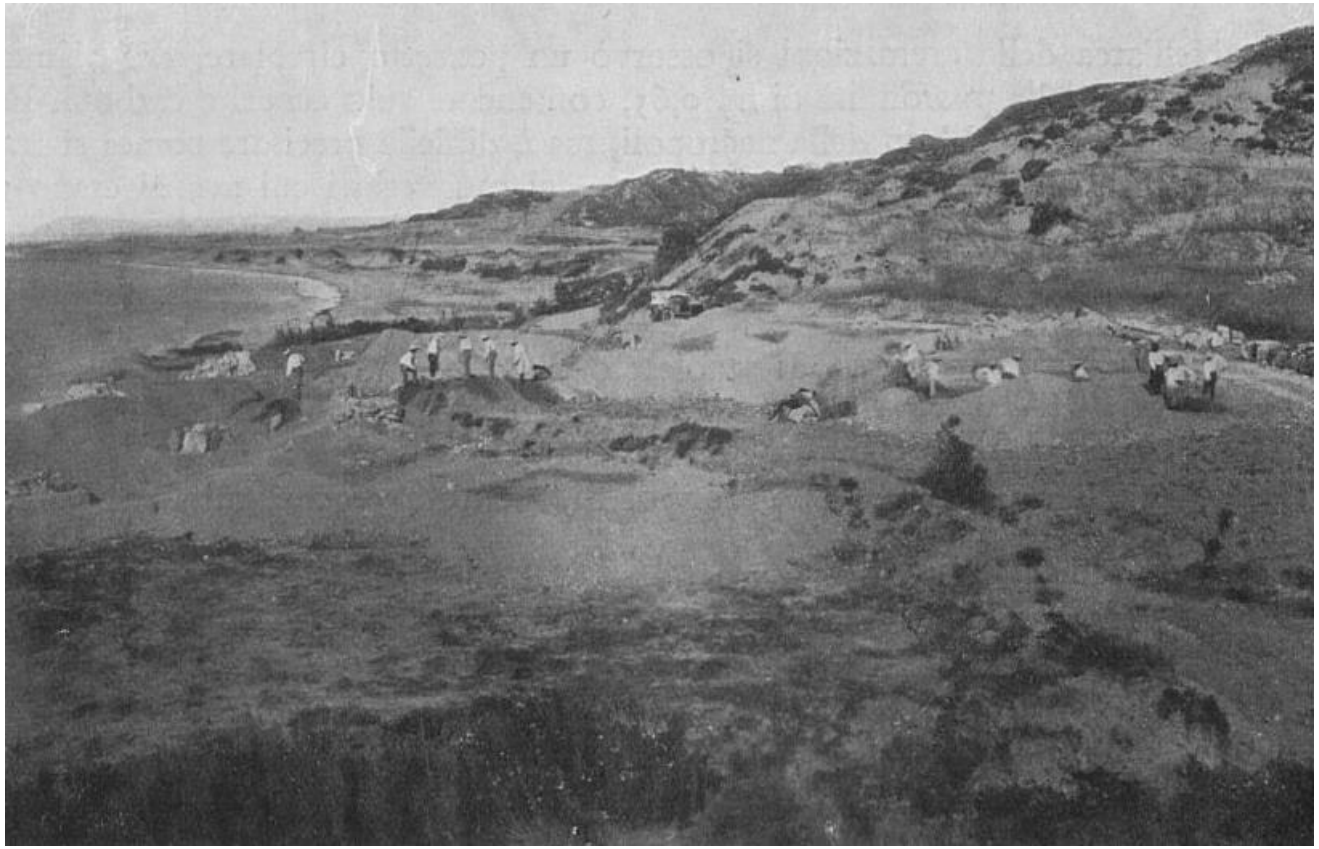


Fig.21 Excavation of Macri Langoni cemetery, Kamiros.

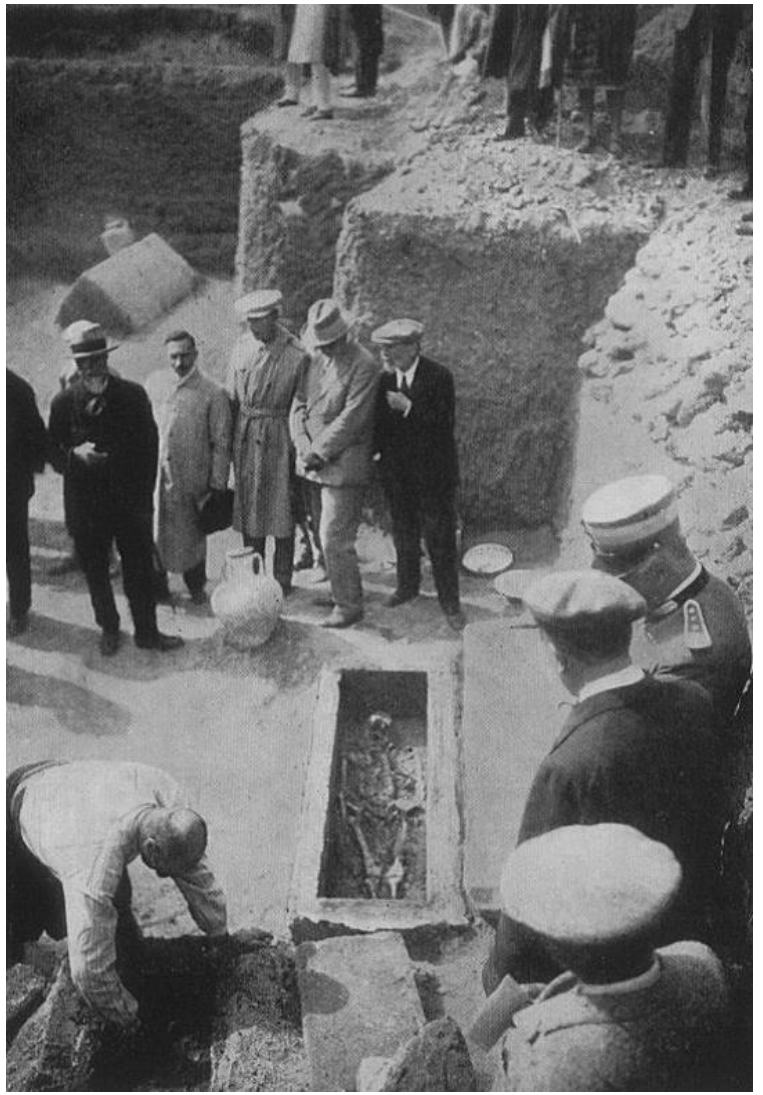


Fig.22 Public presentation of graves at Ialysos.

Fig.23 Map of Kamiros.

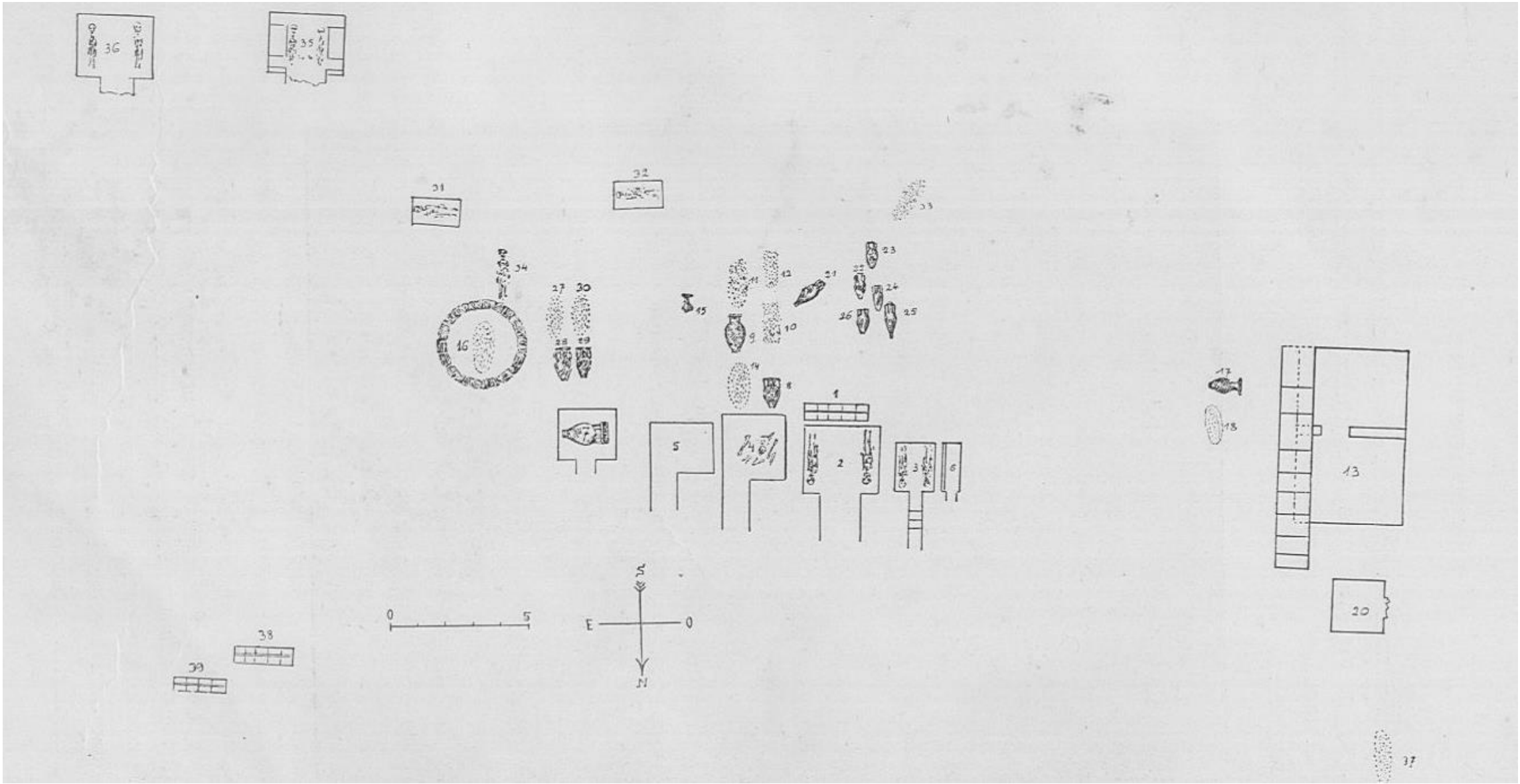


Fig.24 Map of Papatislures cemetery.

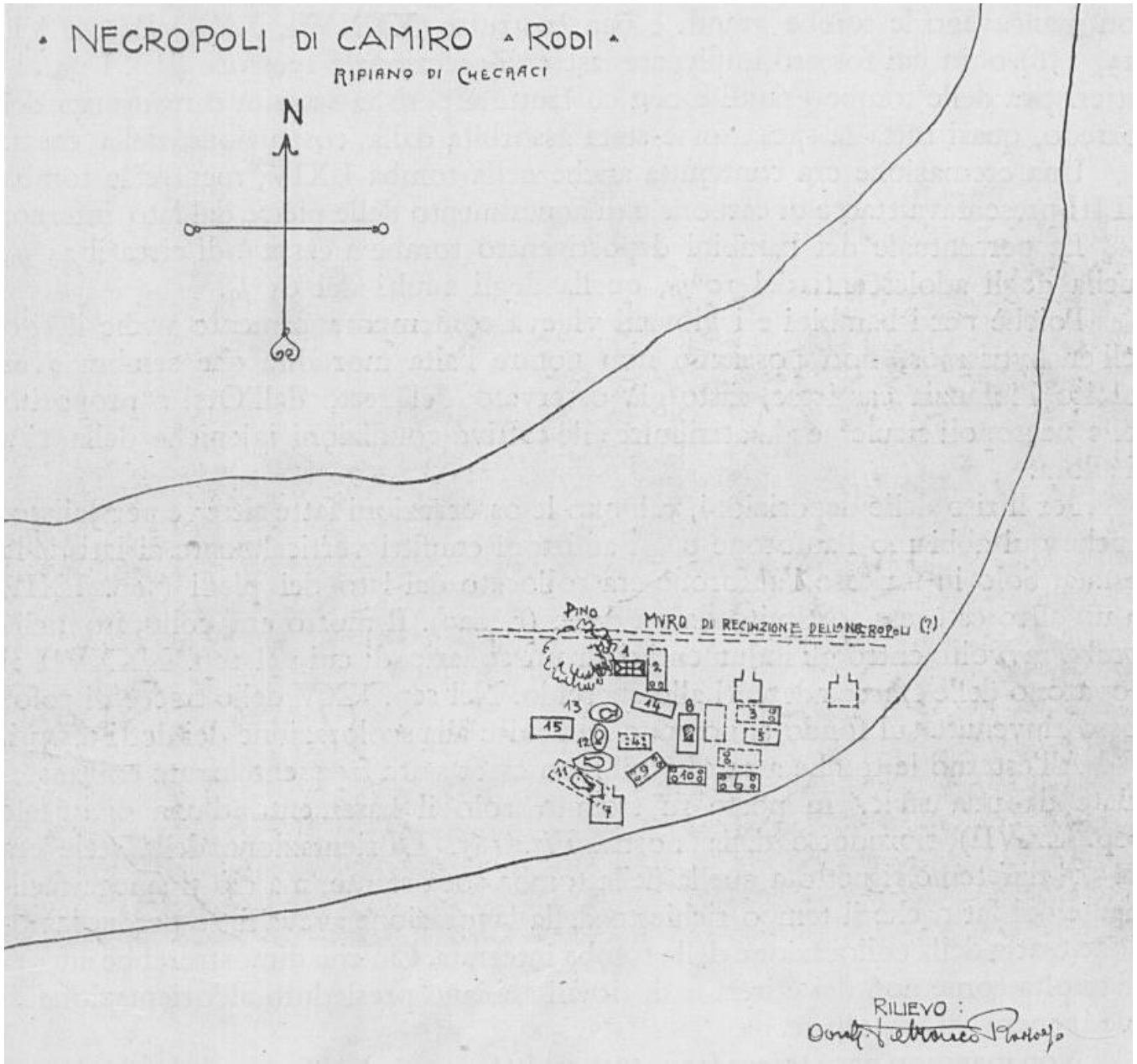


Fig.25 Map of Kechraki cemetery.

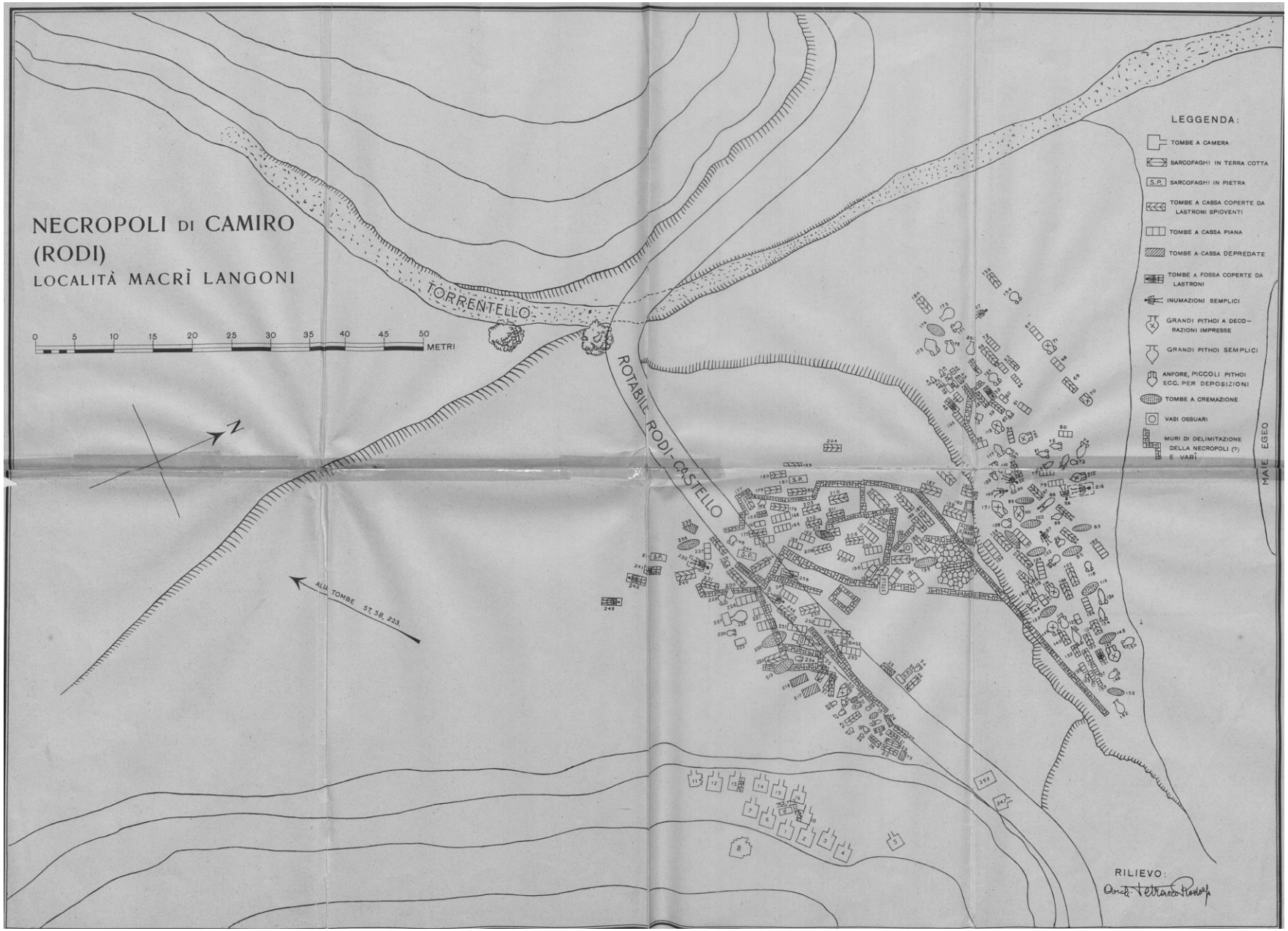


Fig.26 Map of Marci Langoni cemetery.

Fig.27 Remains of Hellenistic funerary monuments at Hagios Phocas, Kymissala.

Fig.28 Remains of chamber toms at Cazviri cemetery, Kamiros.

Fig.29 Remains of chamber tombs at Kymissala hill, Kymissala.

Fig.30 Map of Kamiros.

Fig.31 Remains of Athena temple on Kamiros acropolis.

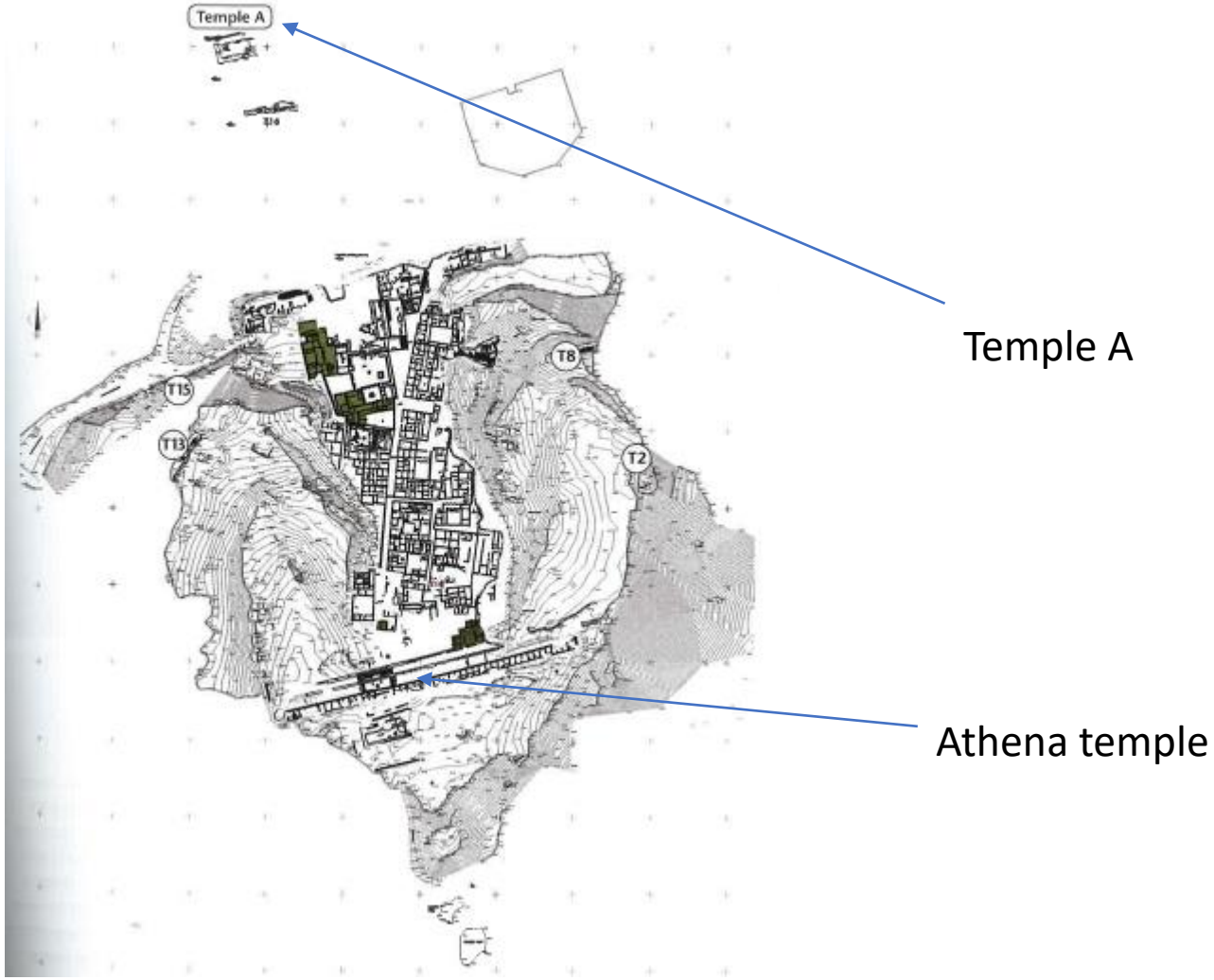


Fig. 32 Plan of Kamiros acropolis.

Fig.33 Remains of Temple A on Kamiros acropolis.

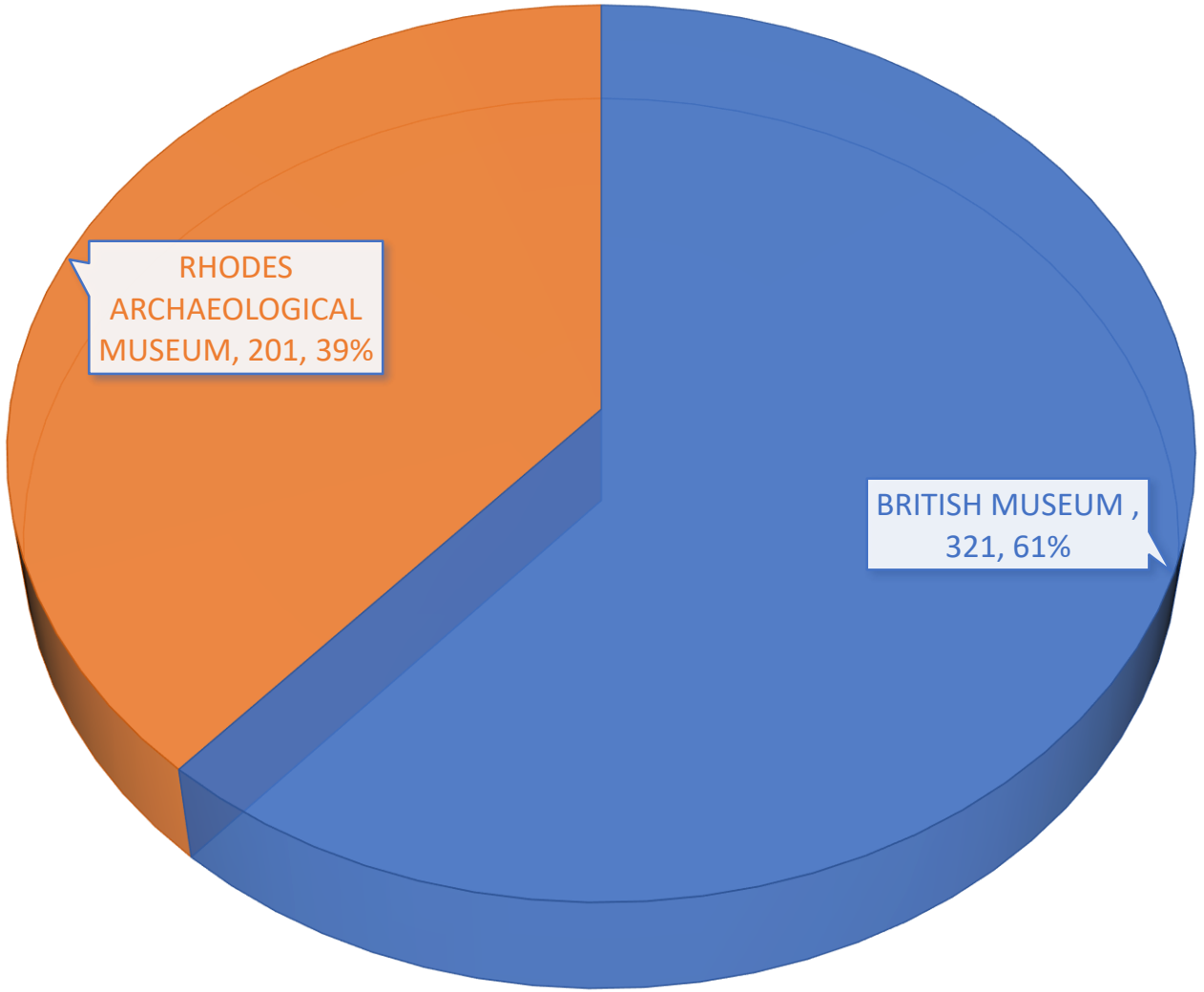


Fig.34 Kamiros votives according to museum collection [522].

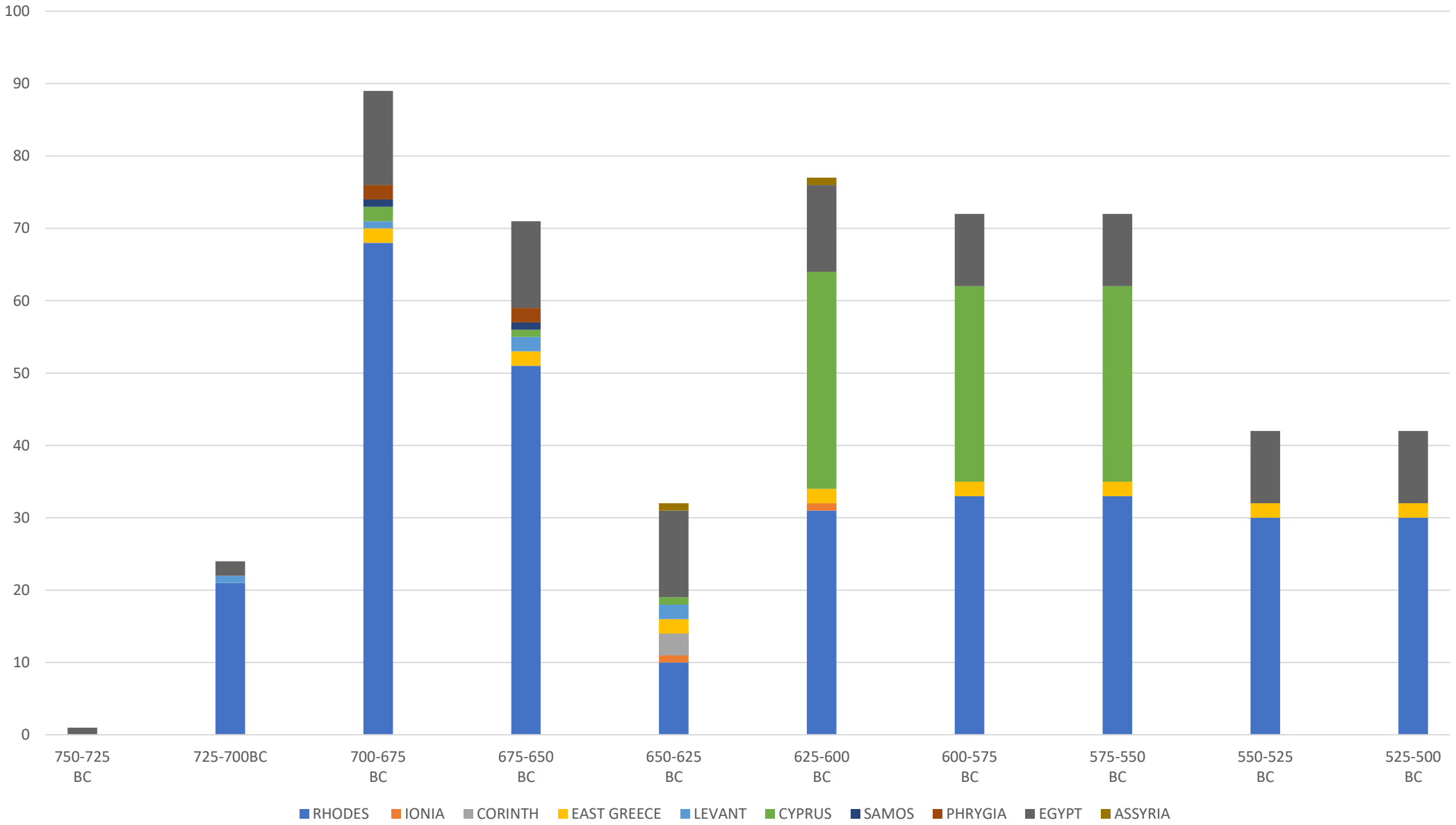


Fig.35 Total sample from votives from Kamiros acropolis [522].

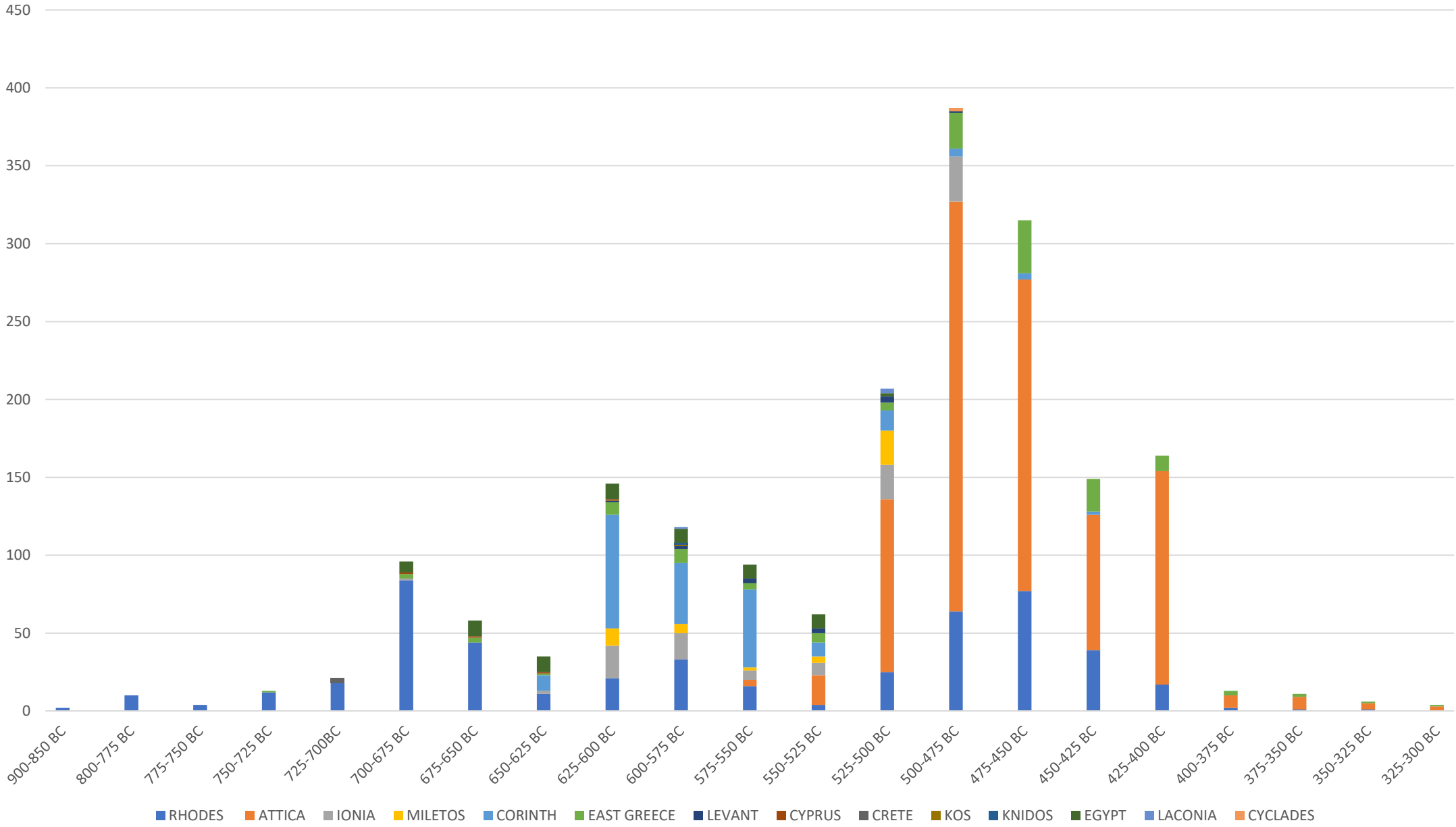


Fig.36 Total sample of grave goods excavated from Kamiros [1,810].

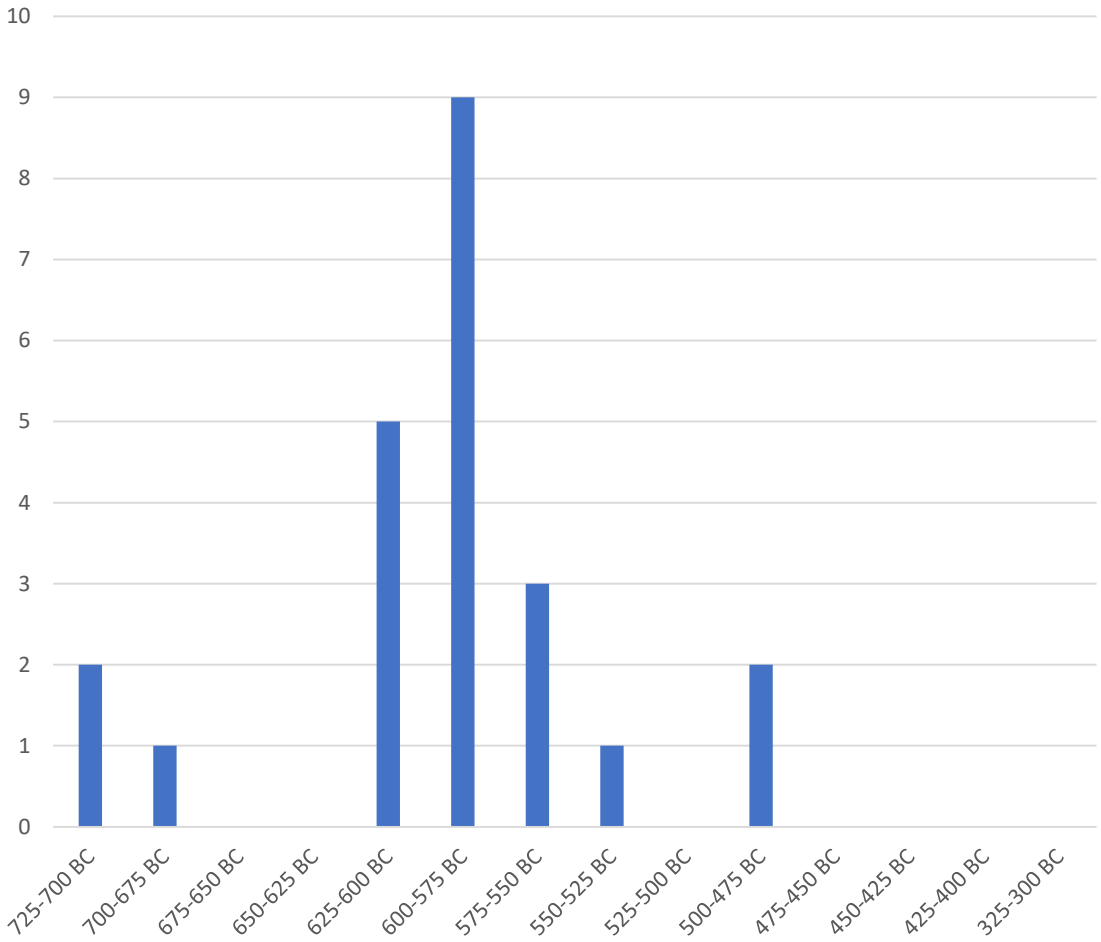


Fig.37 Total graves from Kechraki cemetery [23].

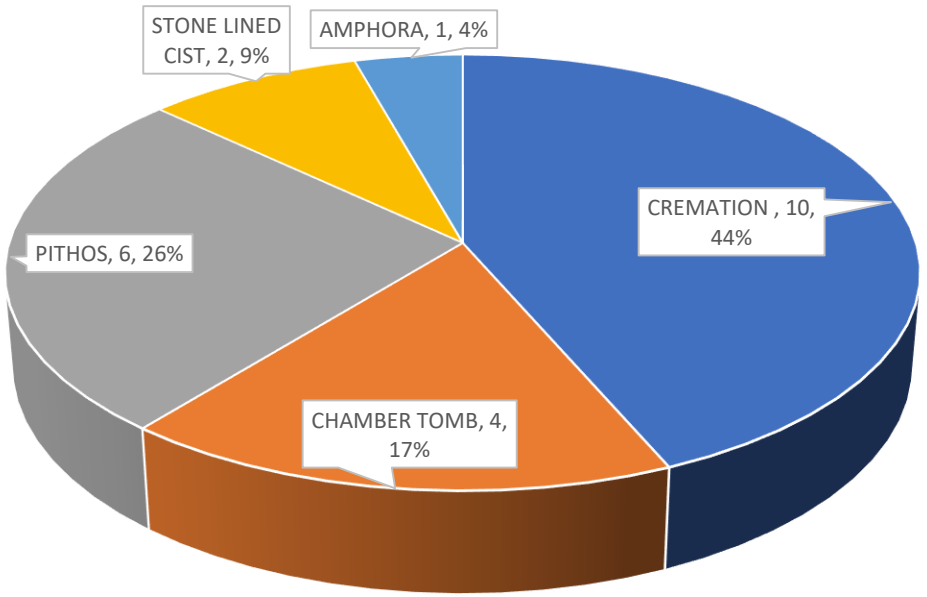


Fig.38 Total grave types from Kechraki cemetery [23].

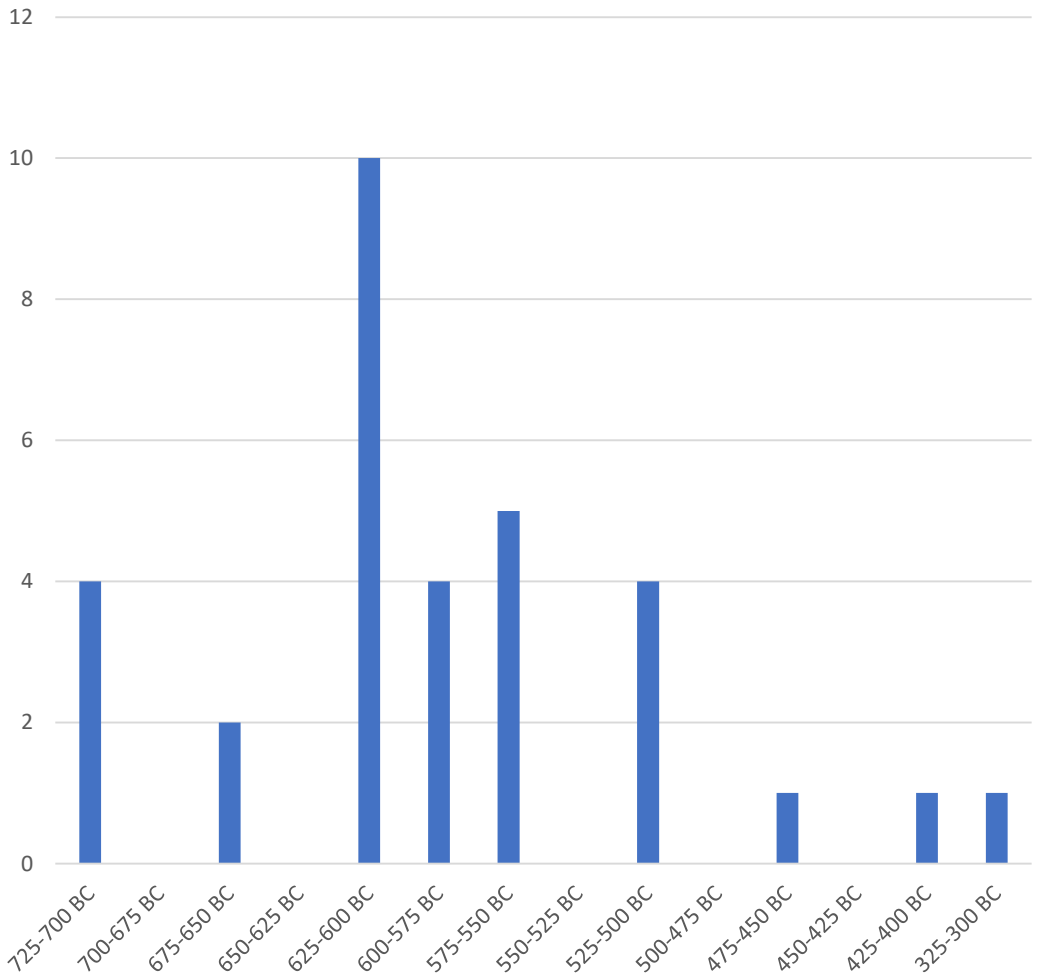


Fig.39 Total graves from Papatislures cemetery [32].

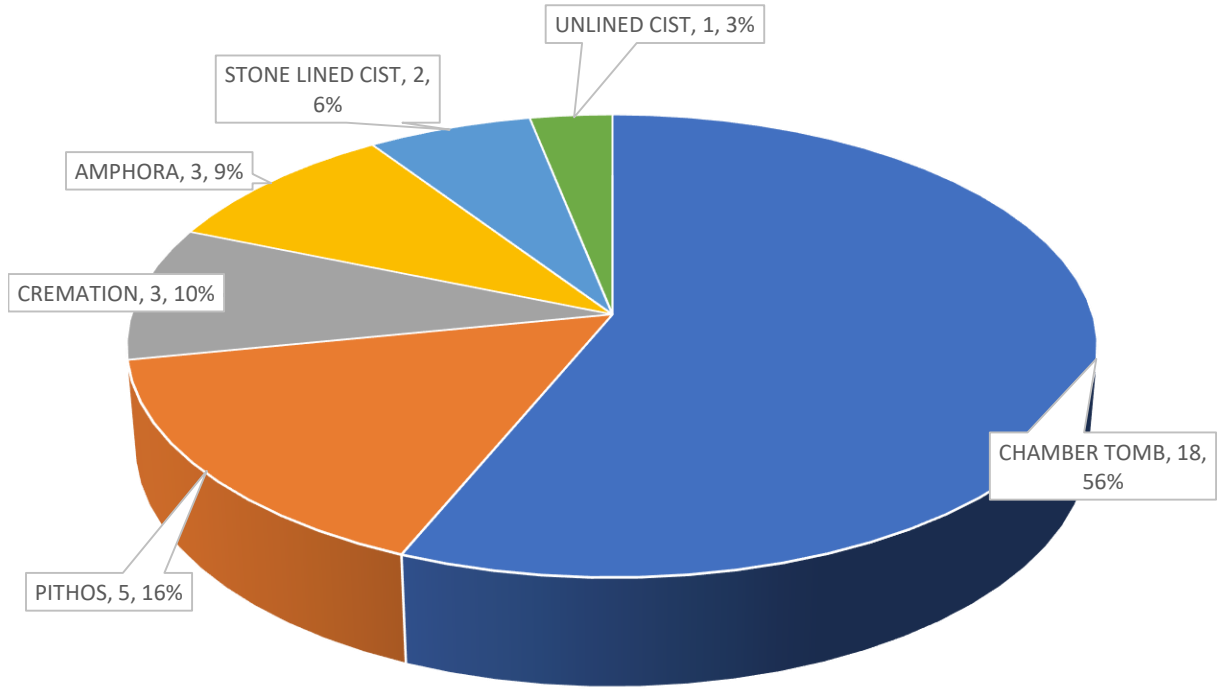


Fig.40 Total grave types from Papatislures cemetery [32].

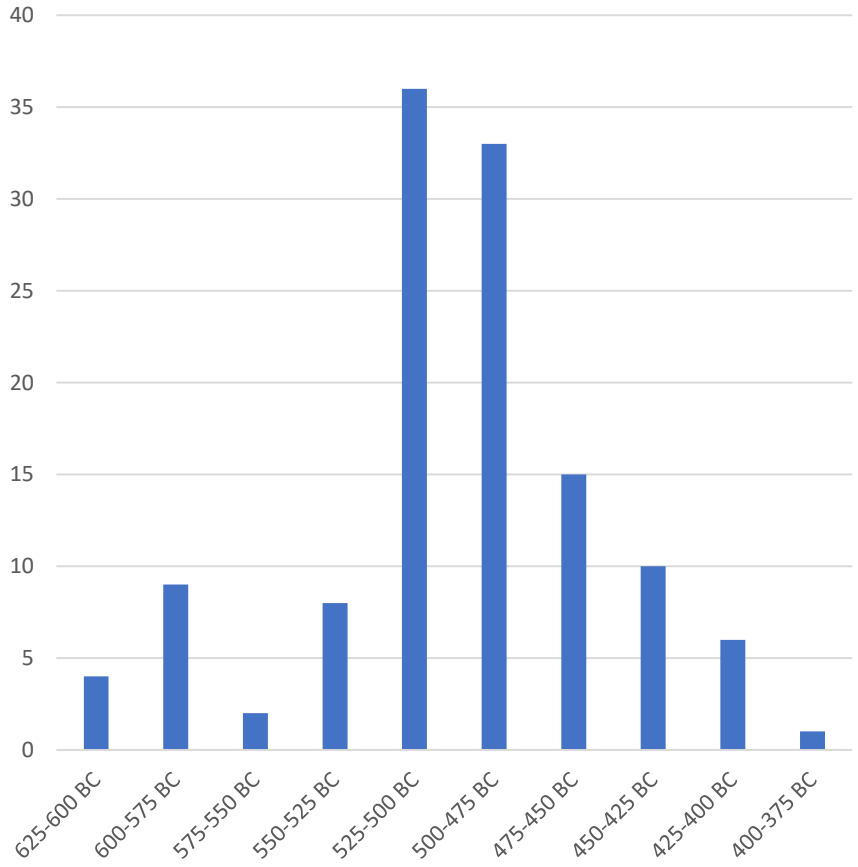


Fig.41 Total graves from Macri Langoni cemetery [124].

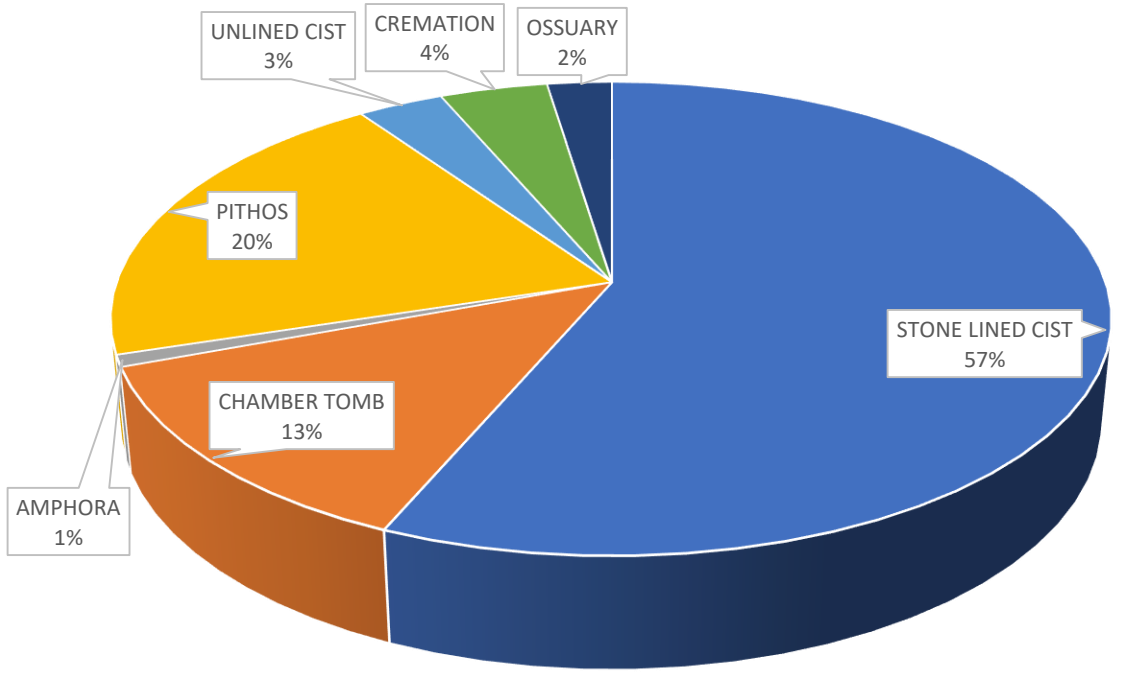


Fig.42 Total grave types from Macri Langoni cemetery [124].

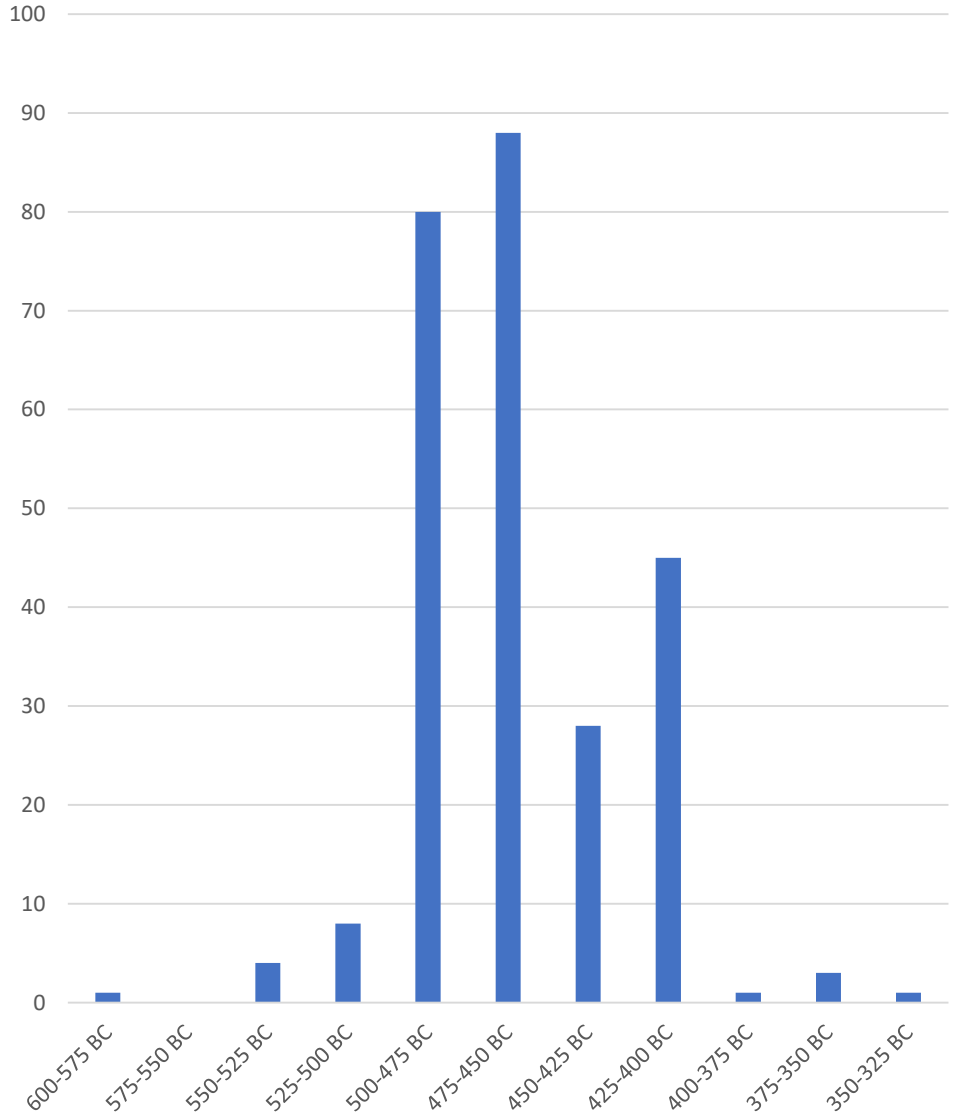


Fig.43 Total graves from Fikellura cemetery [259].

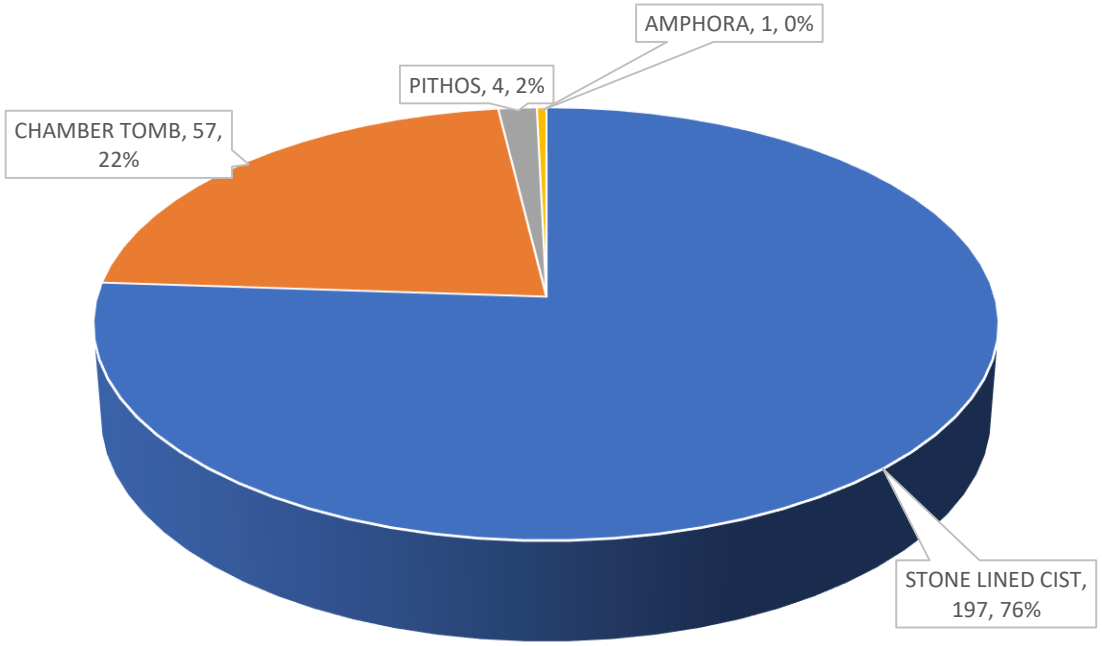


Fig.44 Total grave types from Fikellura cemetery [259].

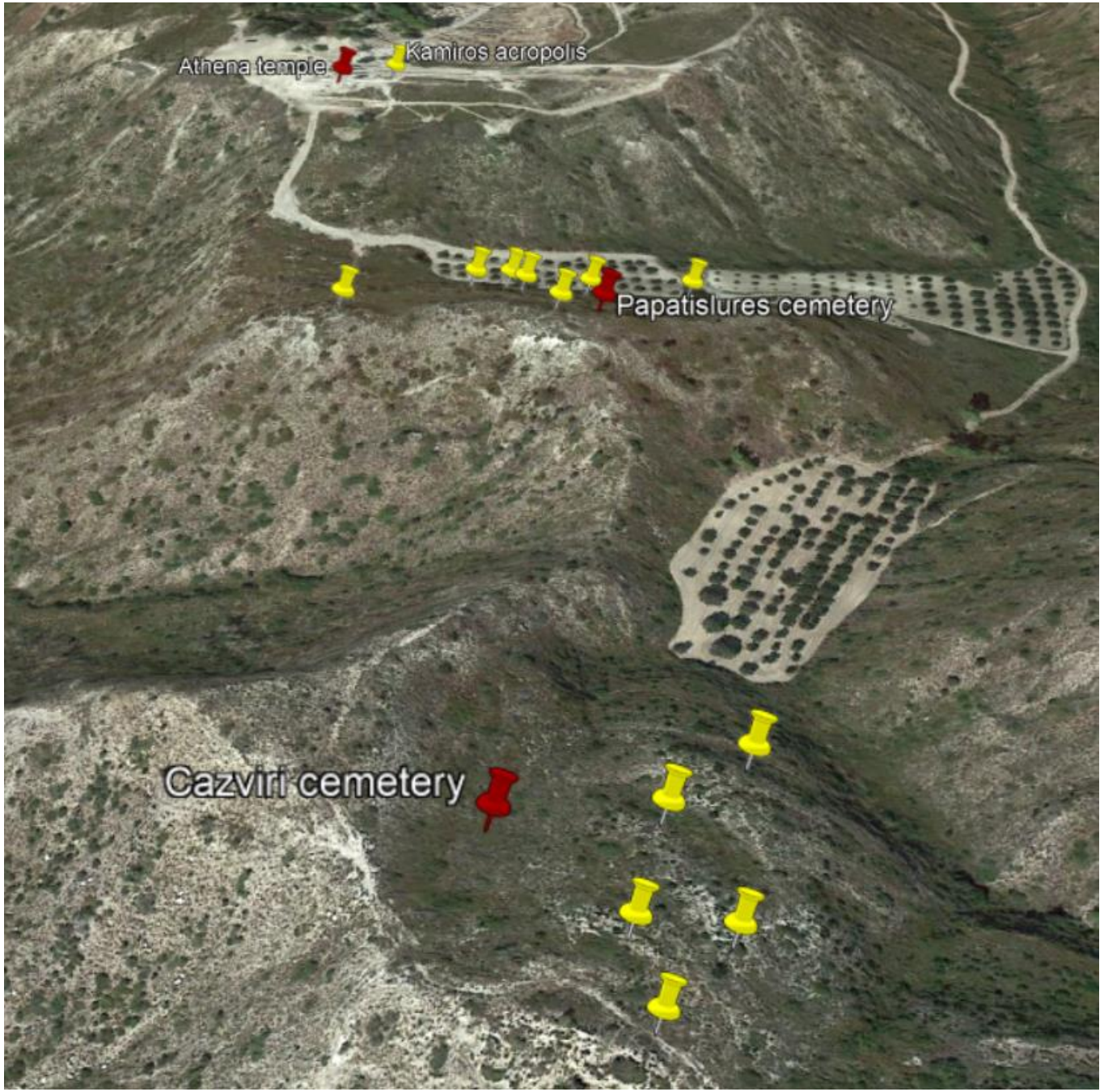


Fig.45 Map of Papatislures and Cazviri cemeteries [yellow pins designate the remains of graves].

Fig.46 Map of Kechraki and Macri Langoni cemeteries [yellow pins designate the remains of graves].

Fig.47 Remains of chamber tombs on the lip of Fikellura hillside.

Fig.48 Remains of chamber tombs on the lip of Fikellura hillside.

Fig.49 Remains of chamber tombs on the lip of Cazviri hillside.

Fig.50 Map of Fikellura cemetery [yellow pins designate remains of graves].

Fig.51 Collapsed chamber tombs on Fikellura hillside [stone slabs in foreground].

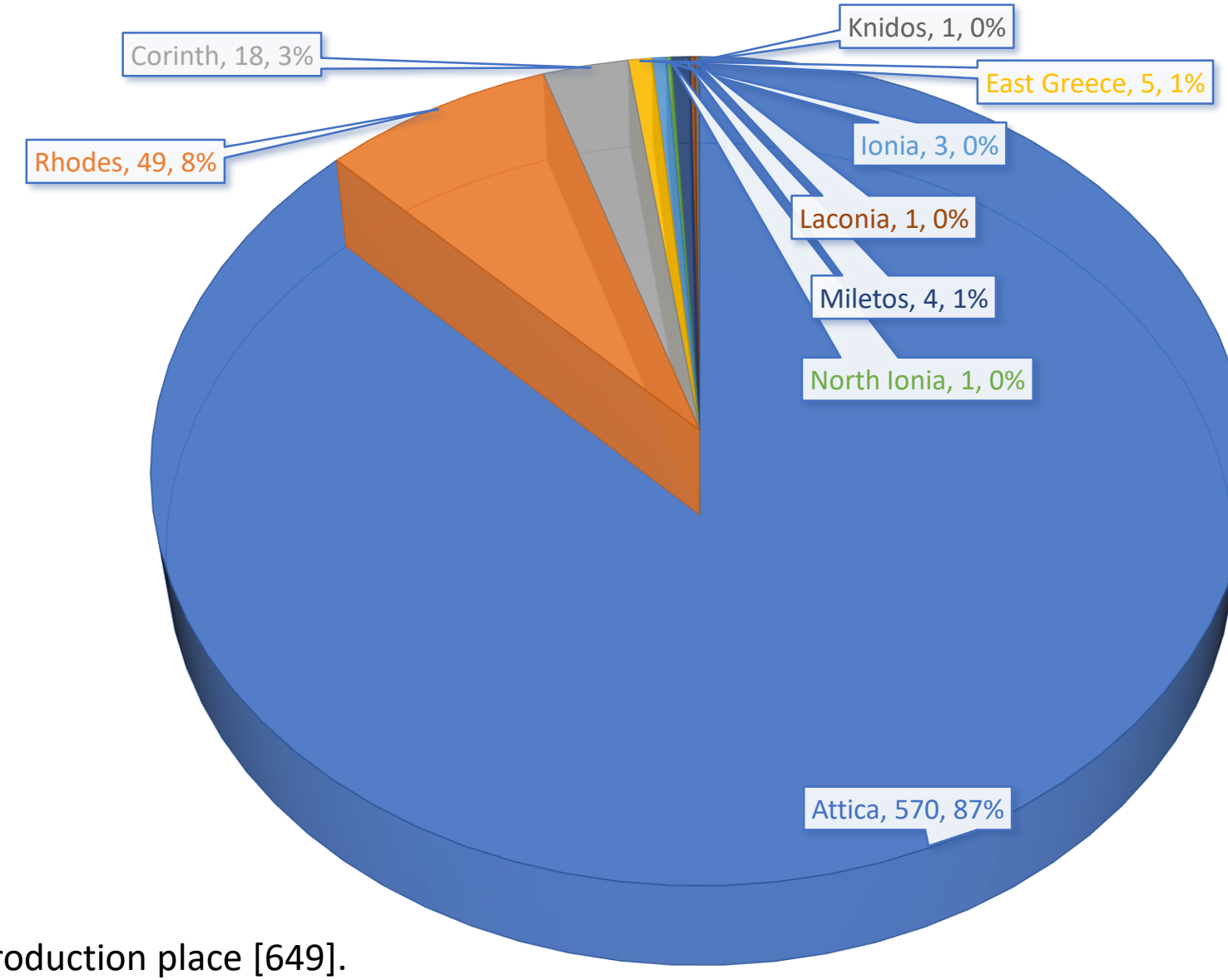


Fig.52 Pottery from Fikellura cemetery by production place [649].

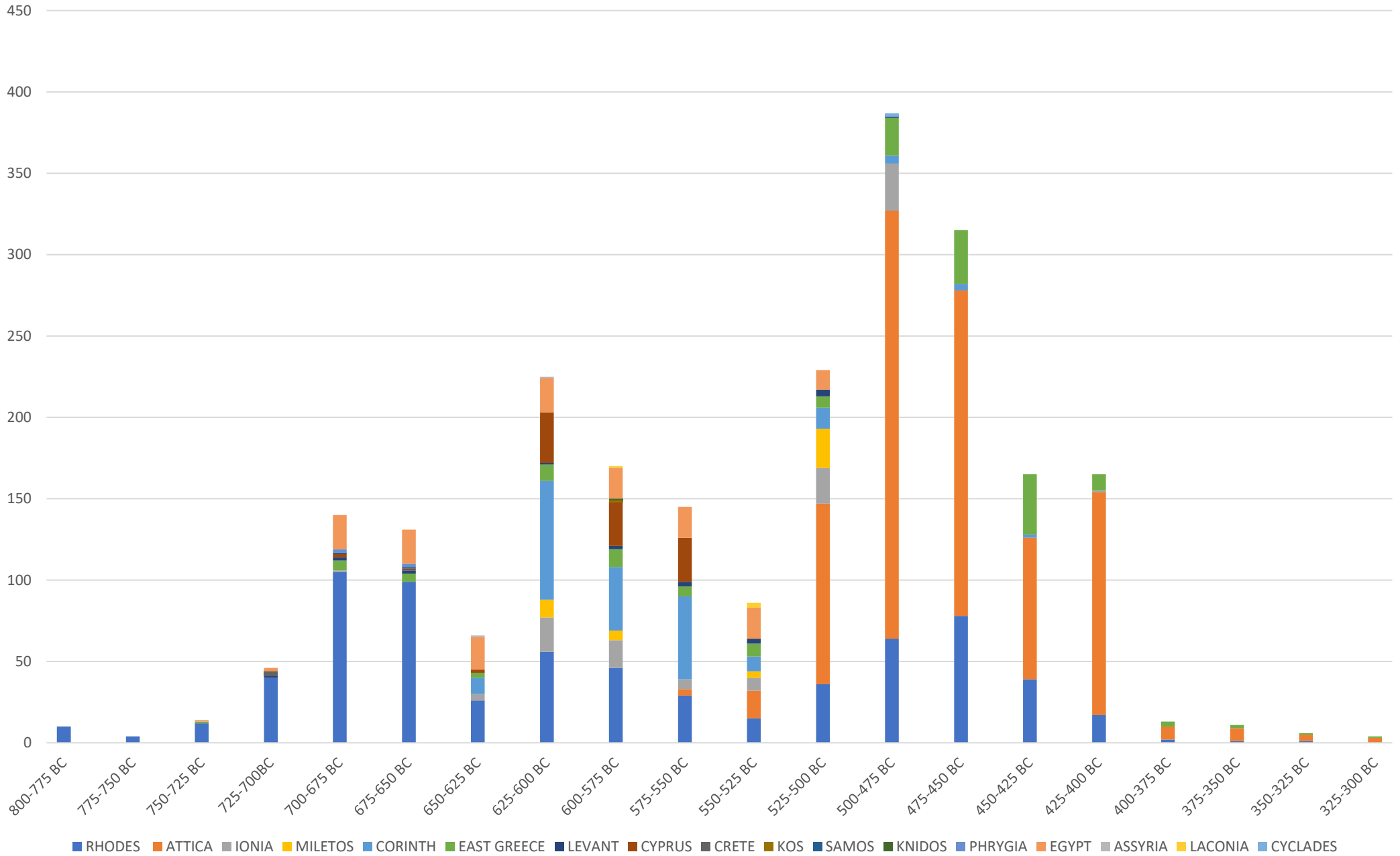


Fig.53 Total sample from Kamiros according to date and production place (graph) [2,332].

ORIGIN	DATE (BC)																		
	800-775	775-750	750-725	725-700	700-675	675-650	650-625	625-600	600-575	575-550	550-525	525-500	500-475	475-450	450-425	425-400	400-375	375-350	350-325	325-300
Rhodes	10	4	12	40	105	99	26	56	46	29	15	36	64	78	39	17	2	1	1	
Attica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	17	111	263	200	87	137	8	8	4	3
Ionia	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	21	-	17	6	8	22	29	-	1	-	-	-	-
Miletos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	6	-	4	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Corinth	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	73	39	51	9	13	5	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
East Greece	-	-	1	-	6	5	3	10	11	6	8	7	23	33	37	10	3	2	1	1
Levant	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	1	2	3	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	2	1	**2**	31	27	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crete	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samos	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knidos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phrygia	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	1	2	21	21	20	21	19	19	19	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assyria	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laconia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cyclades	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig.54 Total sample from Kamiros according to date and production place (table) [2,332].

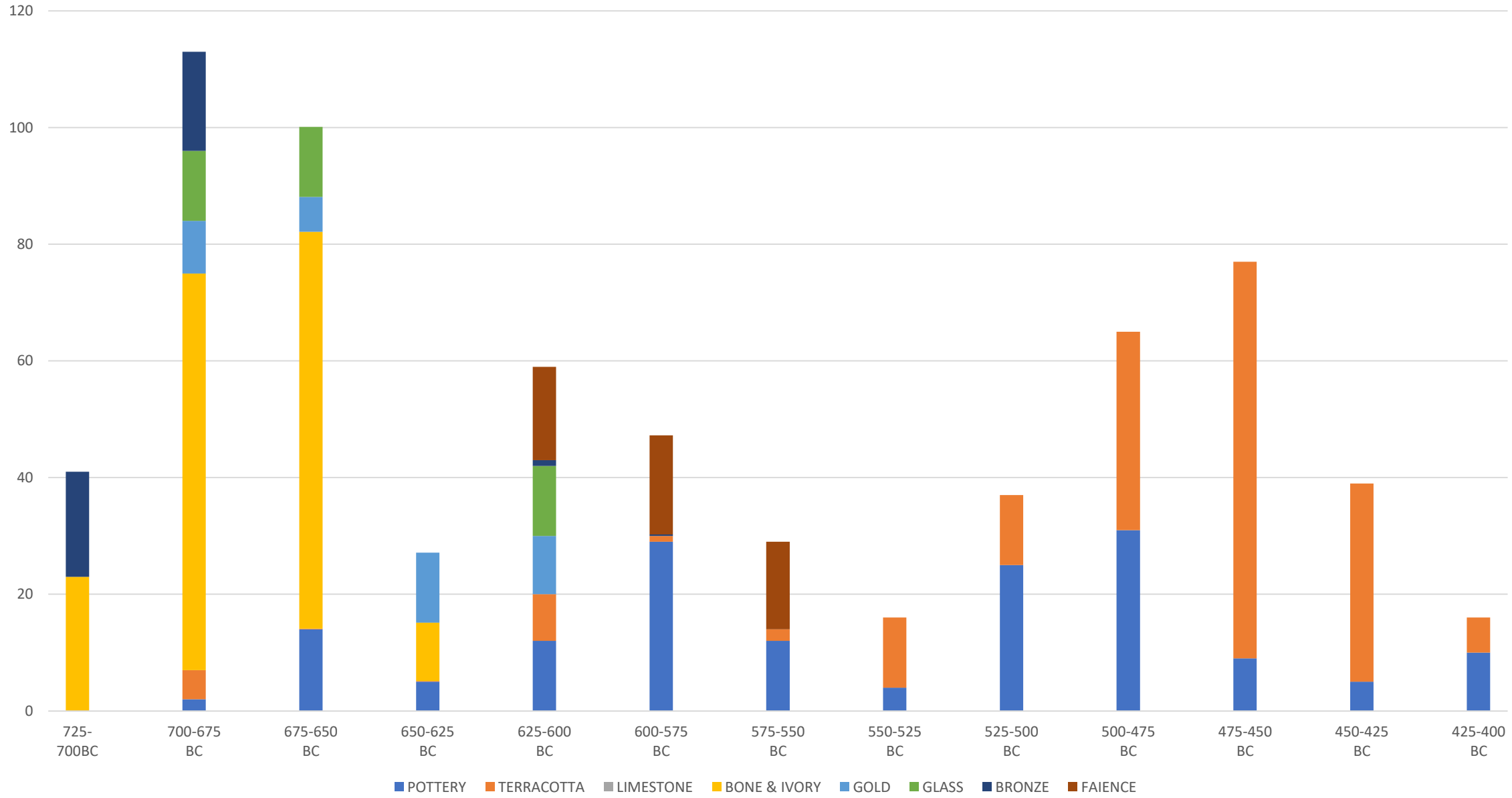


Fig.55 Total objects produced on Rhodes from Kamiros sample [680].

Fig.56 Child's tomb, Kamiros acropolis.

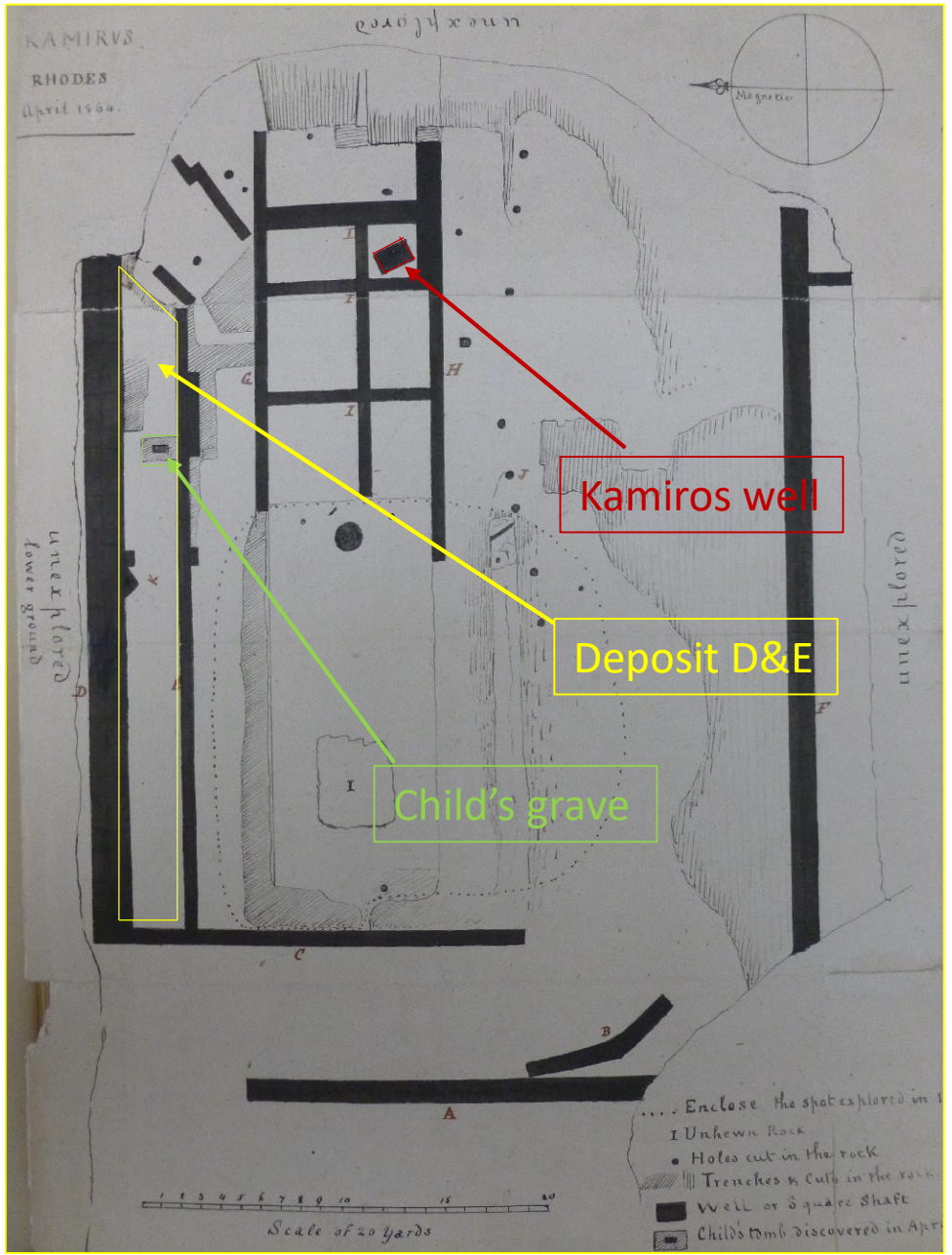


Fig.57 Plan of summit from Biliotti's diary with Child's grave, Kamiros well, and Deposit D&E marked.

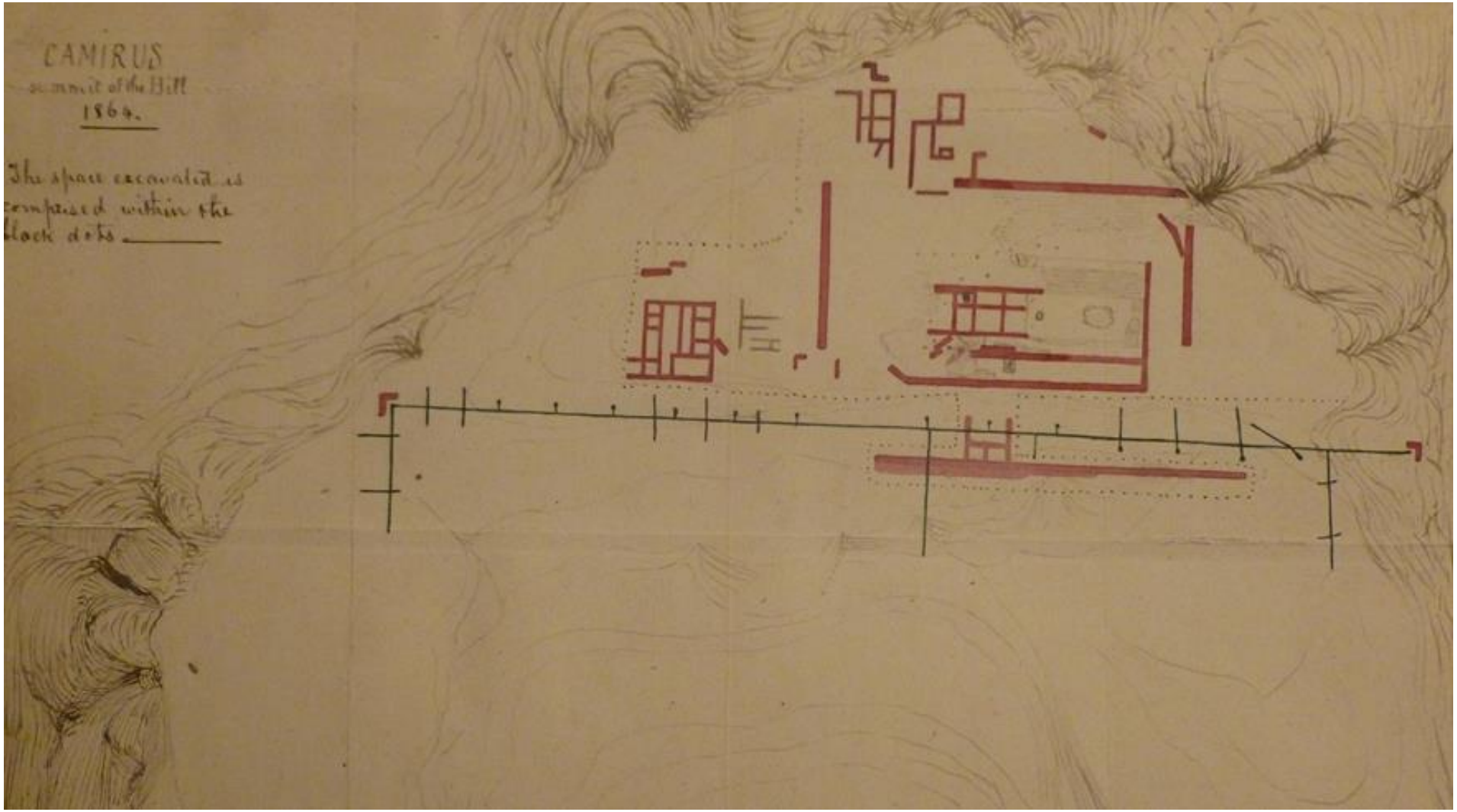


Fig.58 Alfred Biliotti's map of Kamiros acropolis, 1864.

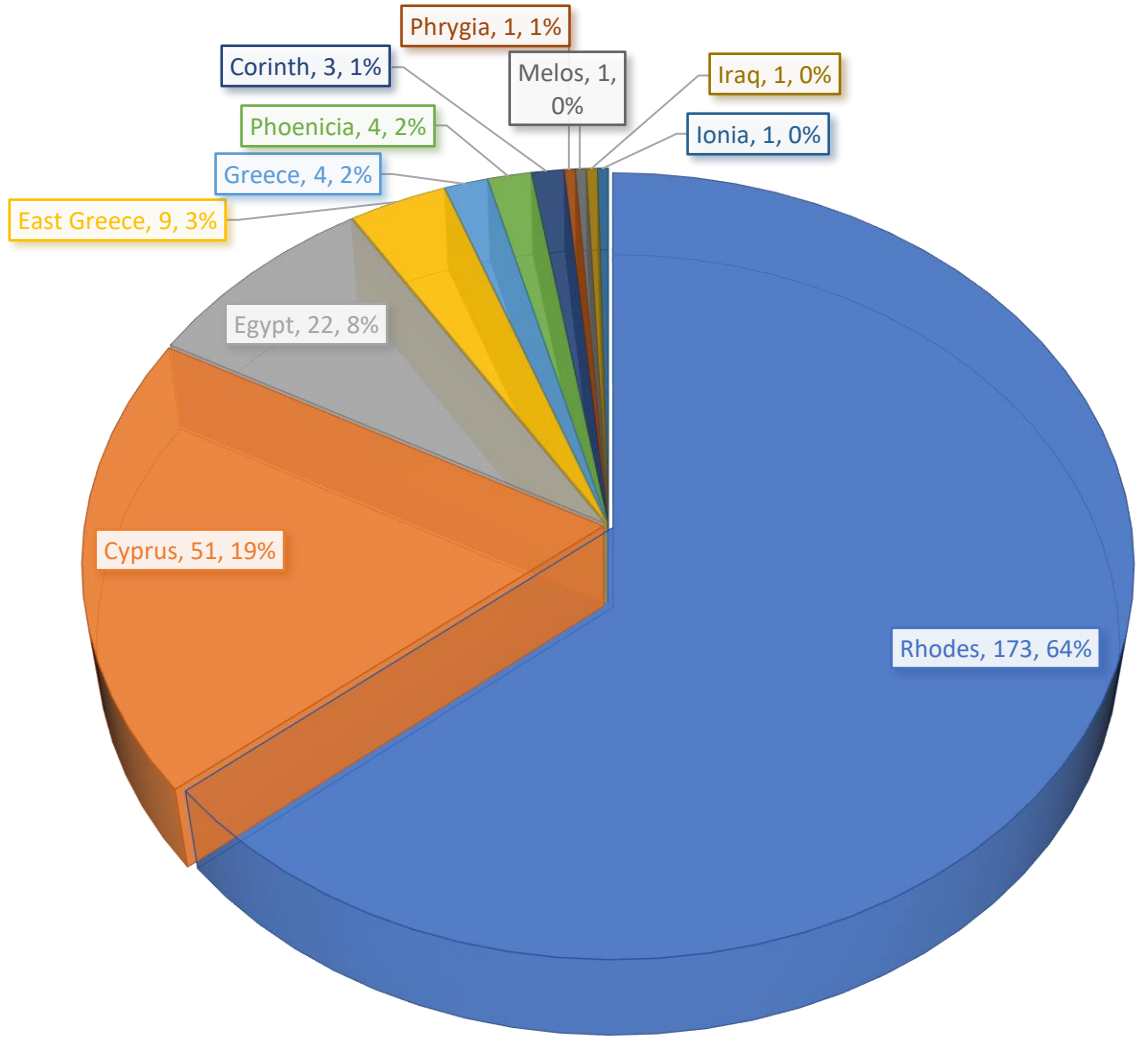


Fig.59 Production place of votives from Kamiros acropolis [270].

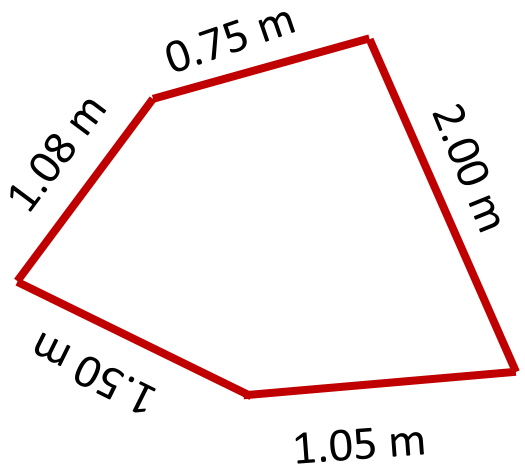


Fig.60. Plan and dimensions of Kamiros well

Fig.61 Kamiros well, Kamiros acropolis.

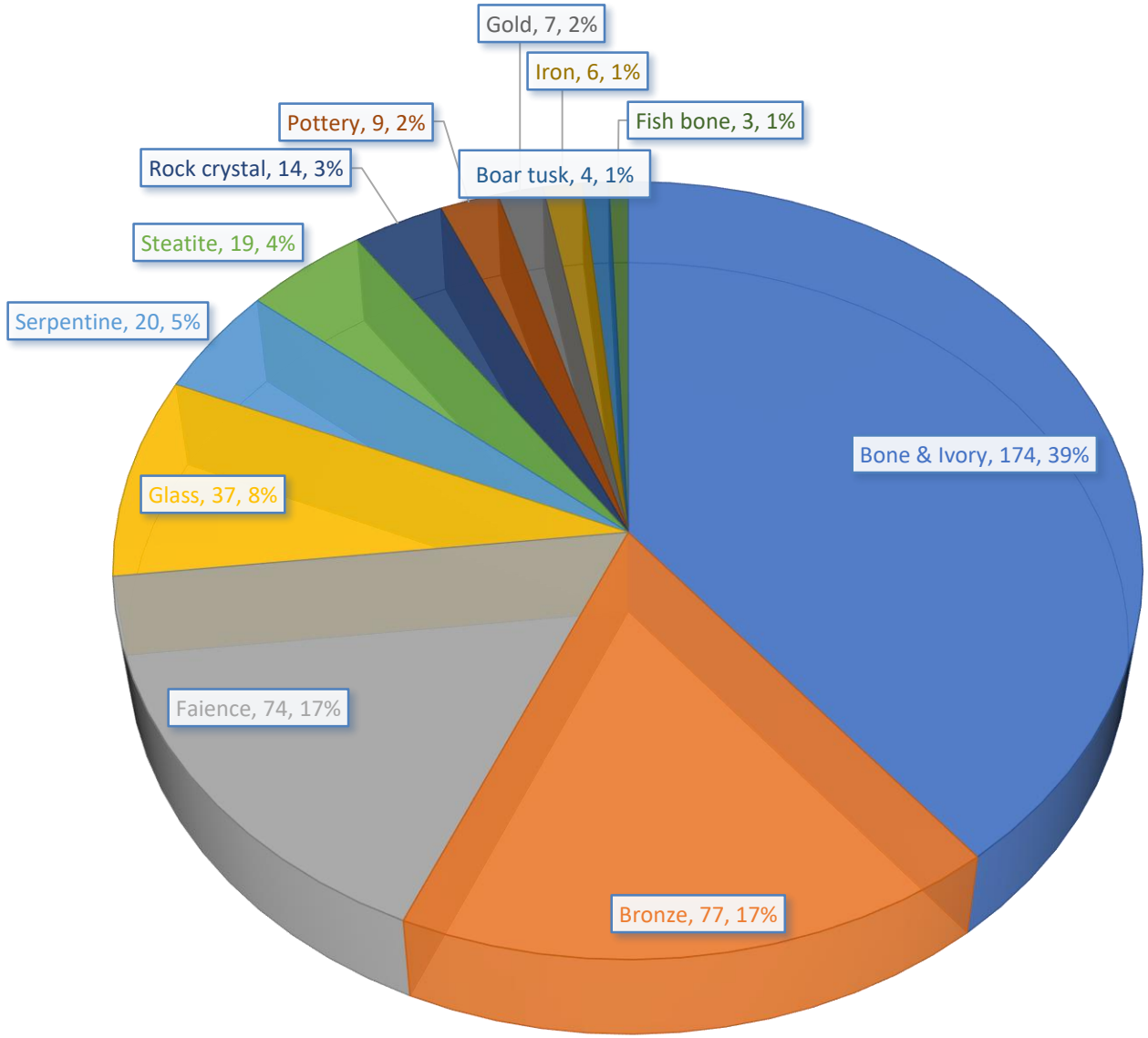


Fig.62 Contents of Kamiros well [444].

Fig.63 Segment plate; BM 1864,1007.20; D. 26.7 cm.

Fig.64 Aryballos; BM 1864,1007.1797; H. 6.9 cm.

Fig.65 Aryballos; BM 1864,1007.1796; H. 8.75 cm.

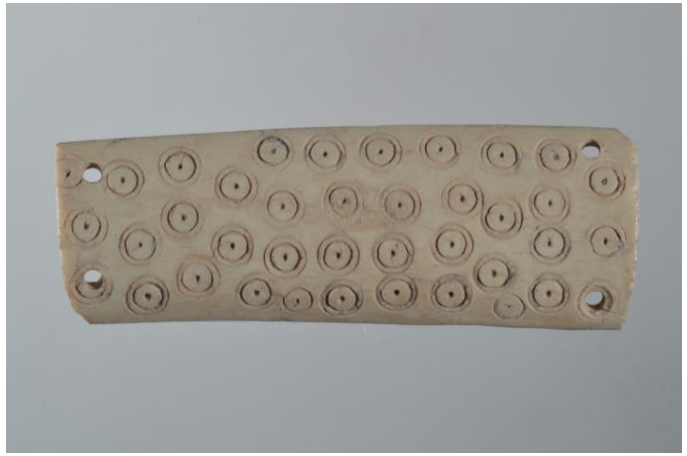


Fig.66 Bone furniture plaque; BM 1864,1007.662; L. 9.1 cm.

Fig.67 Stone spindle-whorl; BM 1864,1007.1029; H. 0.7 cm.

Fig.68 Faience falcon; BM 1864,1007.819; H. 1.9 cm.

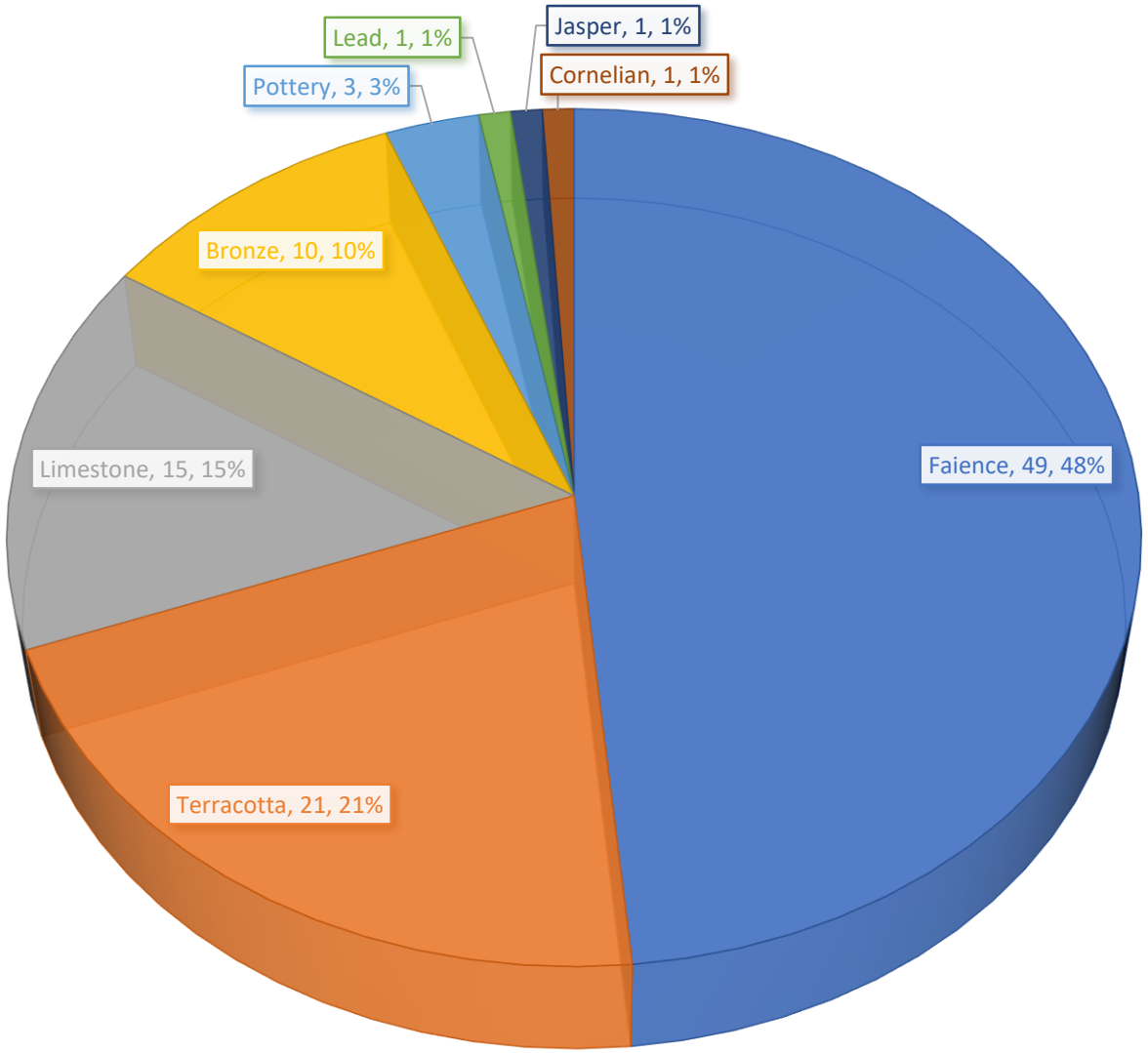


Fig.69 Contents of Deposit D&E [100].

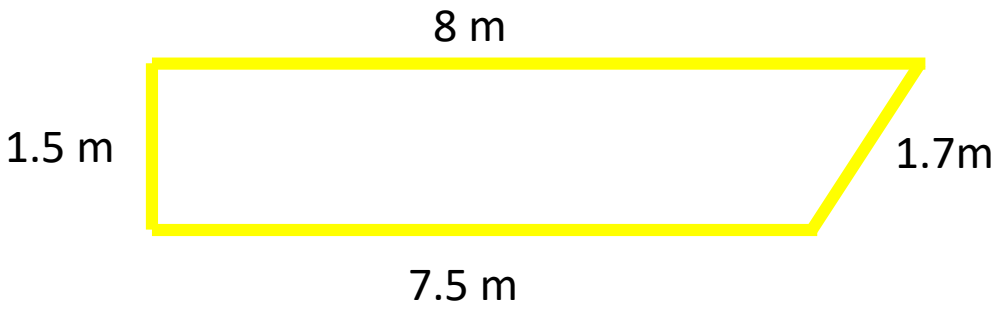


Fig.70 Plan and dimensions of Deposit D&E

Fig.71 Deposit D&E, Kamiros acropolis.

Figs.72-73 Paving holes on Kamiros acropolis.

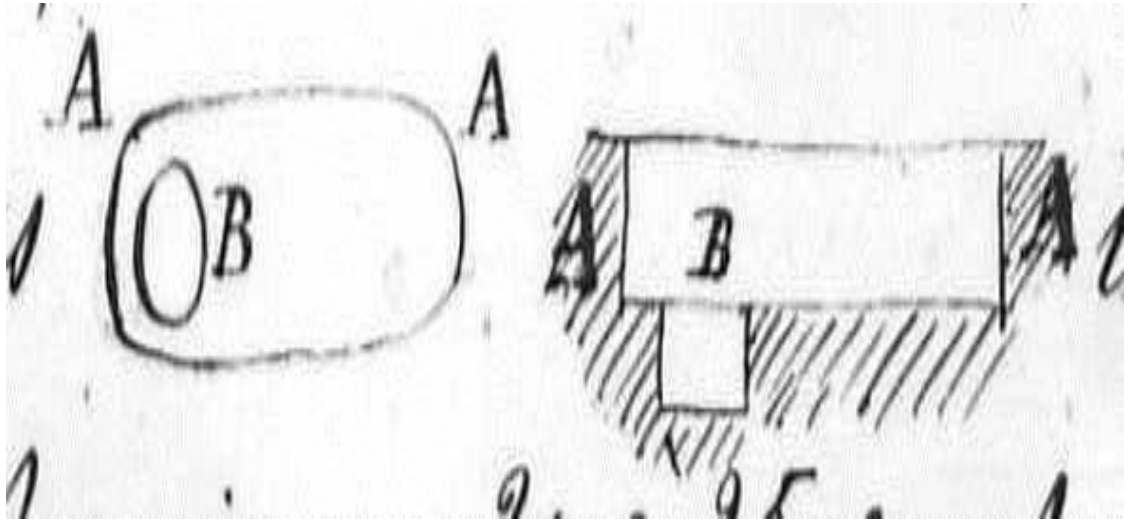


Fig.74 Sketch of paving hole on Kamiros acropolis by Auguste Salzmann, 1860.

Fig.75 Faience ram; BM 1861,0425.6; L. 1.9 cm.

Fig.76 Faience Scarab (head); BM 1861,0425.17; L. 1.1 cm.

Fig.77 Bone ‘naked goddess’ figure; BM 1864,1007.632; L. 6.35 cm.

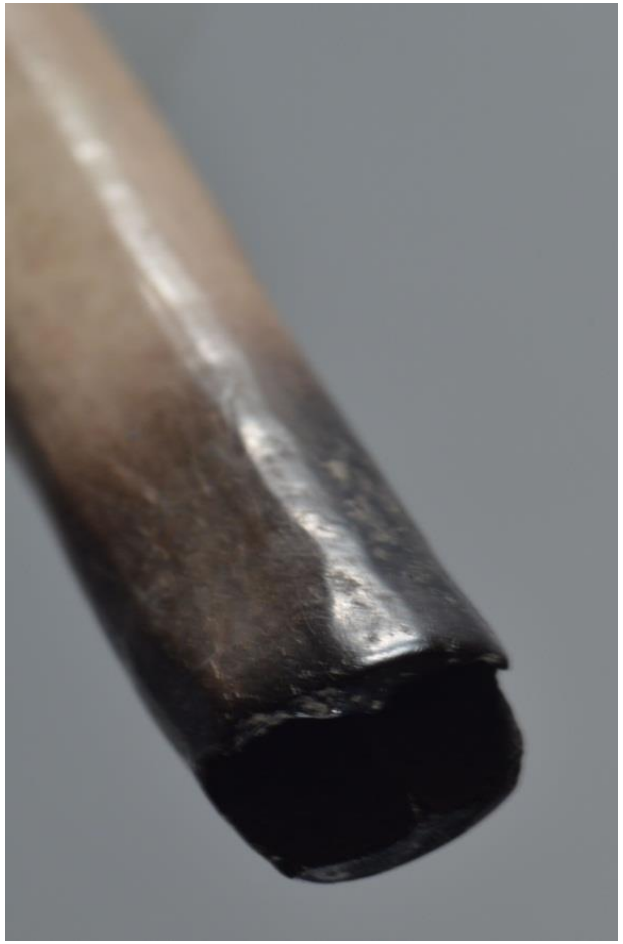


Fig.78 Long bone; BM 1864,1007.608; L. 6.34 cm.

Fig.79 Bone carvings; RHODES.

Fig.80 Bronze double goat protome; bronze; BM 1864,1007.471; H. 5.08 cm.

Fig.81 Bronze bird fibula; BM 1864,1007.412; H. 3.81 cm.

Fig.82 Bronze bird figure; BM 1864,1007.404; H. 2.54.

Fig.83 Bronze deer figure; BM 1864,1007.399; H. 8 cm.

Fig.84 Faience unguent vessel; BM 1864,1007.942; H. 5.08 cm.

Fig.85 Faience pyxis; BM 1864,1007.808; H. 5.08 cm.

Fig.86 Bone ‘naked goddess’ figure; BM 1864,1007.631; H. 5.08 cm.

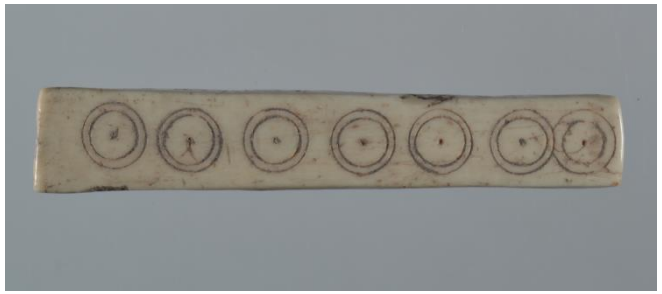


Fig.87 Long bone; BM 1864,1007.541; L. 5.55 cm.

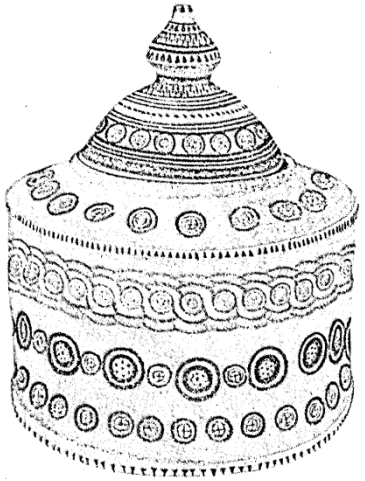


Fig.88 Pyxis; RHODES 14749; H. 18 cm.

Fig.89 Terracotta female figure; BM 1864,1007.1247; H. 21.2 cm.

Fig.90 Gold plaque; BM 1980,0201.1; H. 4 cm.

Fig.91 Faience wedjat eye; BM 1864,1007.822; L. 4.4 cm.

Fig.92 Faience Nefertum figure; BM 1864,1007.765; H. 8.35 cm.

Fig.93 Straight-sided pithos (fragment); BM 1864,1007.1237.1; H. 8.89 cm.

Fig.94 Stemmed dish; BM 1864,1007.153; H. 20.3 cm.

Fig.95 Bowl (exterior); BM 1864,1007.154; D. 15 cm.

Fig.96 Bowl (interior); BM 1864,1007.154; D. 15 cm.

Fig.97 Lid (above); BM 1864,1007.155; H. 10 cm.

Fig.98 Lid (side); BM 1864,1007.155; H. 10 cm.

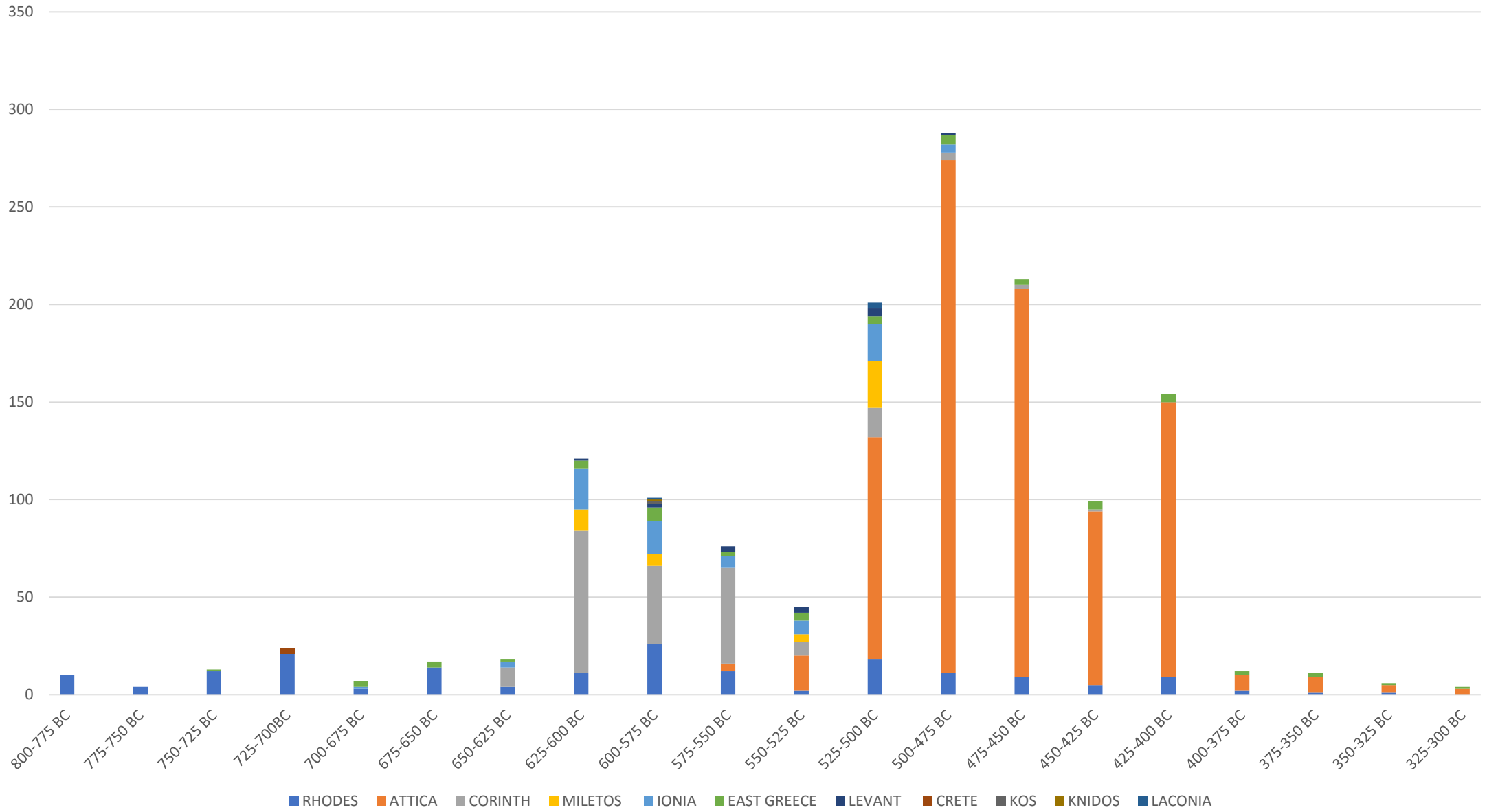


Fig.99 Total sample of pottery from Kamiros according to date and production place [1,421].

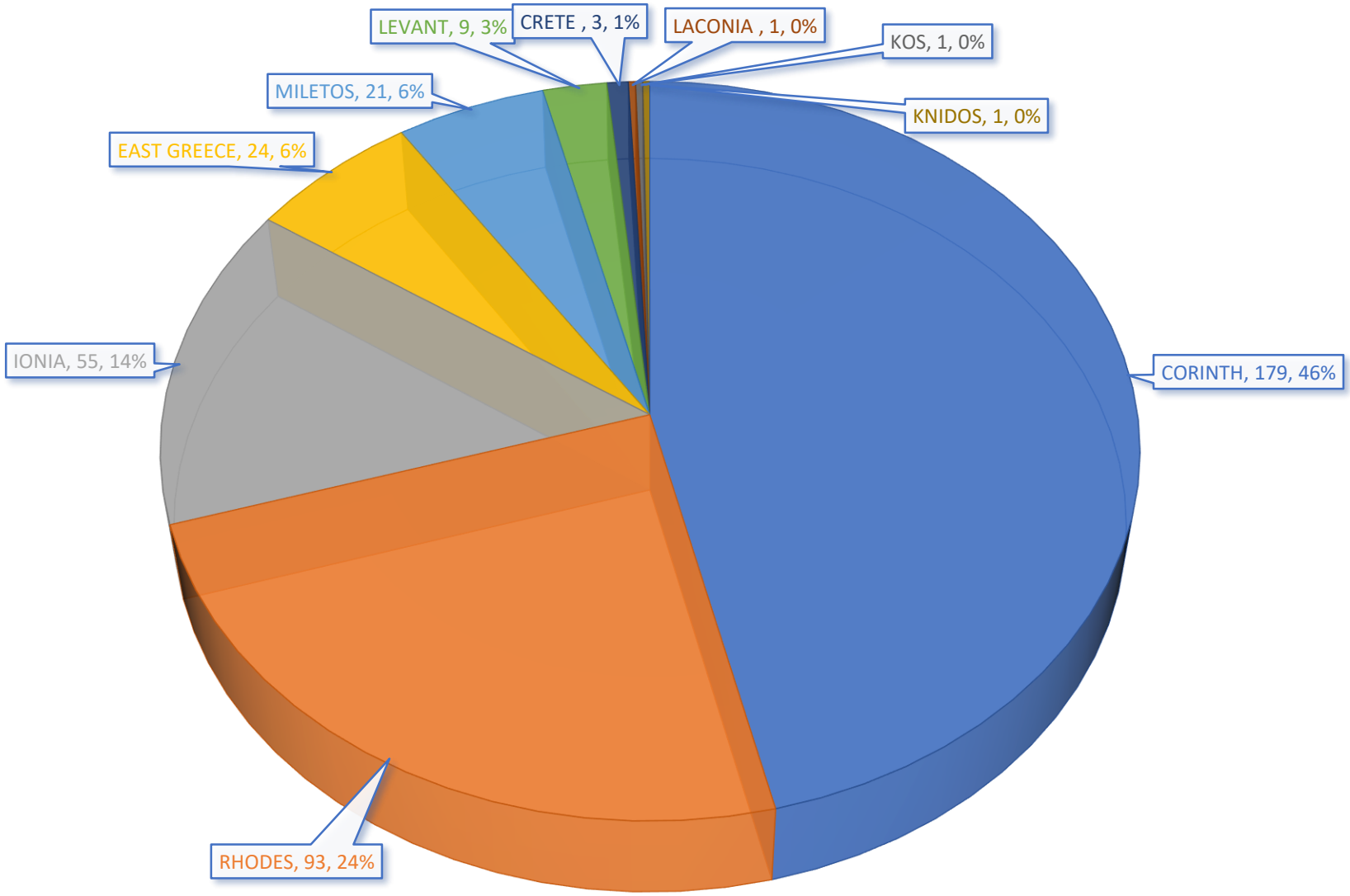


Fig.100 Production place of pottery found at Kamiros dating between 725 BC and 525 BC [1,421].

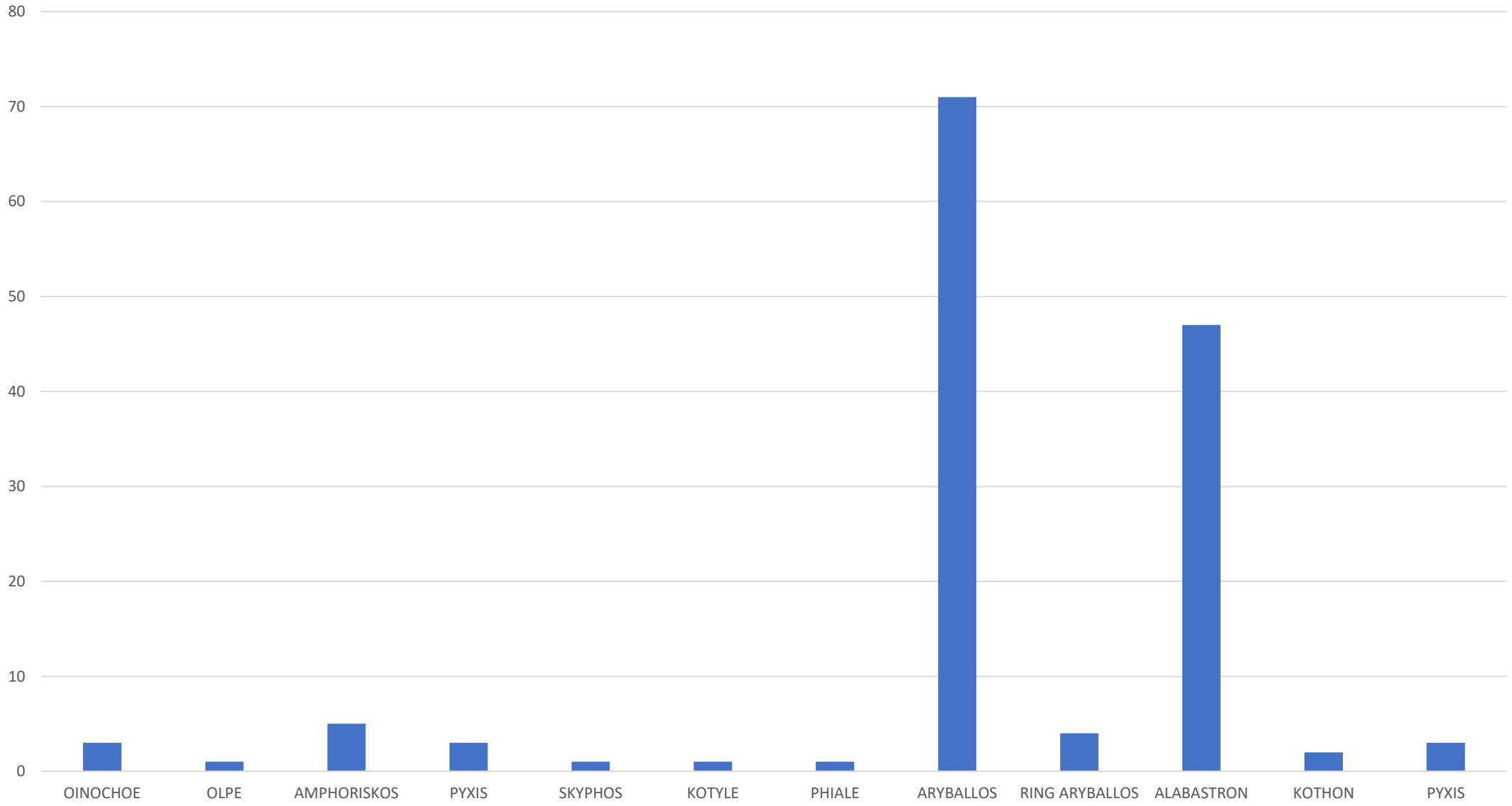


Fig.101 Corinthian pottery shapes found at Kamiros dating between 725 BC and 525 BC [179].

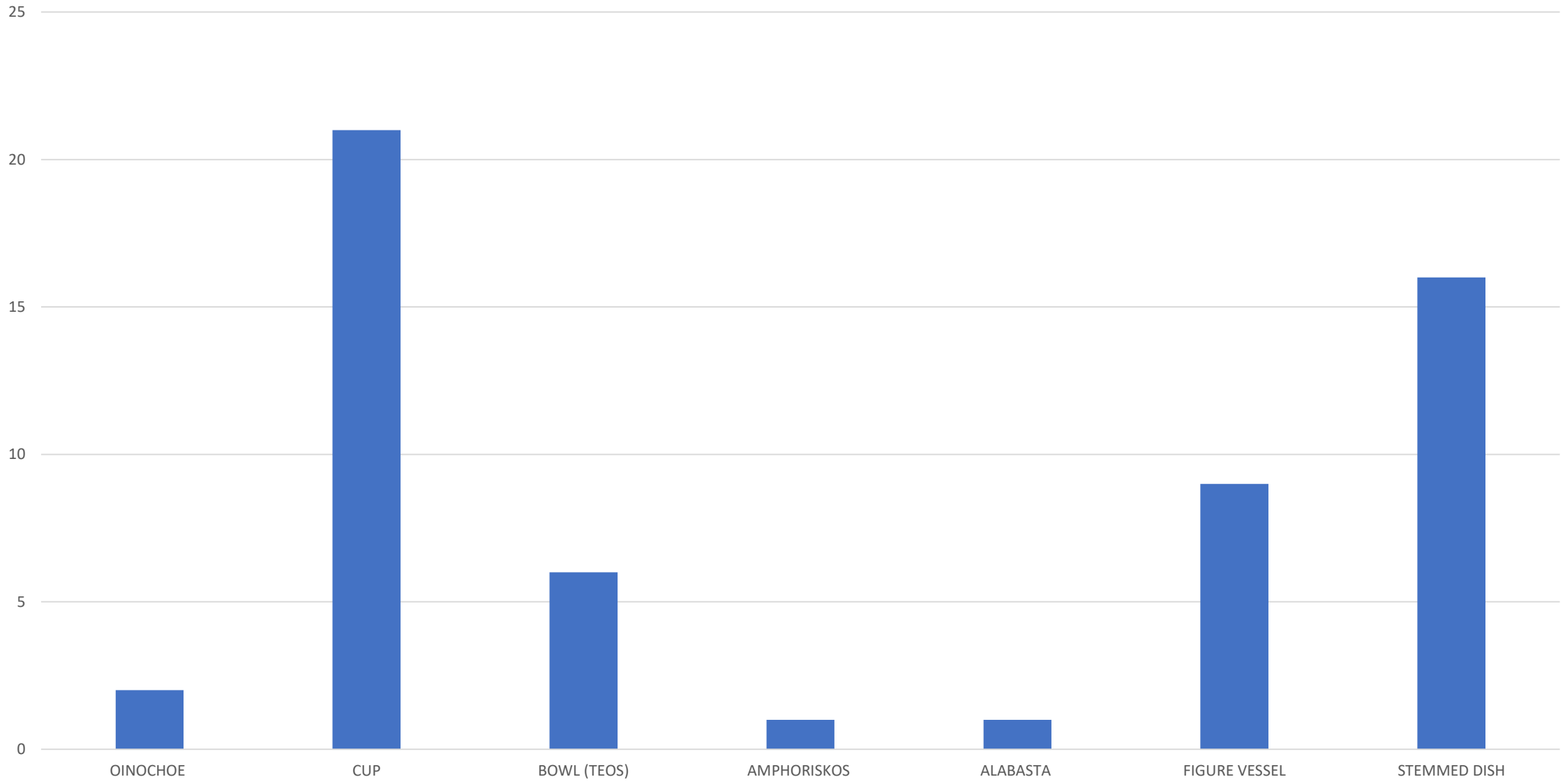


Fig.102 Ionian pottery shapes found at Kamiros dating between 725 BC and 525 BC [55].

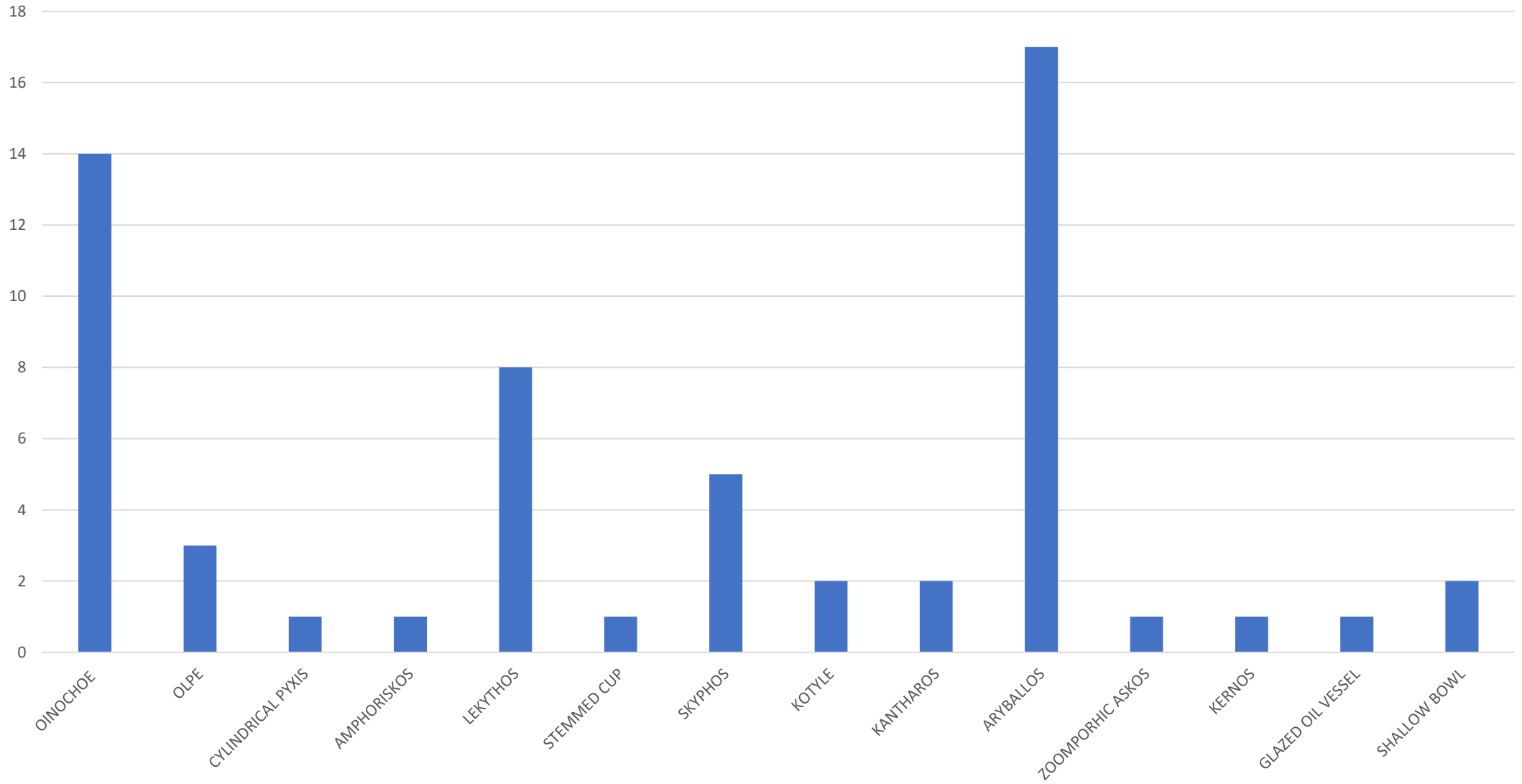


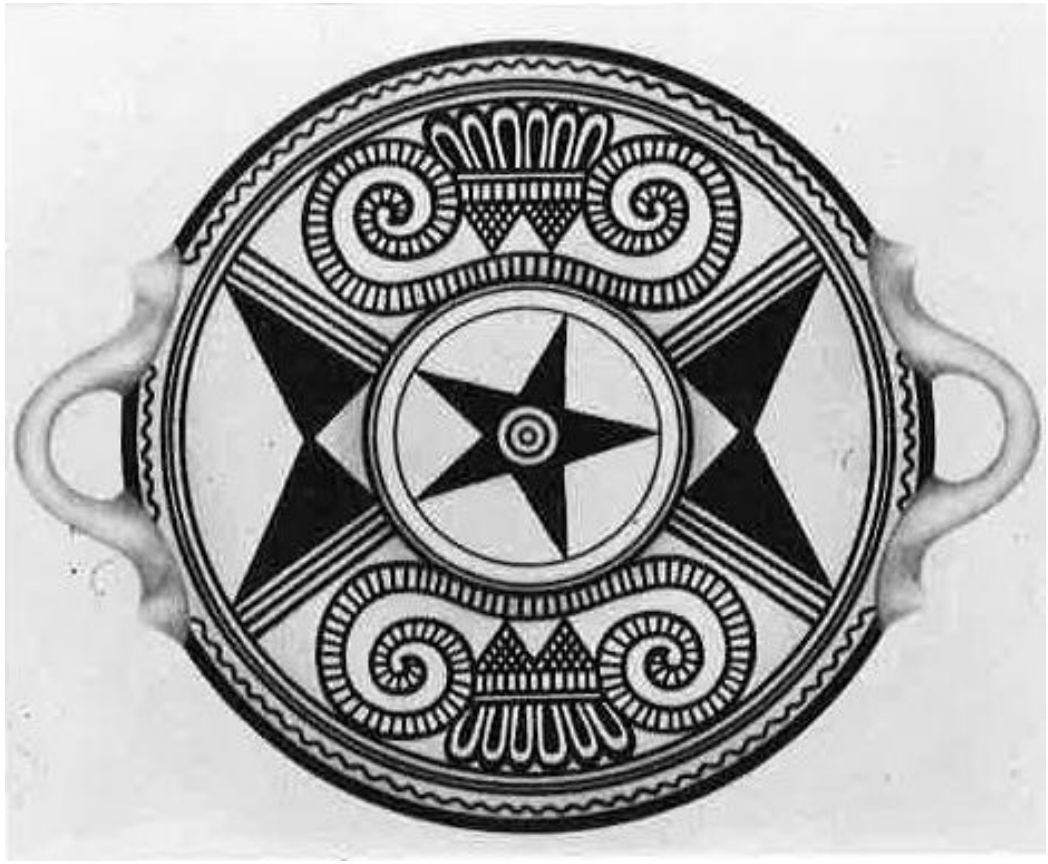
Fig. 103 Rhodian pottery shapes found at Kamiros dating between 725 BC and 525 BC [93].

Fig.104 Rhodian imitation of Cypriot oinochoe; RHODES 11791; H. 19 cm.

Fig.105 Rhodian imitation of Phoenician mushroom-lipped lekythos; RHODES 10649; H. 10.5 cm.

Fig.106 Rhodian imitations of Protocorinthian and Transitional aryballoi; H. 5-7 cm.

Fig.107 Rhodian imitations of Protocorinthian and Transitional alabastra; H. 4-7 cm.



Figs.108-109 Rhodian imitation of Melian plate from Monolithos grave; D. 19.5 cm.

Fig.110 Spaghetti aryballos; H. 9 cm.

Fig.111 Spaghetti aryballos; RHODES 14075; H. 12.0 cm.

Fig.112 Spaghetti aryballos; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 306, nos. 14-21]; H. 9.0 cm.

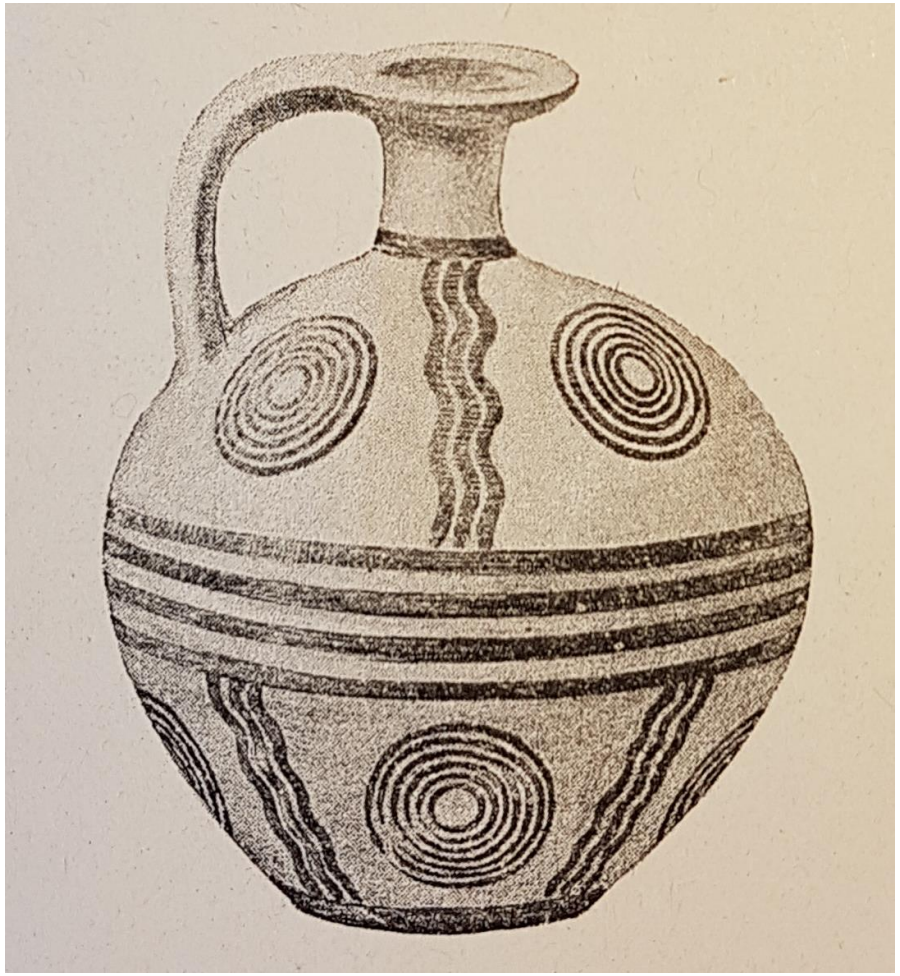


Fig.113 Spaghetti aryballos; H. 9.5 cm.

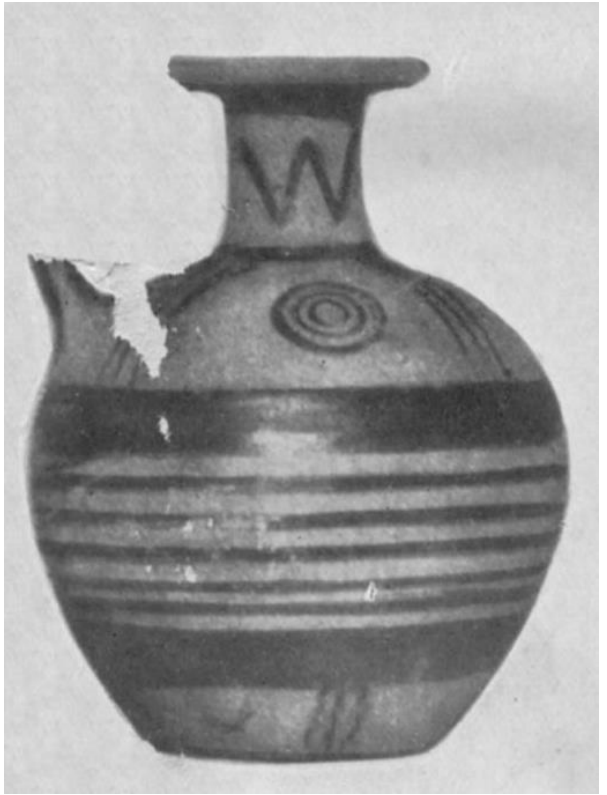


Fig.114 Spaghetti aryballos.

Fig.115 Aryballos; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 7-11, fig. 201] H. 7-12 cm.

Fig.116 Aryballos; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 7-11, fig. 201]; H. 7-12 cm.

Fig.117 Aryballos; RHODES 5072; H. 6 cm.

Fig.118 Lekythos; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 309, no. 13]; H. 12 cm.

Fig.119 Stamnos; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 304, no. 1, figs. 200 and 223; H. 30 cm.

Fig.120 Stamnos (detail); RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 304, no. 1, figs. 200 and 223]; H. 30 cm.

Fig.121 Horn-flask; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 306, nos. 22-31, fig. 204]; H. 12-13 cm.

Fig.122 Oinochoe; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 307, nos. 32-37, fig. 204]; H. 9 cm.

Fig.123 Plate; RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 41-58, fig. 205]; D. 14-20 cm.

Fig.124 Plate (underside); RHODES [Maiuri 1923-1924: 308, nos. 41-58, fig. 205]; D. 14-20 cm.

Fig.125 Protovroulian cup; RHODES 114477; H. 12 cm.

Fig.126 Protovroulian skyphos; H. 5 cm.

Fig.127 Protovroulian stamnos; H. 16.5 cm.

Fig.128 Protovroulian amphora; H. 18.5 cm.

Fig.129 Protovroulian oinochoe; H. 31 cm.

Fig.130 Protovroulian omphalos bowl from Monolithos grave; D. 6.5 cm.

Fig.131 Protovroulian omphalos bowl from Monolithos grave [underside]; D. 6.5 cm.

Fig.132 Protovroulian oinochoe from Monolithos grave; H. 12 cm.

Fig.133 Vroulian cup; RHODES 13694; H. 11 cm.

Fig.134 Vroulian amphora; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe; H. 34 cm.

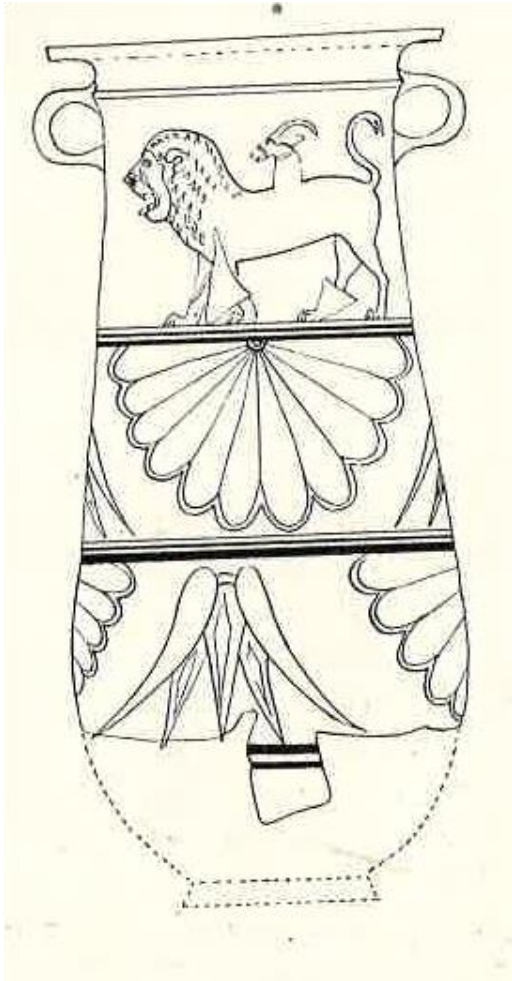


Fig.135 Vroulian situla.

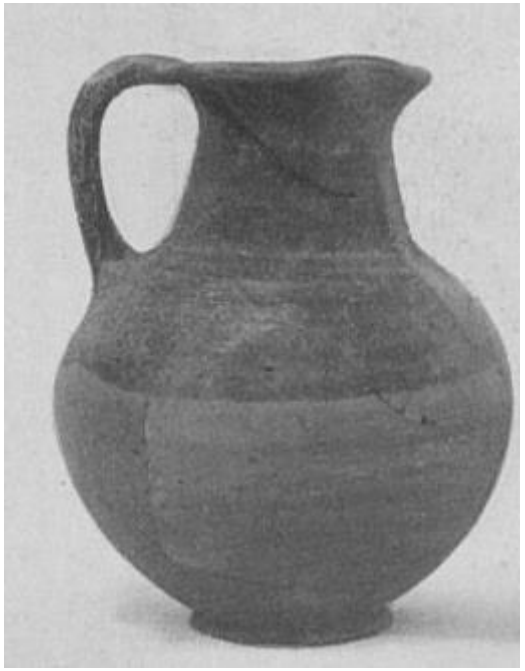


Fig.136 Semi-slipped oinochoe; RHODES 13756; H. 16 cm.

Fig.137 Semi-slipped olpe; BM 1864,1007.1577; H. 16.5 cm.

Fig.138 Semi-slipped lekythos; H. 6 cm.

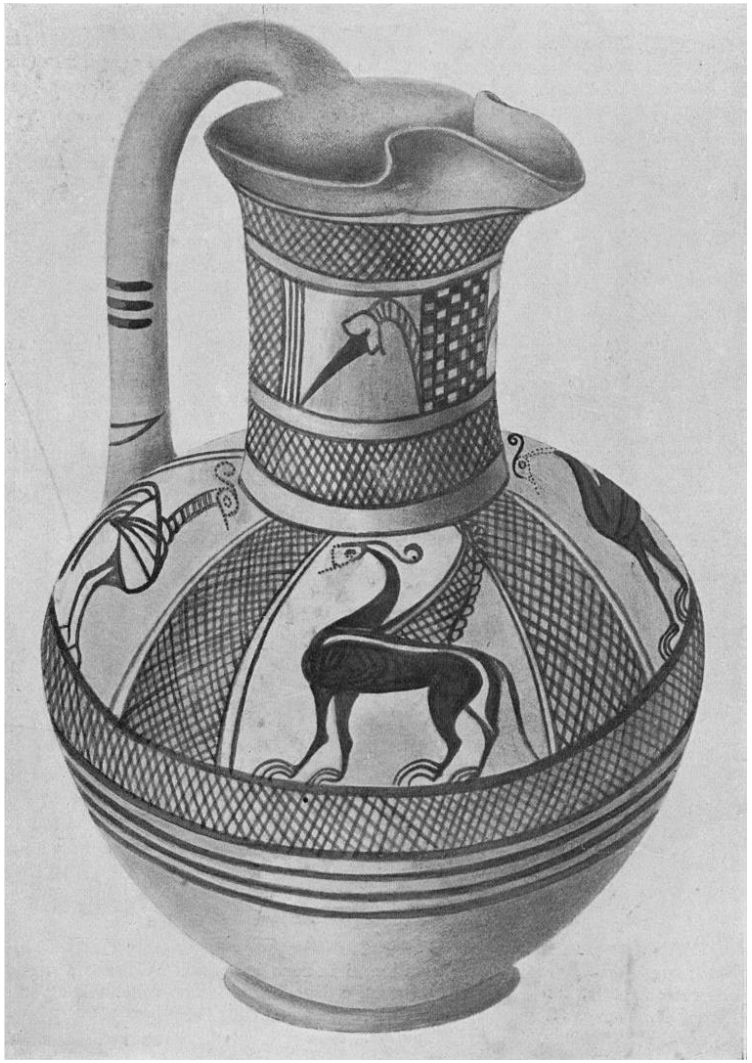


Fig.139 Oinochoe; RHODES 13728; H. 31 cm.

Fig.140 Oinochoe; RHODES 12588; H. 32 cm.

Fig.141 Fragment (oinochoe?); BM 1901,0711.4; W. 24 cm.

Fig.142 Pyxis; RHODES 14066; H. 33 cm.

Fig.143 Pyxis; RHODES 14749; H. 19 cm.

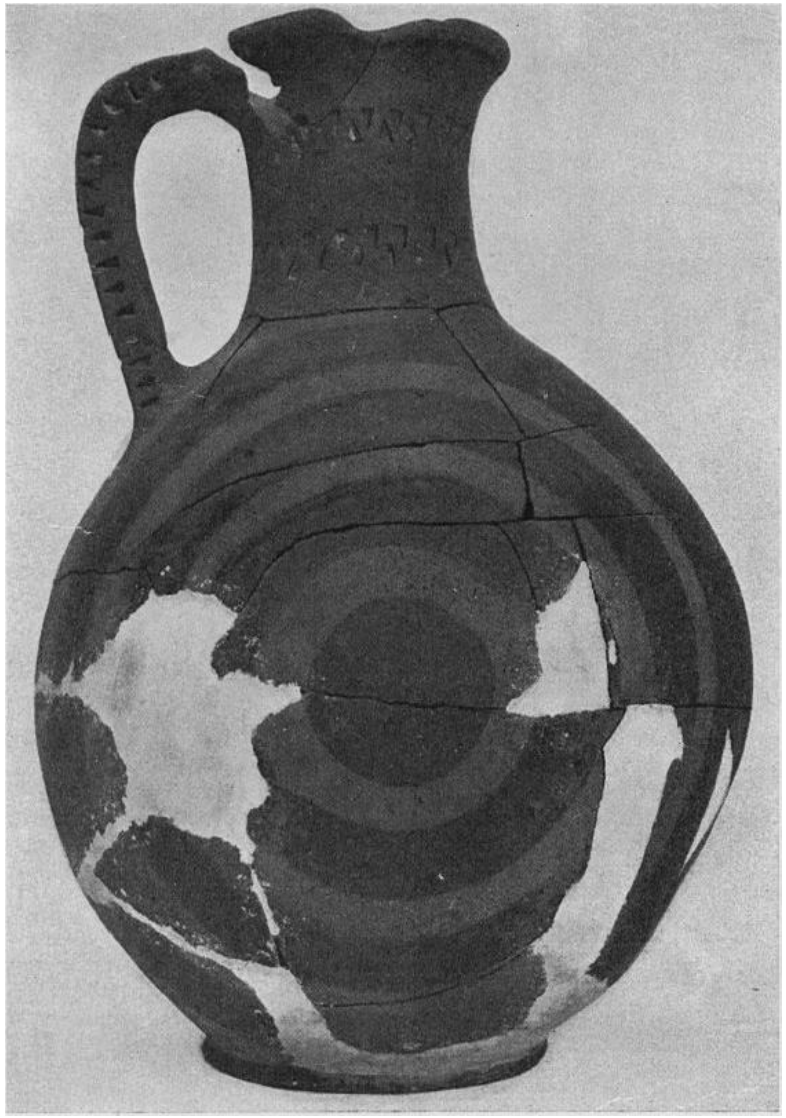
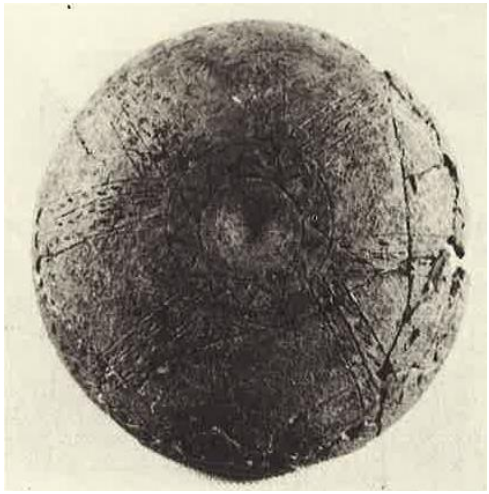


Fig.144 Flask; RHODES 11839; H. 8.75 cm.

Fig.145 Bone carving; BM 1864,1007.529; H. 2.49 cm.

Fig.146 Bowl; RHODES 11797; D. 15 cm.

Figs.147 Bowl; KOS 8577; D. 9.4 cm.



Figs.148 Bowl; KOS 8579; D. 10.1 cm.

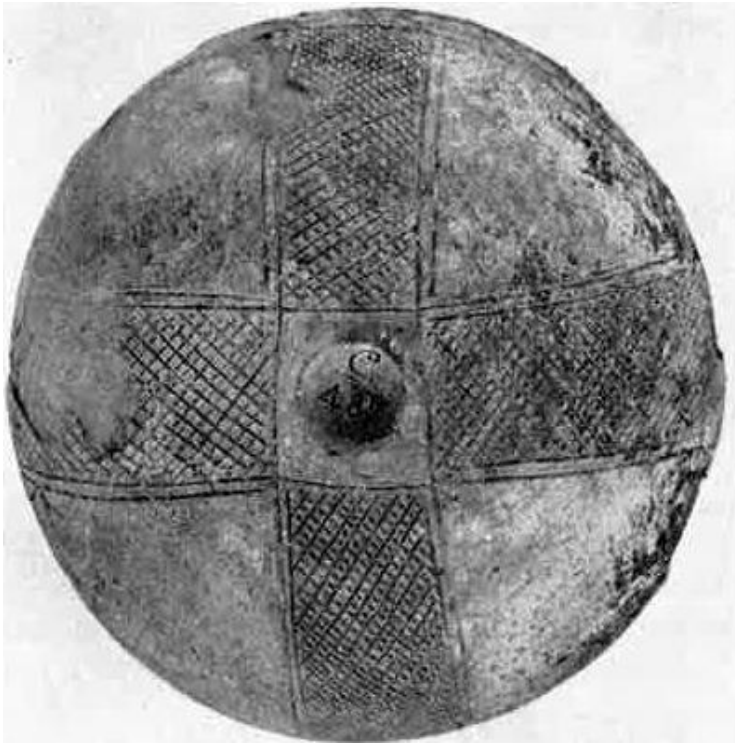


Fig.149 Bowl; KOS 490; D. 9 cm.

Fig.150 Jug; KOS 496; H. 15 cm.

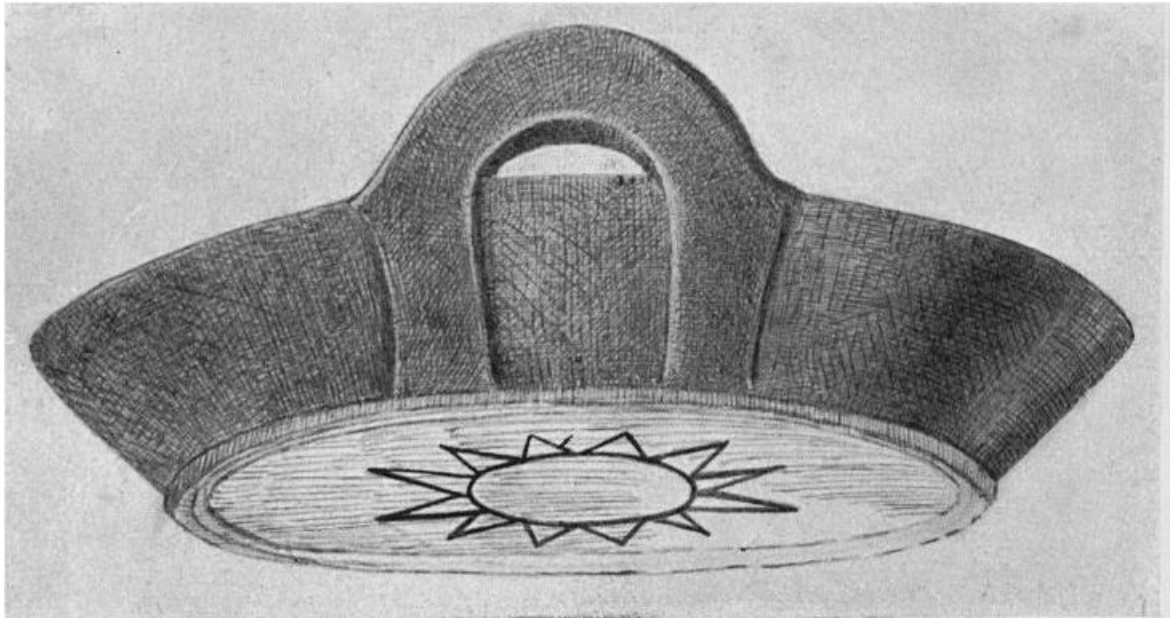


Fig.151 Plate; RHODES 11670; D. (fragment) 9 cm.

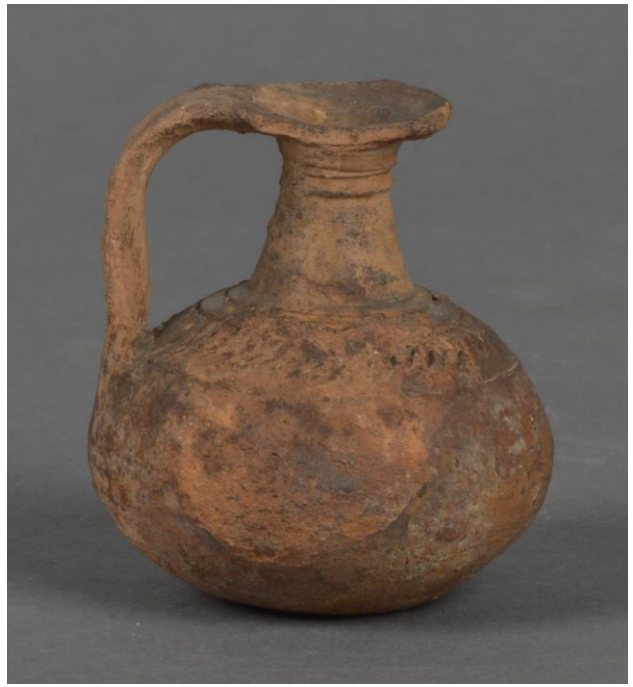


Fig.152 Aryballos; BM 1864,1007.1799; H. 6.3 cm.

Fig.153 Faience pyxis; BM 1864,1007.808; H. 5.0 cm.

Fig.154 Faience alabastron; BM 1860,0404.67; H. 9.5 cm.

Fig.155 Pithos (fragment); BM 2007,5003.1; H. 12.2 cm.

Fig.156 Pithos (neck); BM 1864,1007.37; H. 1.29 m.

Fig.157 Pithos (body); BM 1864,1007.37; H. 1.29 m.

Fig.158 Pithos (neck); BM 1868,0405.158; H. 1.46 m.

Fig.159 Pithos (body); BM 1868,0405.158; H. 1.46 m.

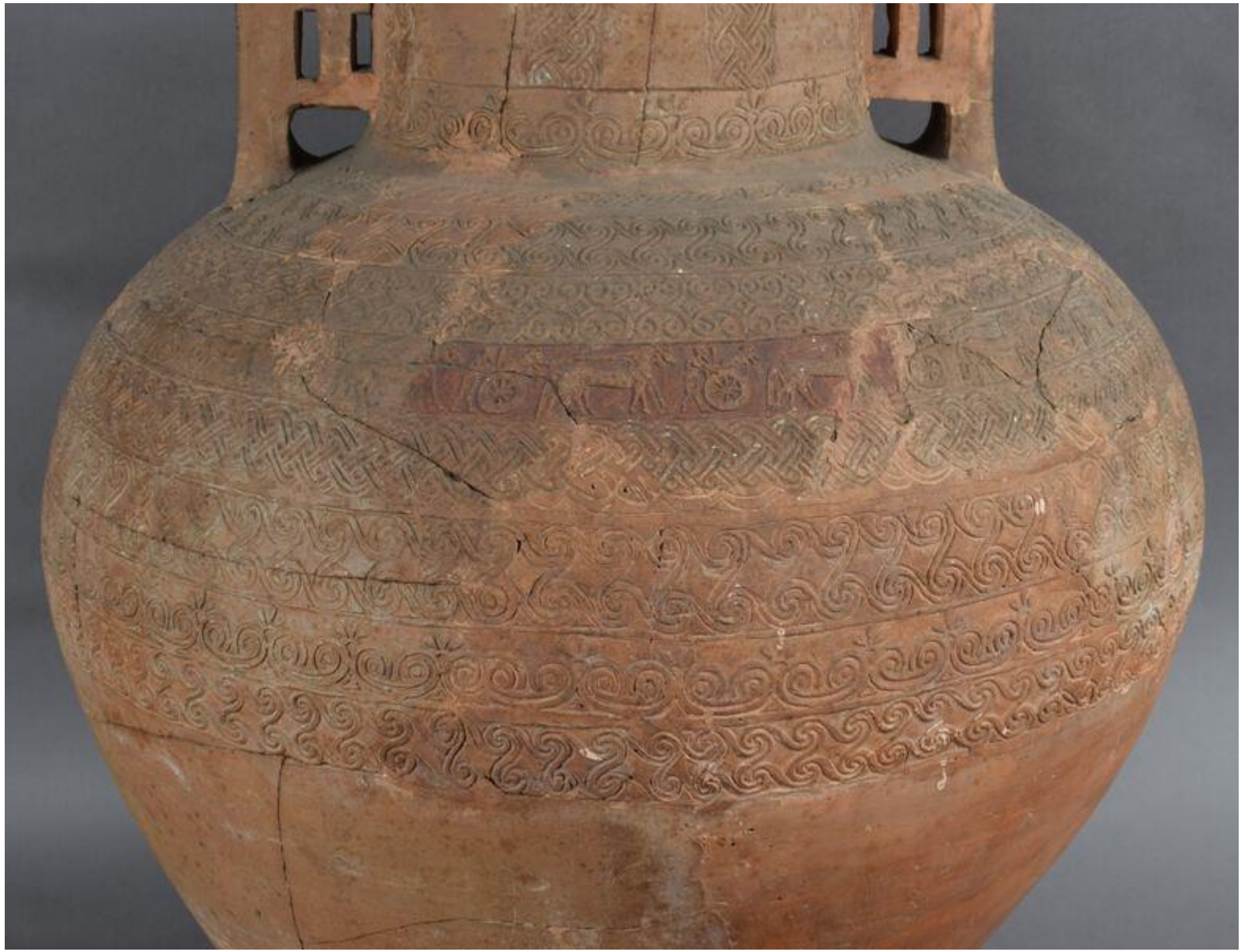


Fig.160 Pithos (body); BM 1885,1213.1; H. 85.2 cm.

Fig.161 Glazed oil vessels; BM 1837,0413.153; 1836,0608.156; 1860,0404.63; 1864,1007.1342; 1865,1214.50; 1950,1027.1.

Fig.162 Glazed vessel; BM 1838,0608.156; H. 17 cm.

Fig.163 Glazed vessel; BM 1860,0404.63; H. 22.5 cm.

Fig.164 Segment plate; BM 1864,1007.5; D. 32.5 cm.

Fig.165 Segment plate; BM 1861,0425.44; D. 36.3 cm.

Fig.166 Segment plate; BM 1885,1213.7; D. 24 cm.

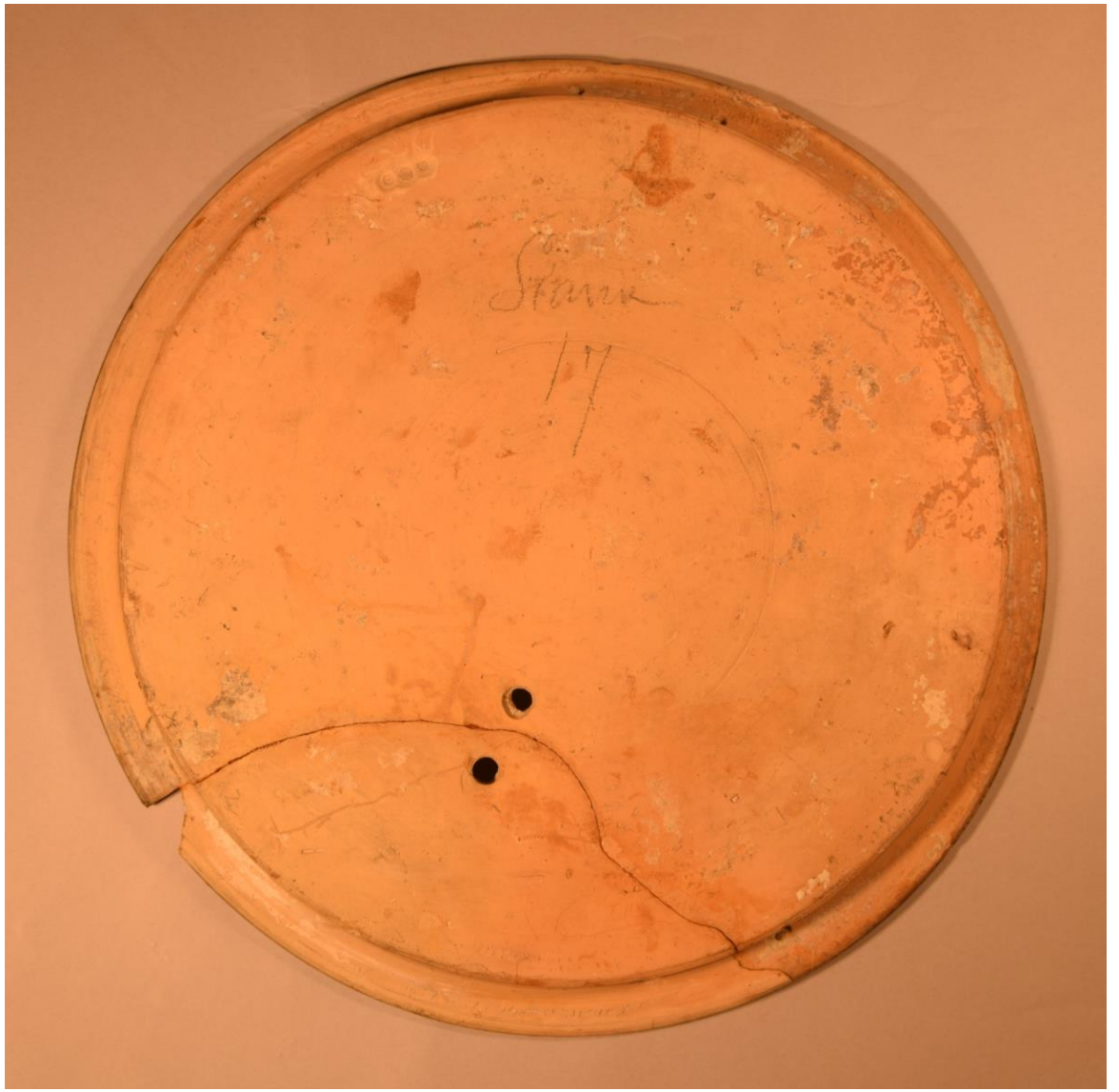


Fig.167 Segment plate (underside); BM 1885,1213.7; D. 24 cm.

Fig.168 Segment plate; BM 1885,1213.8; D. 24 cm.

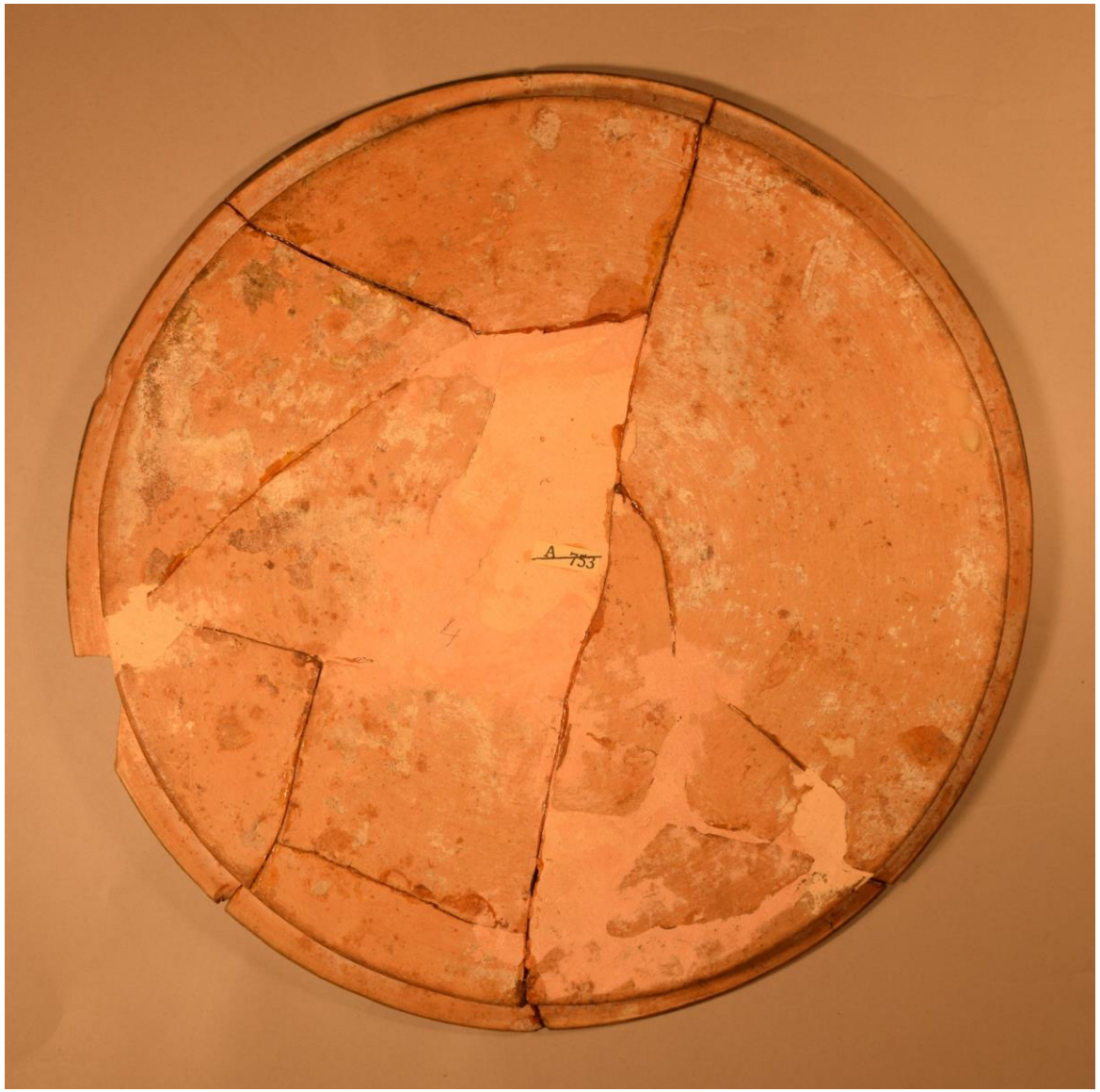


Fig.169 Segment plate (underside); BM 1885,1213.8; D. 24 cm.

Fig.170 Segment plate (detail); BM 1885,1213.8; D. 24 cm.

Fig.171 Segment plate (detail); BM 1885,1213.7; D. 24 cm.

Fig.172 Stemmed dish; BM 1860,0201.8; D. 28 cm.

Fig.173 Stemmed dish (interior); BM 1860,0201.8; D. 28 cm.

Fig.174 Stemmed dish; BM 1864,1007.131; D. 24 cm.

Fig.175 Stemmed dish (interior); BM 1864,1007.131; D. 24 cm.

Fig.176 Stemmed dish (interior); COPENHAGEN 5609; D. 22 cm.

Fig.177 Stemmed dish; BM 1909,0409.1; D. 22 cm.

Fig.178 Stemmed dish (interior); BM 1909,0409.1; D. 22 cm.

Fig.179 Stemmed dish (exterior); BM 1909,0409.1; D. 22 cm.

Fig.180 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.95; H. 10 cm.

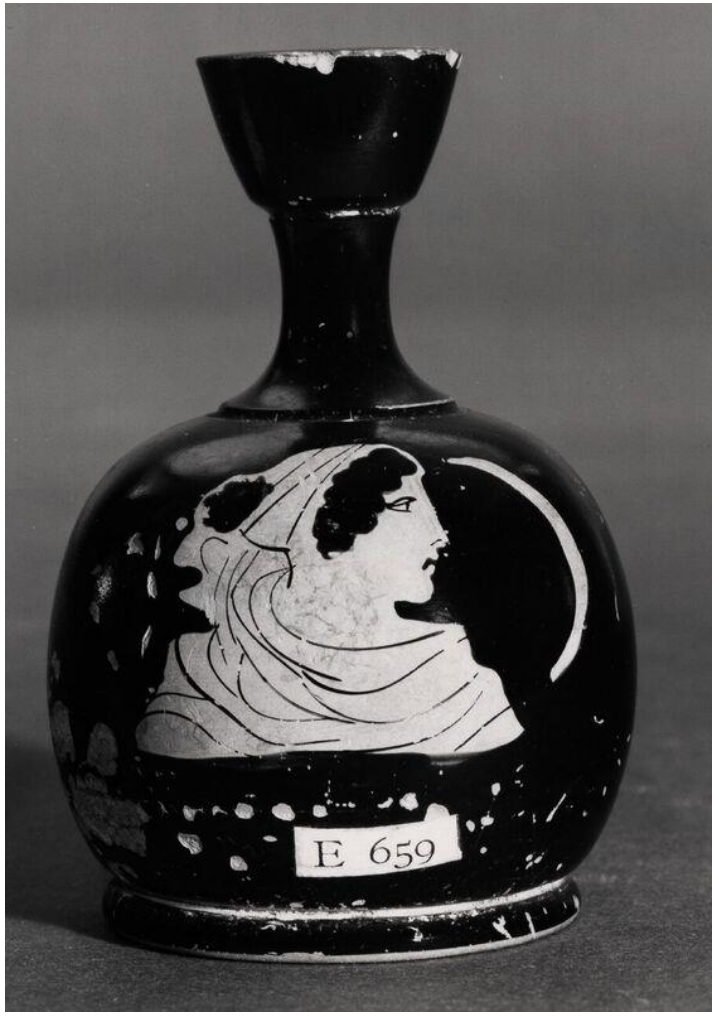


Fig.181 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.169; H. 10 cm.

Fig.182 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.1649; H. 12 cm.

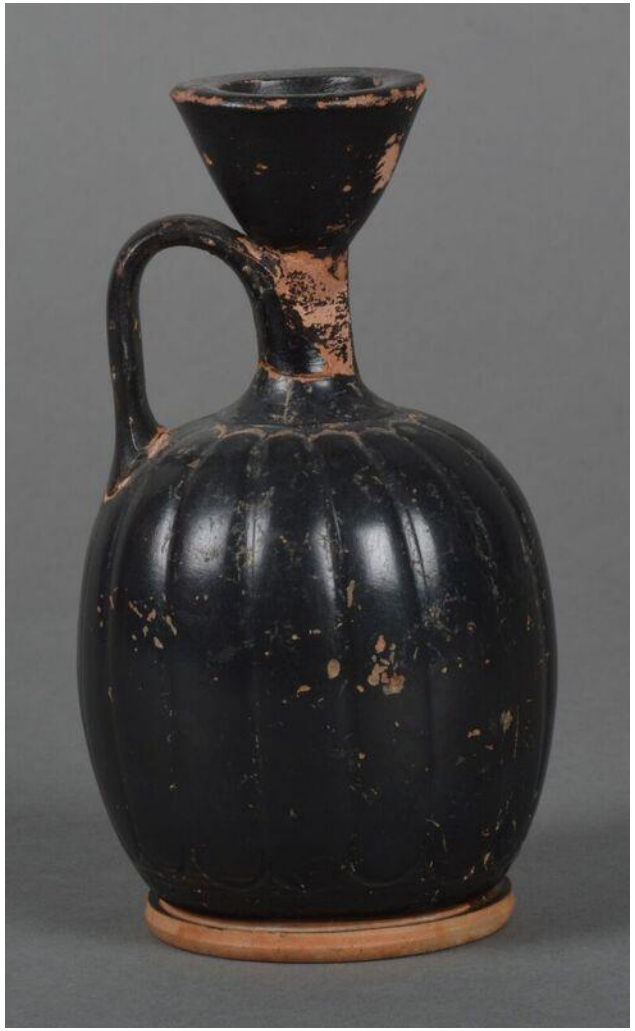


Fig.183 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.1650; H. 10 cm.

Fig.184 Bolsal; BM 1864,1007.1601; W. 17 cm.

Fig.185 Bolsal; BM 1864,1007.1634; W. 17 cm.

Fig.186 Terracotta protome; BM 1864,1007.1372; H. 20.5 cm.

Fig.187 Terracotta protome; BM 1864,1007.1379; H. 12.70 cm.

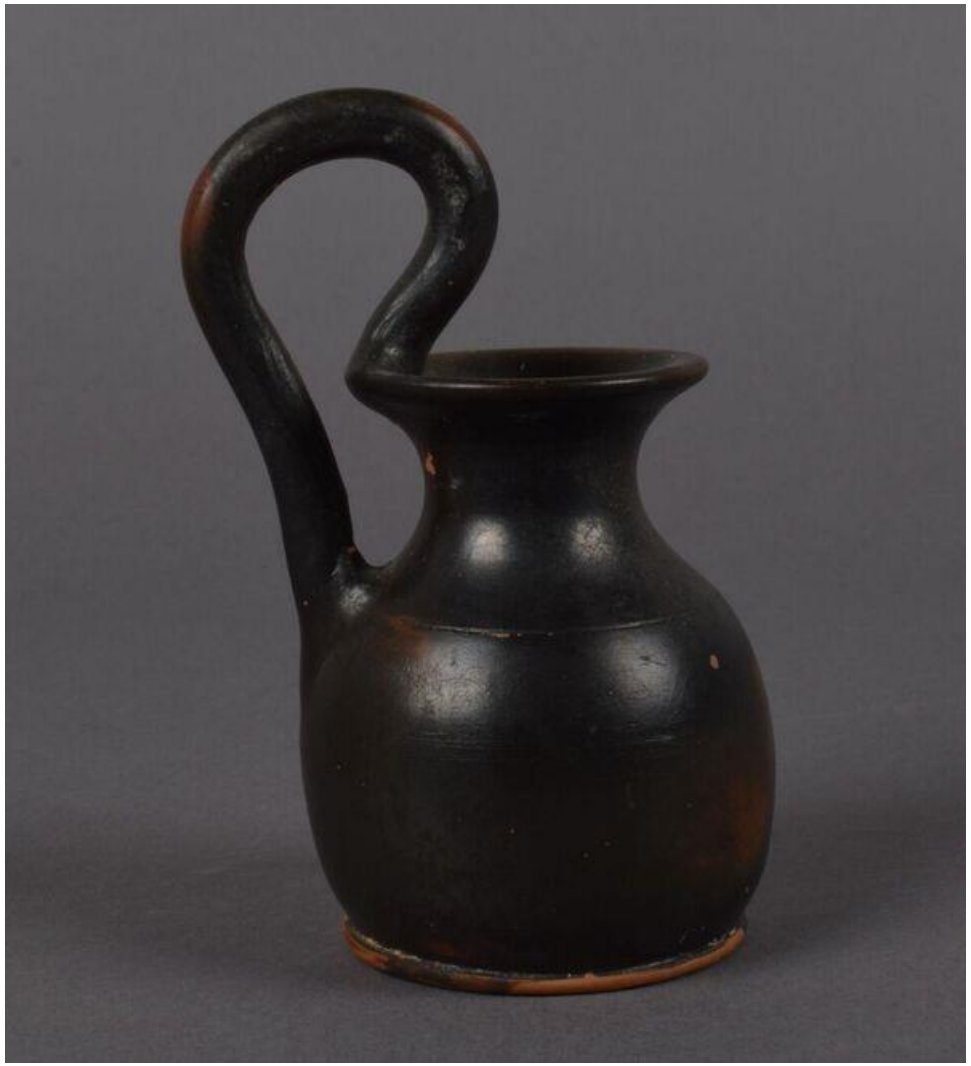


Fig.188 Olpe; BM 1864,1007.1657; H. 10 cm.

Fig.189 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.1652; H. 7 cm.

Fig.190 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.260; H. 18.75 cm.

Fig.191 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.360; H. 14 cm.

Fig.192 Stamnoid pyxis (reverse); BM 1864,1007.360; H. 14 cm.

Fig.193 Ampelles 153 (155), Ialysos.

RHODES 6642

RHODES 6643

RHODES 6640

Fig.194 Stamnoid pyxis; Louvre A 335; H. 12 cm.

Figs.195-196 Corinthian pyxides from Argos.

Fig.197 Corinthian Pyxis from Kamiros; H. 11.5; BM 1864,1007.323; H. 11.5.

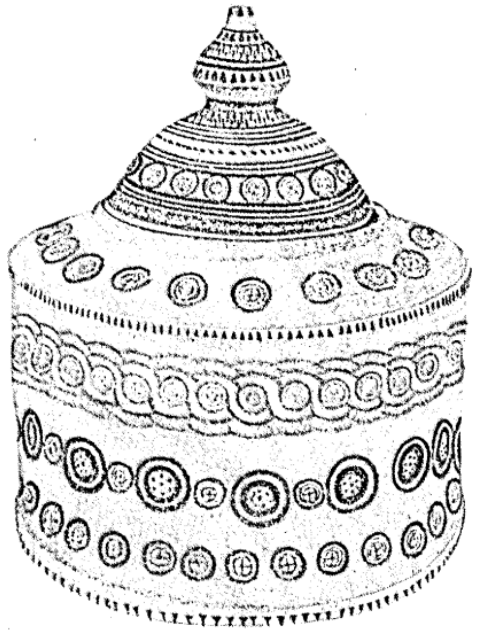
Fig.198 Drakidis 180 (239), Ialysos.

RHODES 10607

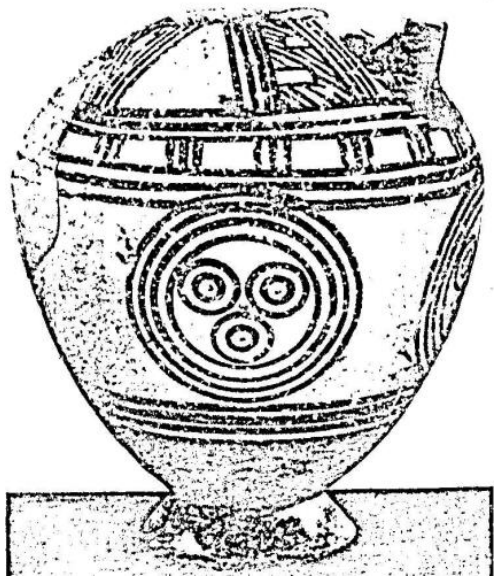
RHODES 10609

RHODES 10612

RHODES 10608



Pyxis; RHODES 14749; H. 19cm



Oinochoe; Gotha Schlossmuseum ZV 3; H. 12.4 cm.

Oinochoe; BERLIN 2949; H. 21 cm.

Figs.199-201 Rhodian ivory imitation pottery.

Fig.202 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 6642; H. 13 cm.

Fig.203 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 6643; H. 13 cm.

Fig.204 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 10804; H. 18 cm.

Fig.205 Stamnoid pyxis (side); RHODES 10804; H. 18 cm.

Fig.206 Macri Langoni 109 (32), Kamiros.

RHODES 12340

RHODES 12346

Fig.207 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 12340; H. 15.5 cm.

Fig.208 Stamnoid pyxis (side); RHODES 12340; H. 15.5 cm.

Fig.209 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 12346; H. 6 cm.

Fig.210 Stamnoid pyxis (above); RHODES 12346; H. 6 cm.

Fig.211
Marmaro 19,
Ialysos.

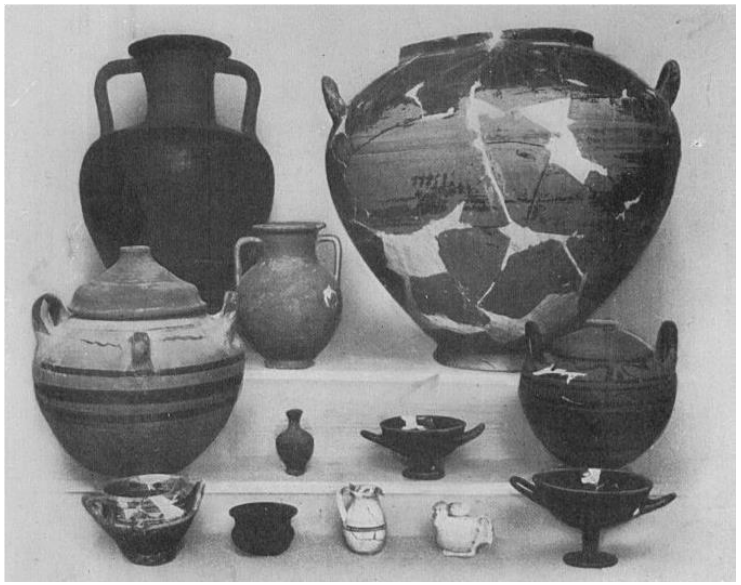


Fig.212
Marmaro 42,
Ialysos.

Fig.213 Vroulian stamnos; RHODES 15443; H. 33 cm.

Fig.214 Macri Langoni 6 (6), Kamiros.

Fig.215 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.259; H. 20 cm.

Fig.216 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.320; H. 11.9 cm.

Fig.217 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.318; H. 11.25.

RHODES 12426

Fig.218 Macri Langoni 25 (52), Kamiros.

Fig.219 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.322; H. 9 cm.

Fig.220 ‘Near the church of Kremasti’ 197 (291), Ialysos.

Fig.221 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.1770; H. 14.5 cm.

Fig.222 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.1769; H. 14.5 cm.

Fig.223 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.319; H. 20 cm.

Fig.224 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1864,1007.2030; H. 21 cm.

RHODES 13426

RHODES 13427

RHODES 13428

Fig.225 Macri Langoni 58 (234), Kamiros.

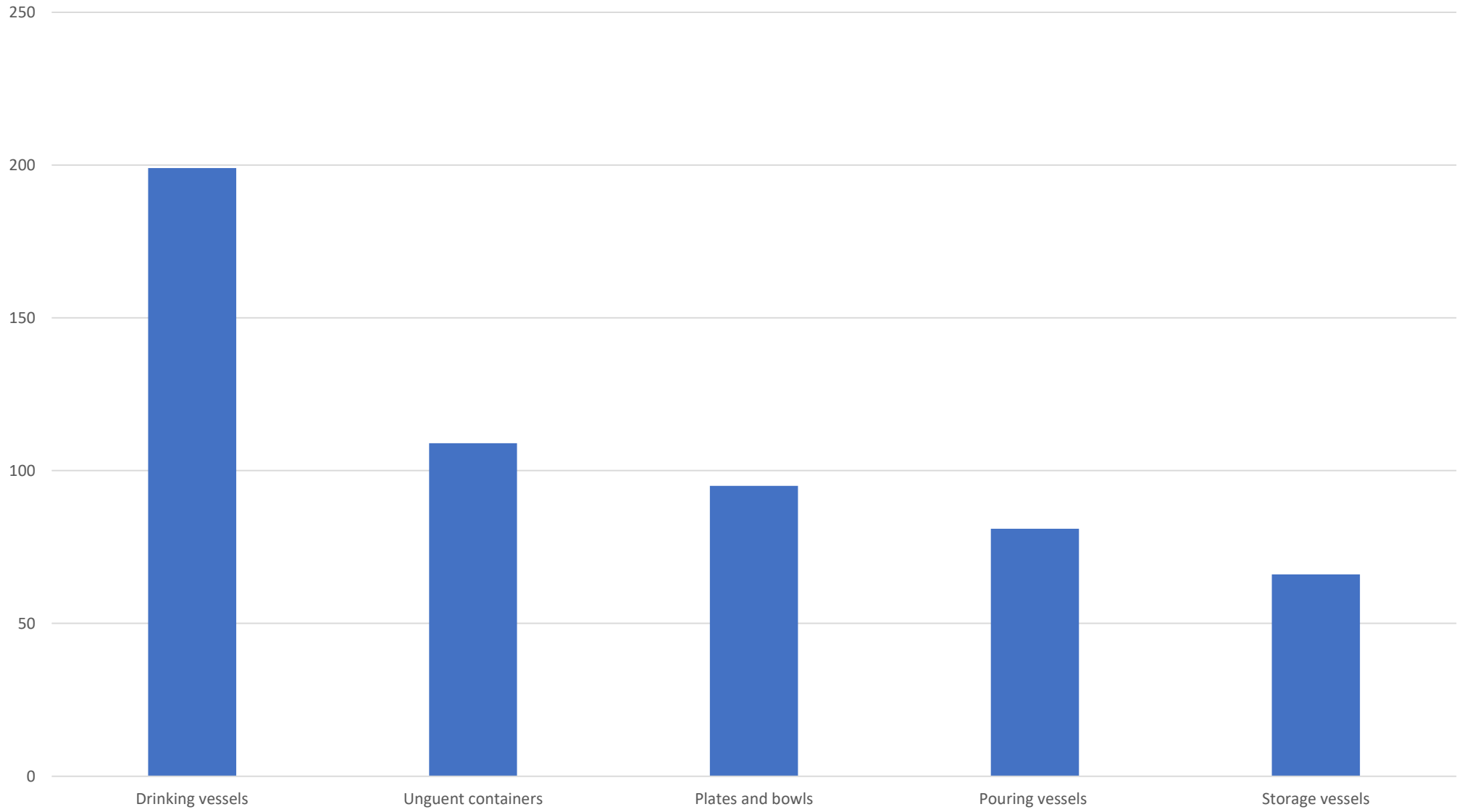


Fig.226 Attic pottery shapes from Fikellura cemetery according to function [649].

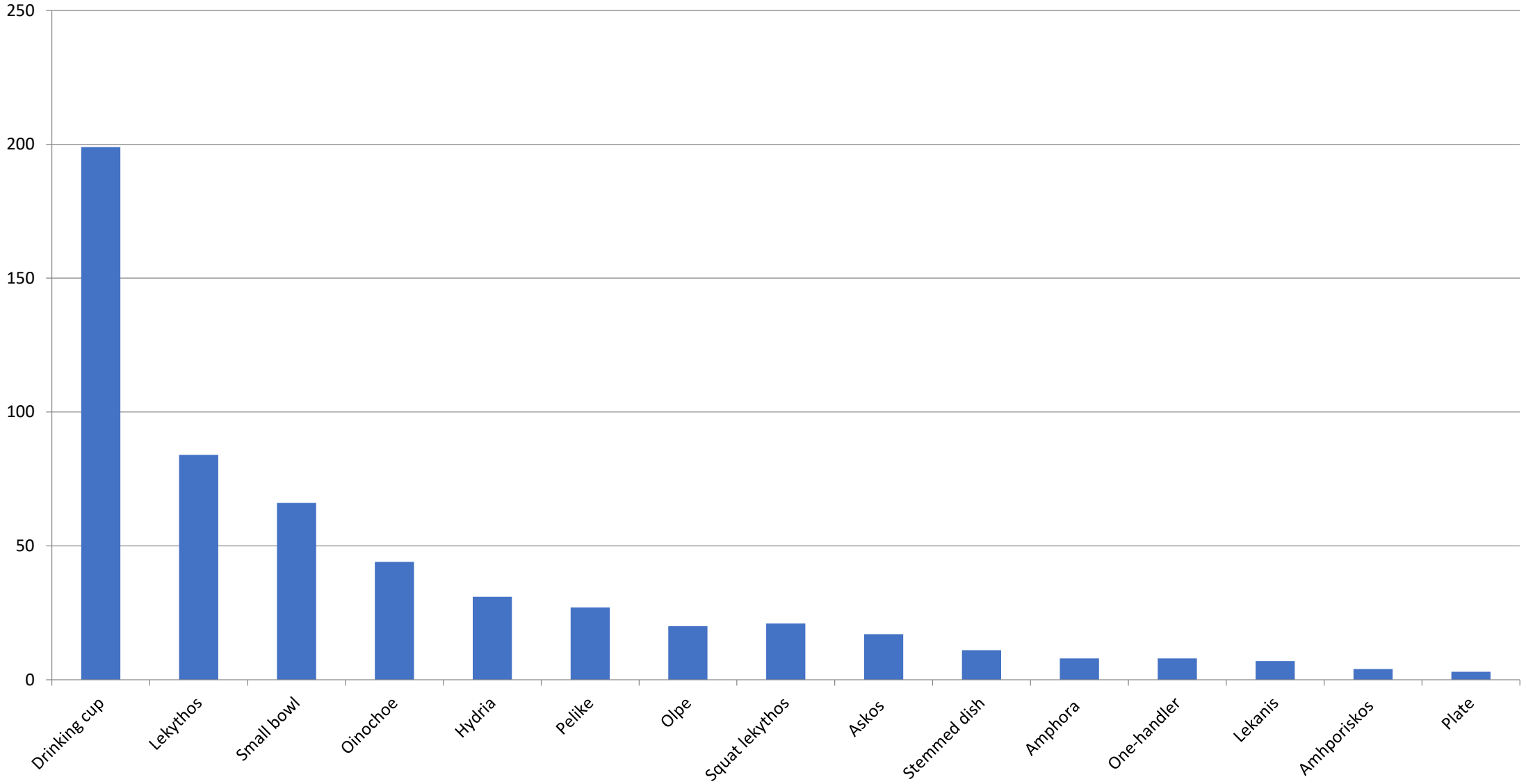


Fig.227 Attic pottery shapes from Fikellura cemetery [570].

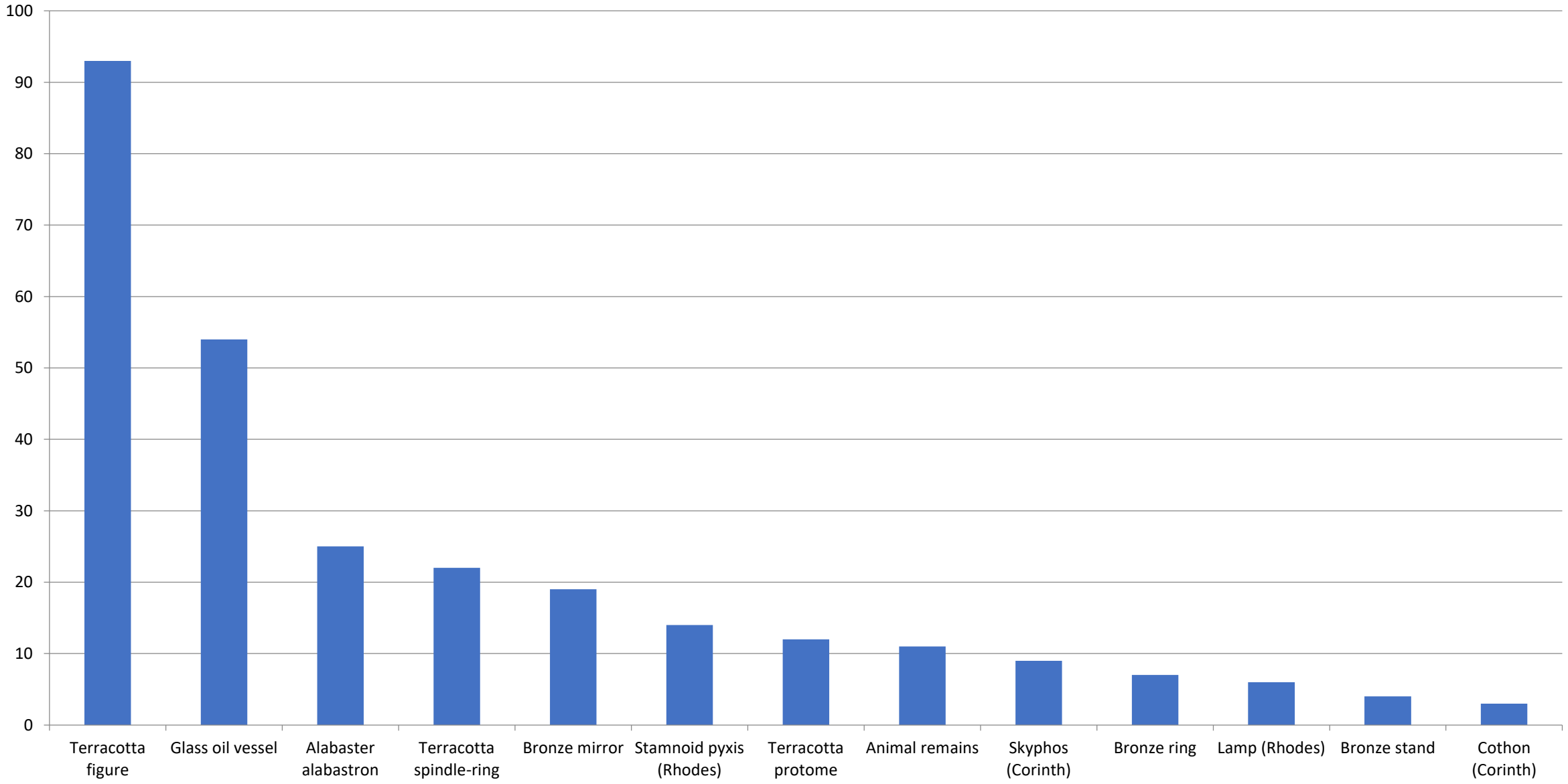


Fig.228 Non-Attic pottery and other materials from Fikellura cemetery [185].

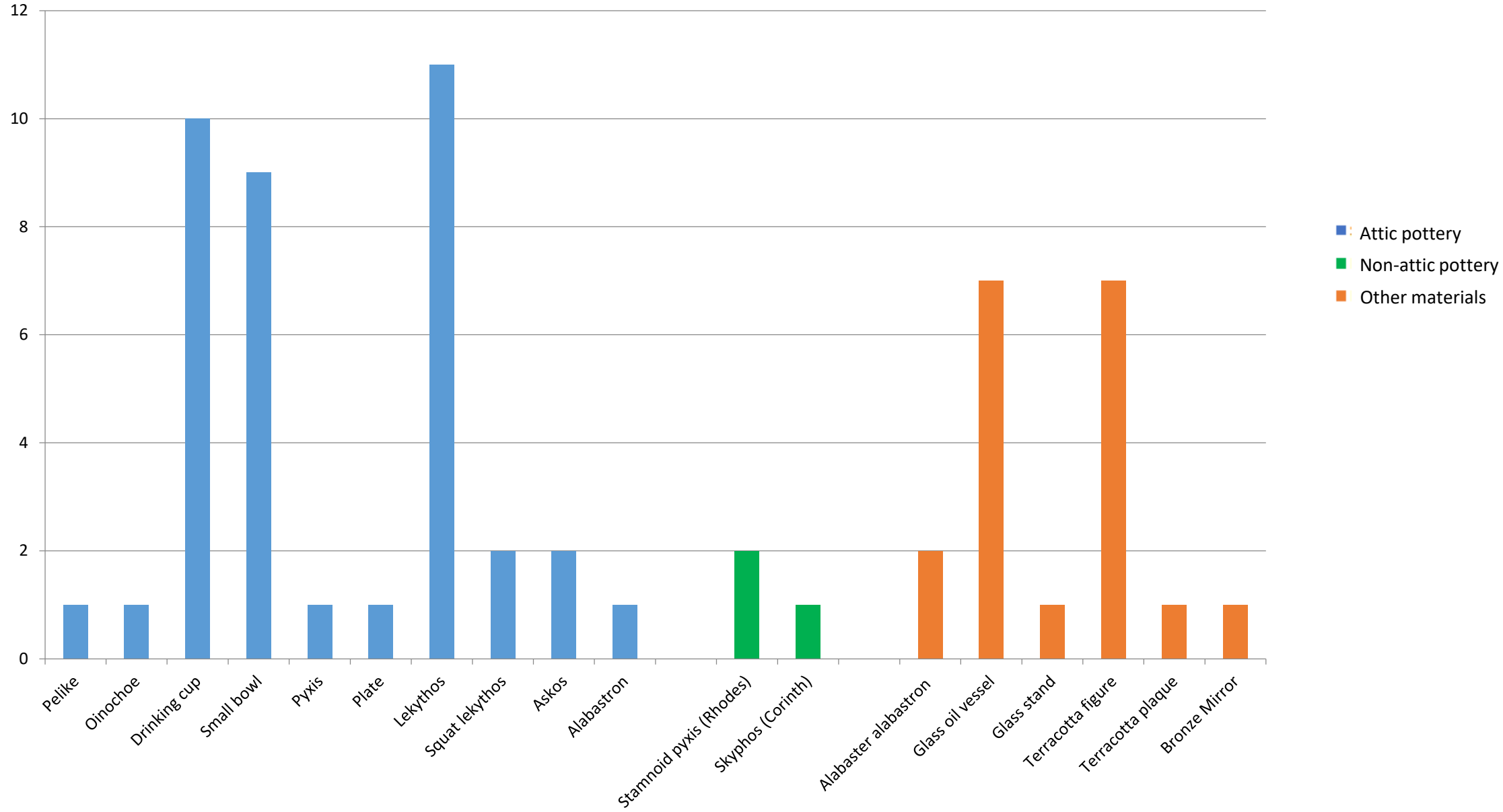


Fig.229 Pairs of grave goods from Fikellura cemetery [61].

Fig.230 Tomb 80, Kamiros acropolis.

Fig.231 Stemmed kantharoi from Grave A, Exochi.

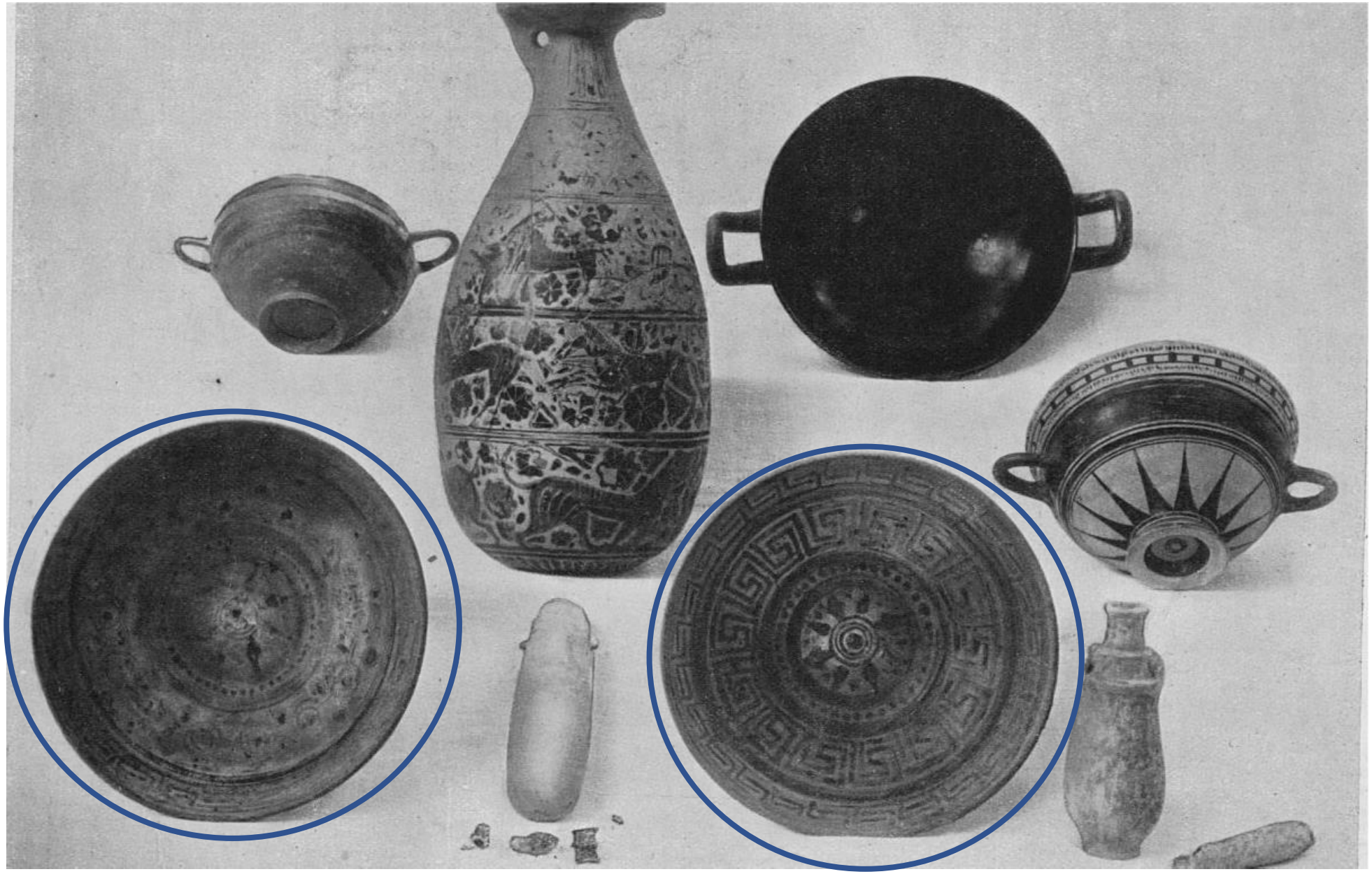


Fig.232 Papatislures 2 (2), Kamiros.

Fig.233 Papatislures 27 (35), Kamiros.

Fig.234 Papatislures 28 (36), Kamiros

Fig.235 Papatislures 5 (7), Kamiros.

Fig.236 Drakidis 195, Ialysos

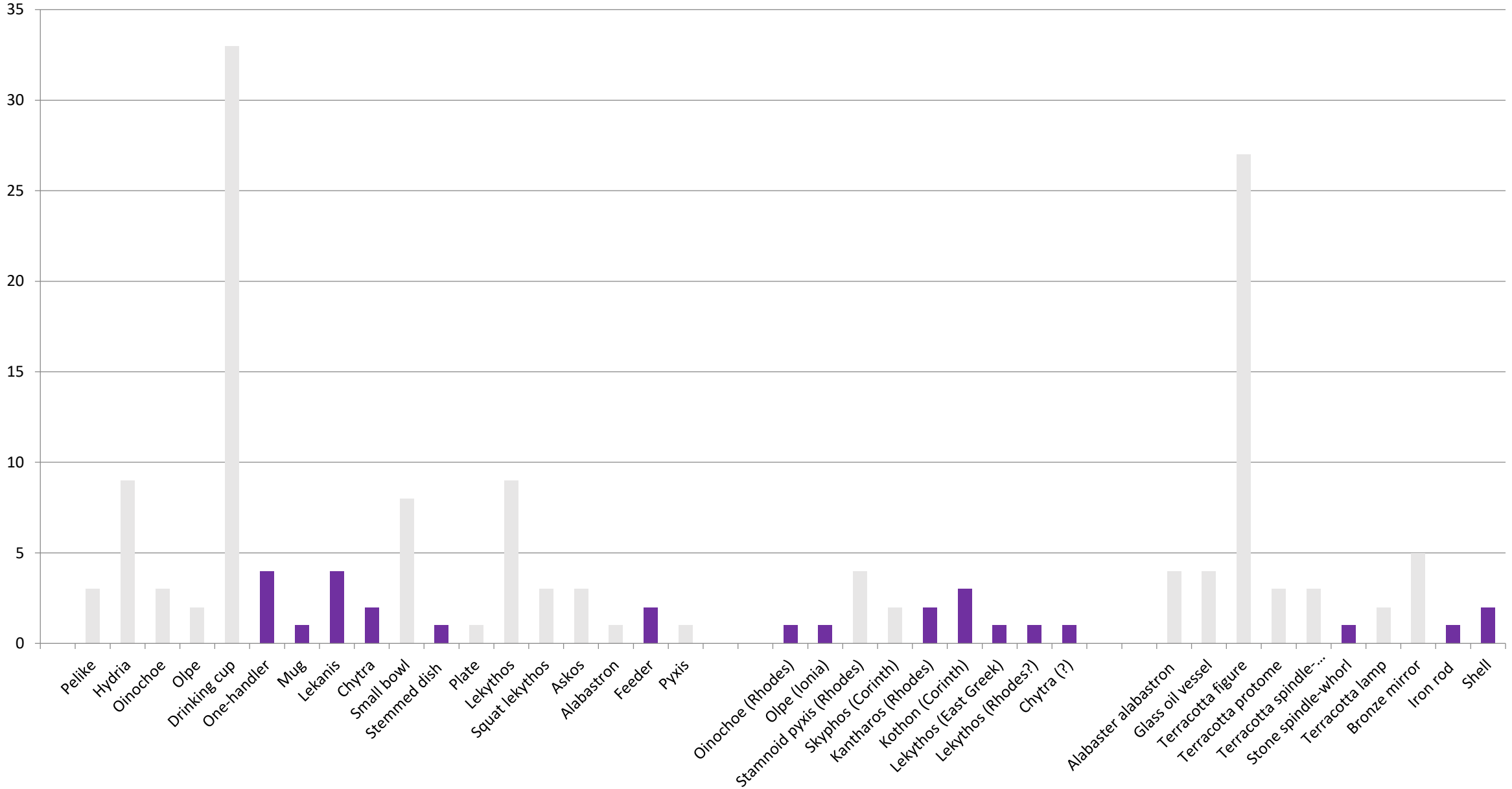


Fig.237 Non-paired objects in Fikellura graves containing pairs [objects not found in pairs shown in purple].

Fig.238 Chytra; BM 1864,1007.1937; H. 11.2 cm.

Fig.239 Jug; BM 1864,1007.2029; H. 6.9 cm.

Fig.240 Cup; BM 1864,1007.2027 H. 3.1 cm.

Fig.241 Terracotta plaque: Eros and Kephalos; BM 1864,1007.134; H. 16 cm.

Fig.242 Terracotta plaque: Peleus and Thetis; BM 1864,1007.133; H. 16 cm.

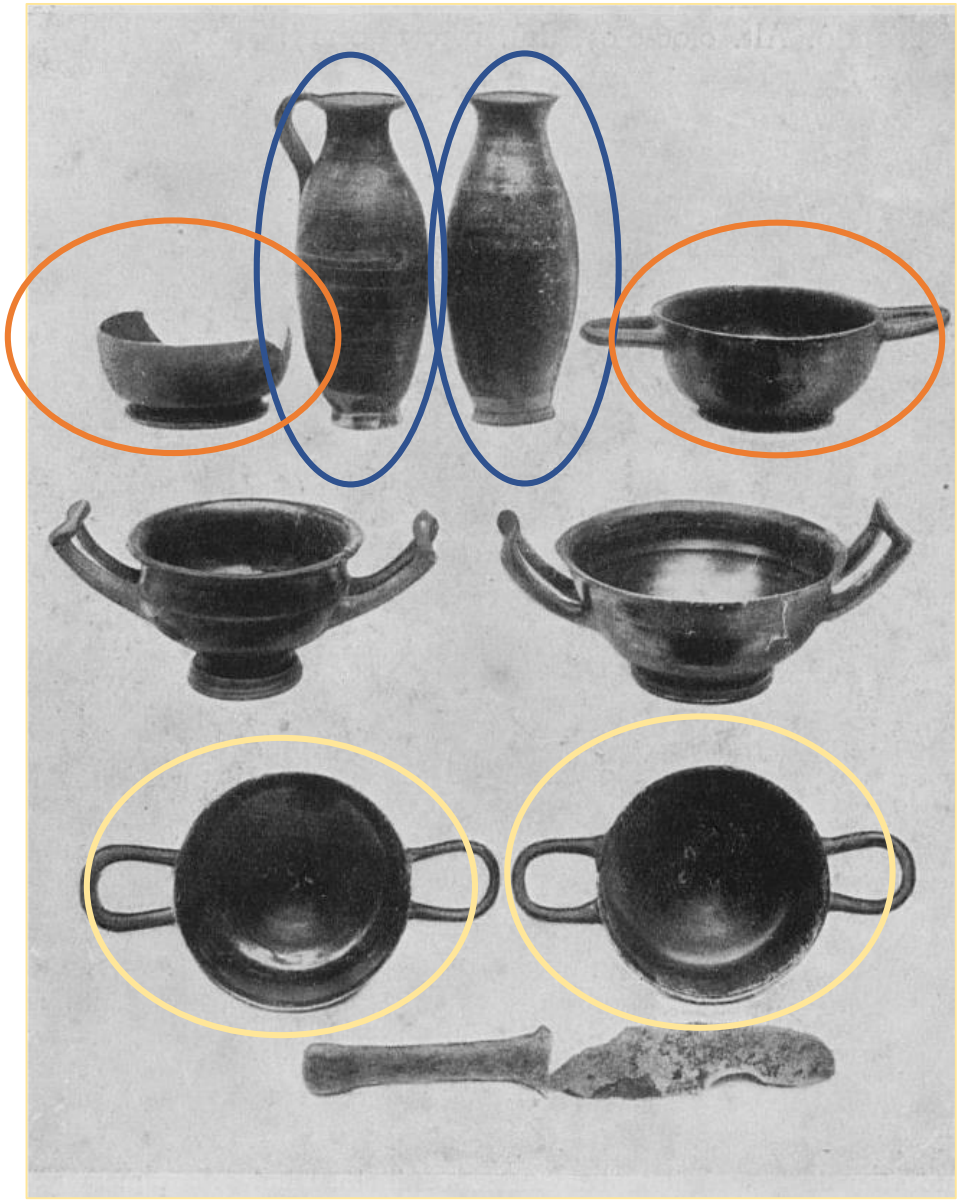


Fig.243 Pontamo 4, Chalke.

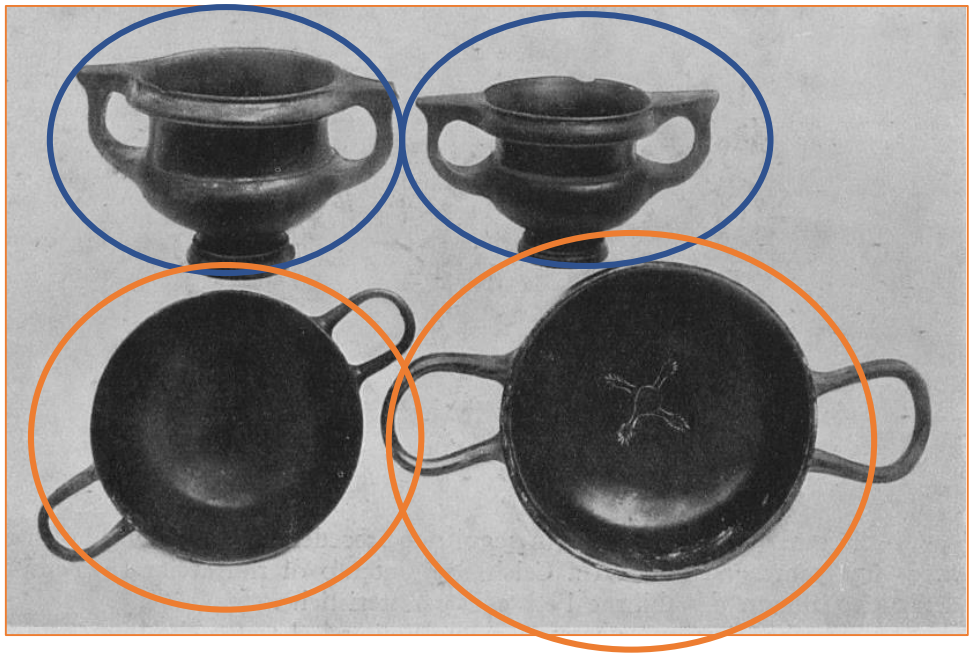


Fig.244 Pontamo 1, Chalke.

Fig.245 Oinochoe (chous); BM 1864,1007.231; H. 10.4 cm.

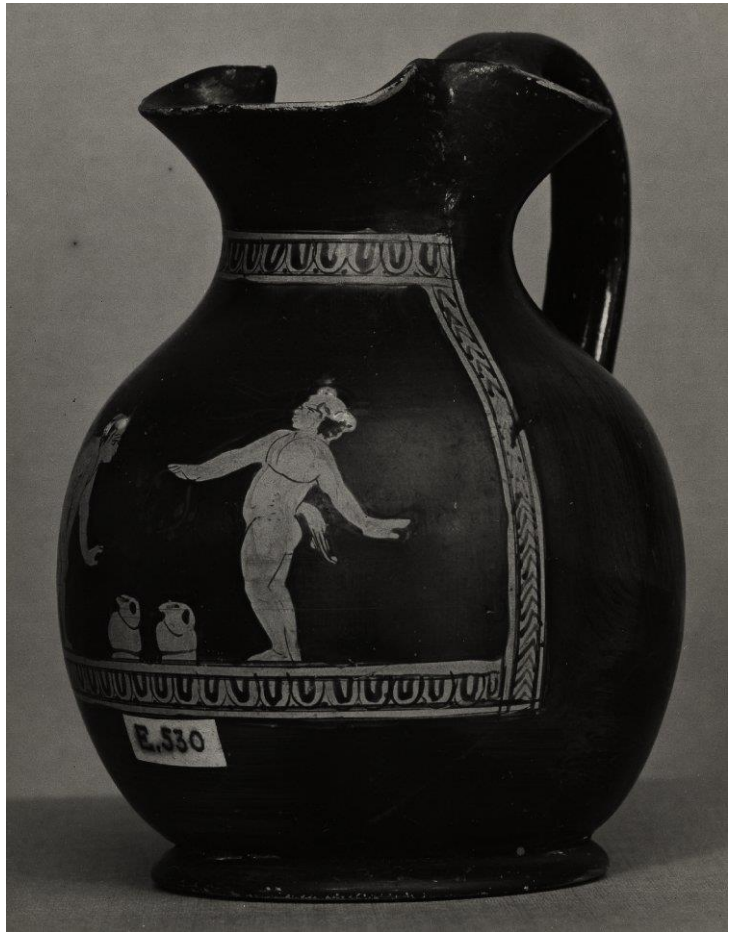


Fig.246 Oinochoe (chous); BM 1864,1007.83; H. 12.5 cm.

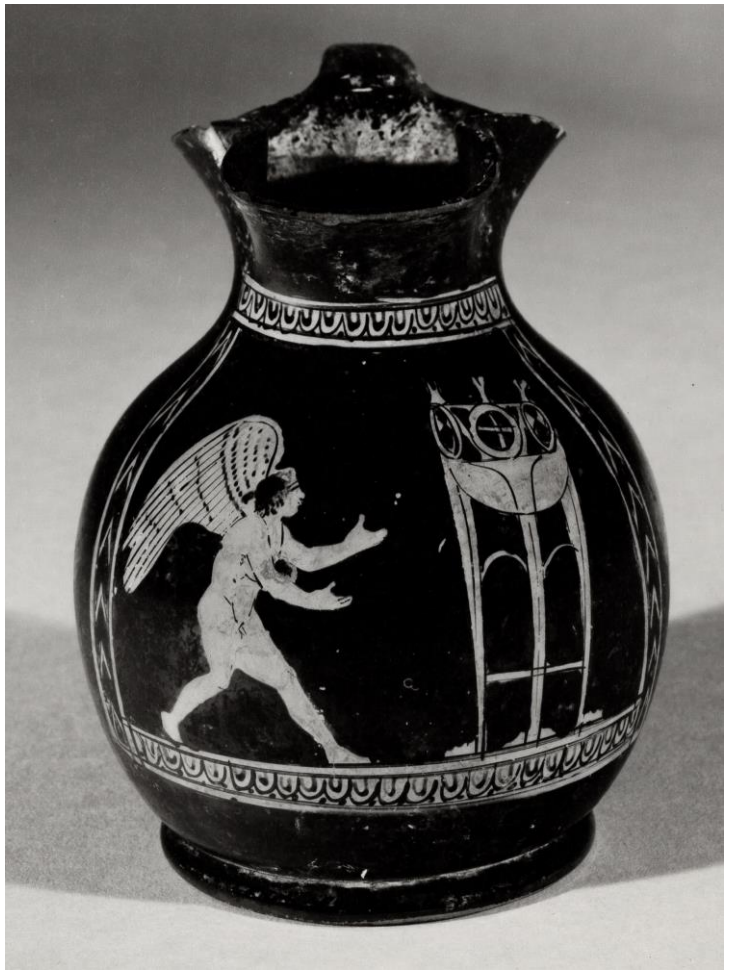


Fig.247 Oinochoe (chous); BM 1864,1007.203; H. 12.5 cm.

Fig.248 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.234; H. 8.89 cm.

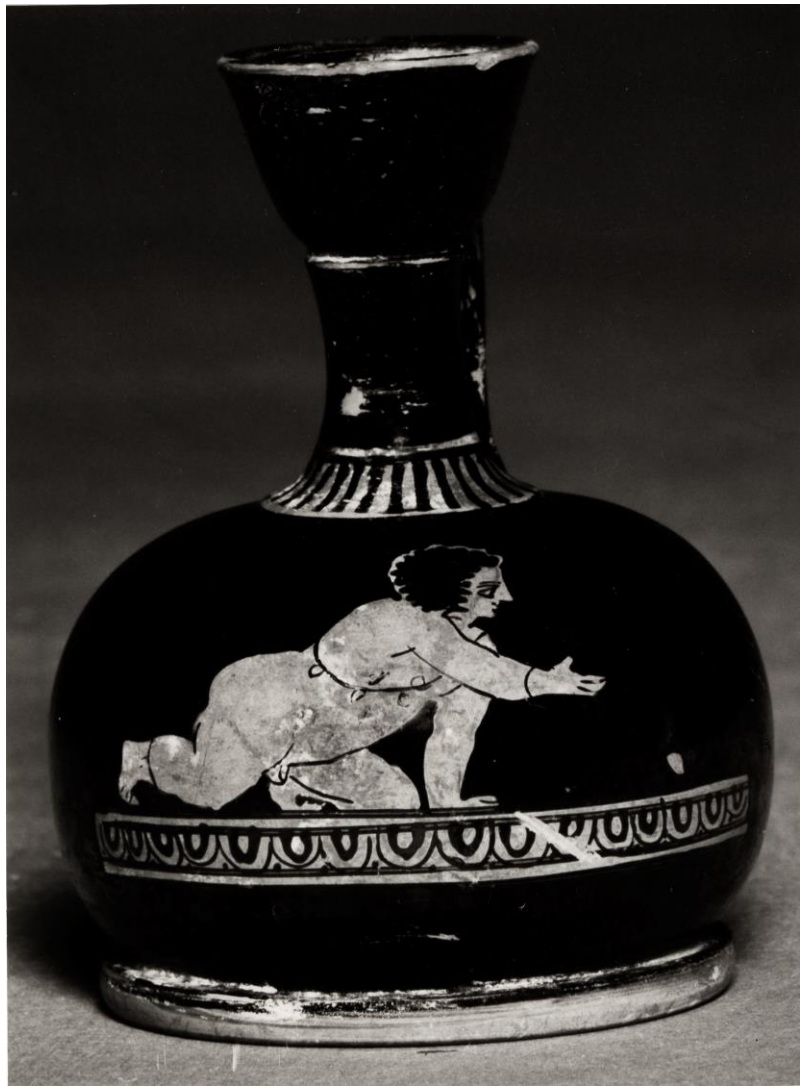


Fig.249 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.235; H. 8.89 cm.

Fig.250 Terracotta spindle-whorl; BM 1864,1007.1856; H. 1.9 cm.

Fig.251 Terracotta female protome; BM 1864,1007.1368; H. 28 cm.

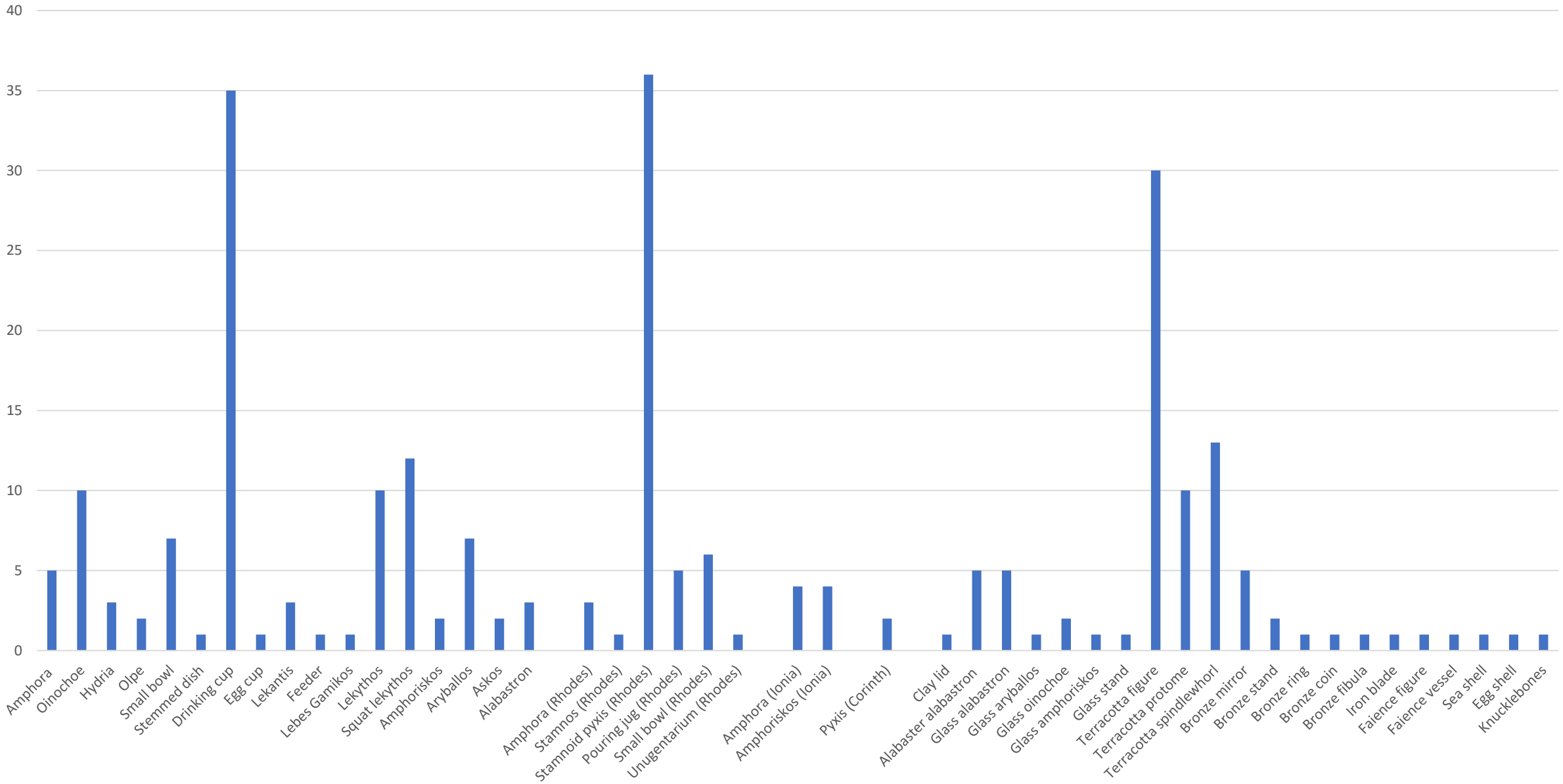


Fig.252 Contents of Kamiros and Ialysos graves with stamnoid pyxides [252].

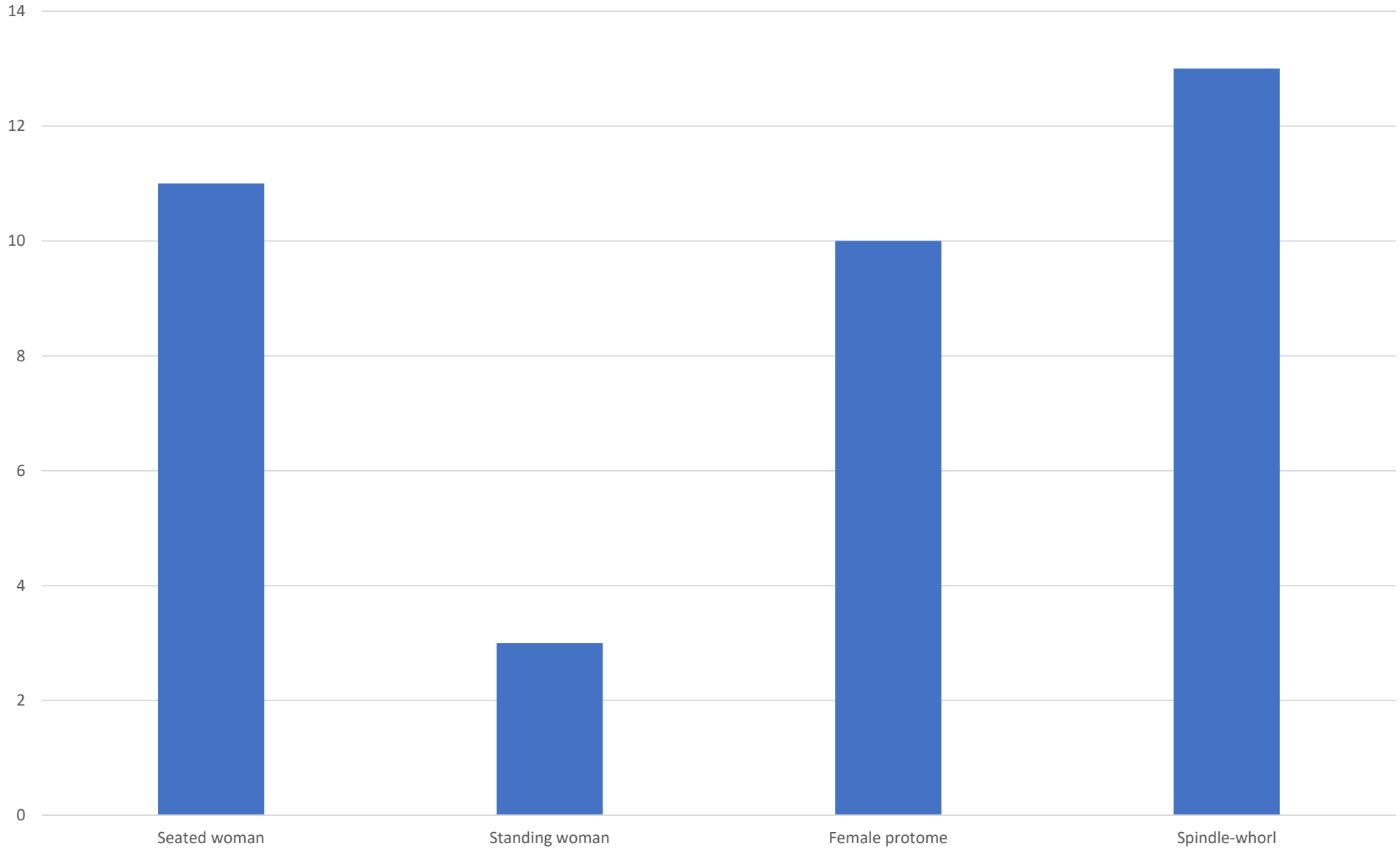


Fig.253 Female terracottas and spindle-whorls in graves with stamnoid pyxides [37].

Fig.254 Terracotta spindle-whorls; BM 1864,1007.1833 (top left), 1838 (top right), 1848 (bottom left), 1857 (bottom right); H. 2.6-4 cm.

Fig.255 Epinetron; BERLIN V.I. 2983; L. 18 cm.

Fig.256 Epinetron; COPENHAGEN 6458; L. 15 cm.

Fig.257 Epinetron; BM 1886,0310.11; L. 29 cm.

Fig.258 Epinetron; BM 1886,0310.10; L. 29 cm.

Fig.259 Stamnoid pyxis; RHODES 13424; H. 21 cm.

Fig.260 Stamnoid pyxis; BM 1882,1205.1; H. 19 cm.

Fig.261 Terracotta epinetron; BM 1893,0712.5; L. 13.3 cm.

Fig.262 Terracotta epinetron; BM 1864,1007.1938; L. 25.1 cm.

Fig.263 Clay beds, Stegna near Archangelos.

Fig.264 Rhodes fabric 1.

Fig.265 Rhodes fabric 2.

Fig.266 Ionian fabric 1.

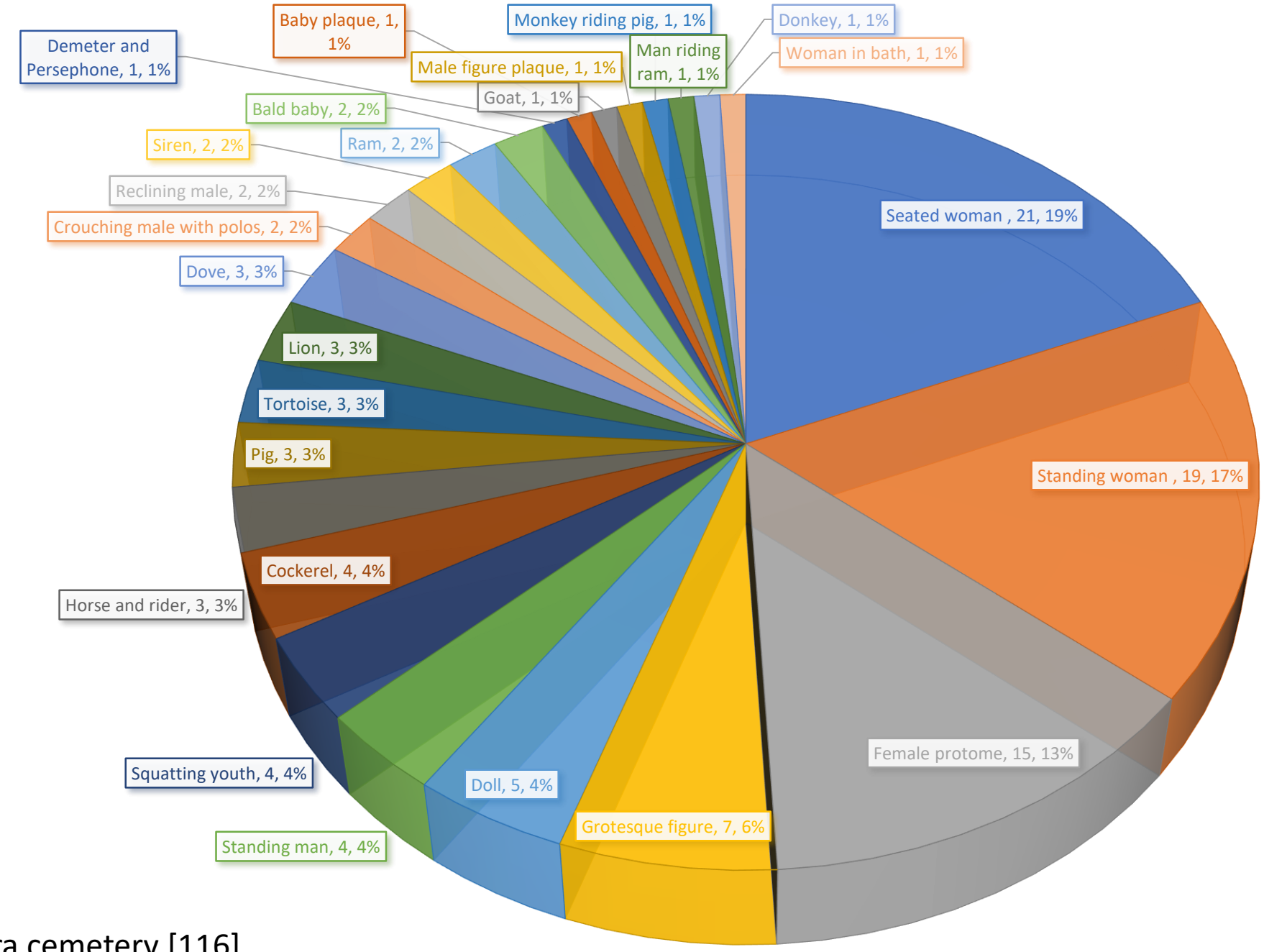


Fig.267 Terracottas from Fikellura cemetery [116].

Fig.268 Seated Woman 1; Left to right: BM 1864,1007.1285, 1286, 1283; 1863,0330.21; 1864,1007.1291; H. 8.4-12.7 cm.

Fig.269 Seated Woman; BM 1862,0512.5; H. 10.5 cm.

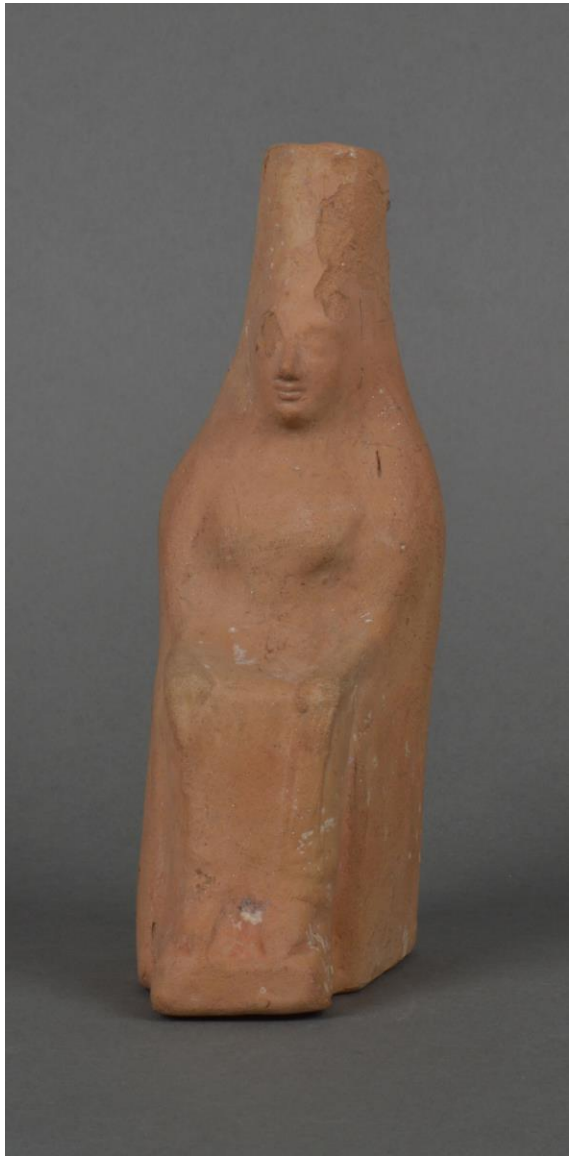


Fig.270 Seated Woman; BM 1863,0330.19; H. 14.6 cm.

Fig.271 Seated Woman; BM 1864,1007.135; H. 12.5 cm.

Fig.272 Seated Woman 2; Left to right: 1864,1007.1288, 1287, 1289; H. 14.5-15 cm.

Fig.273 Standing Woman 1; Left to right: BM 1948,0502.3; 1864,1007.1927; 1948,0502.1; 1863,0330.15; H. 15.2-20.3 cm.

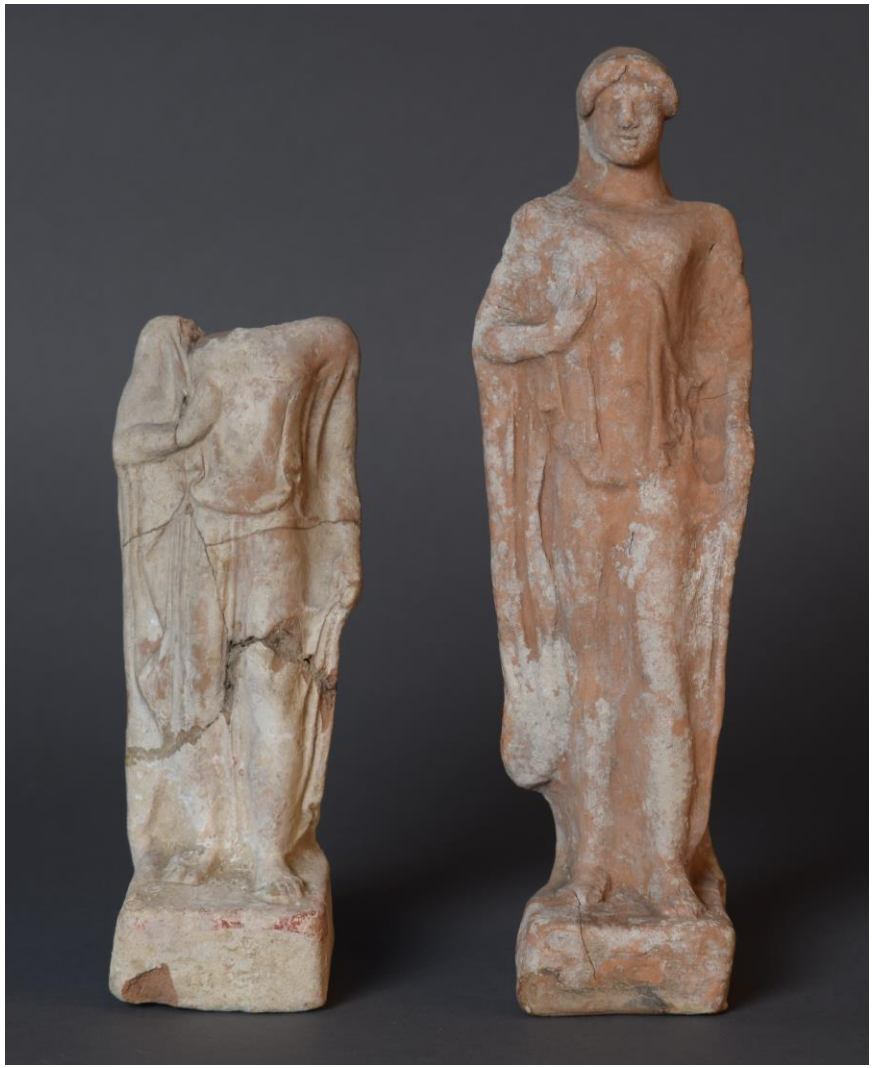


Fig.274 Standing Woman 2; Left to right: BM 1864,1007.1387, 1385; H. 15.1-20.3 cm.

Fig.275 Standing Woman 2; BM 1864,1007.1386; H. 23.5 cm.

Fig.276 Standing Woman 3; BM 1864,1007.1382; H. 18.4 cm.

Fig.277 Standing Woman 3; BM 1948,0502.4 H. 15.2 cm.

Fig.278 Female Protome 1; Left to right: BM 1856,0902.54; 1885,1213.41; H. 17.8-26.5 cm.

Fig.279 Female Protome 1; BM 1951,0307.2; H. 9 cm.

Fig.280 Female Protome 1 (miniaturised); BM 1864,1007.1380; H. 8.5 cm.

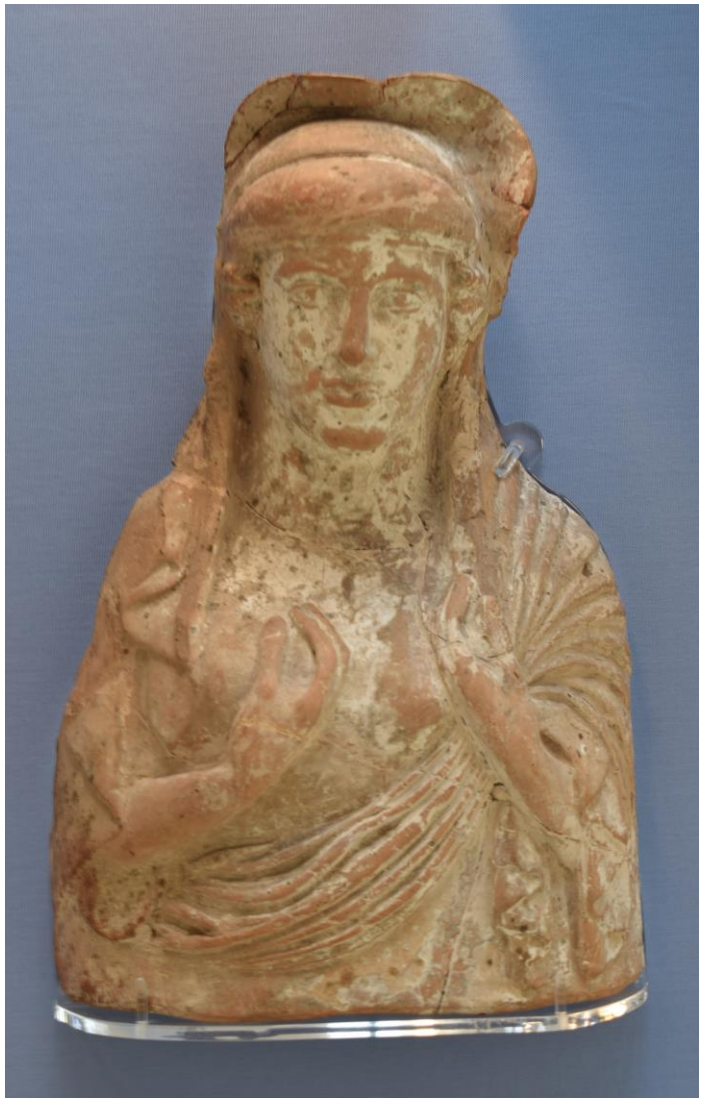


Fig.281 Female Protome 2; BM 1895,1027.6; H. 36 cm.

Fig.282 Female Protome 2; BM 1864,1007.1379; H. 12.7 cm.

Fig.283 Female Protome 2; BM 1864,1007.1928; H 14.6 cm.

Fig.284 Female Protome 3; BM 1864,1007.1368; H. 28 cm.

Fig.285 Standing woman; BM 1863,0330.13; H. 21 cm.

Fig.286 Female Protome; BM 1867,0506.47; H. 40 cm.

Fig.287 Female Protome; BM 1885,1213.40; H. 34.5 cm.

Fig.288 Female Protome; BM 1948.0502.5; H. 11.5 cm.

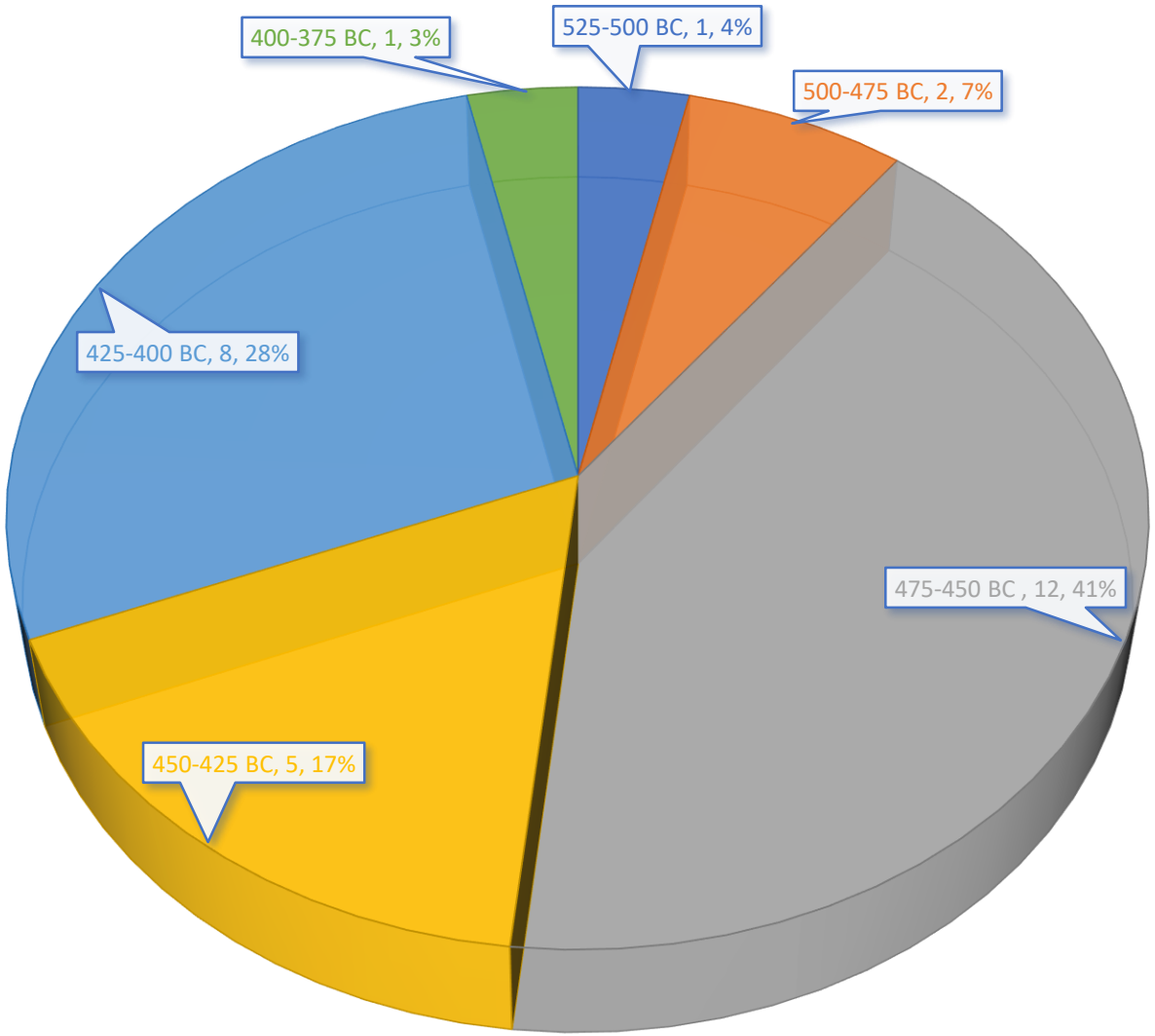


Fig.289 Dates of Fikellura graves containing female terracottas [29].

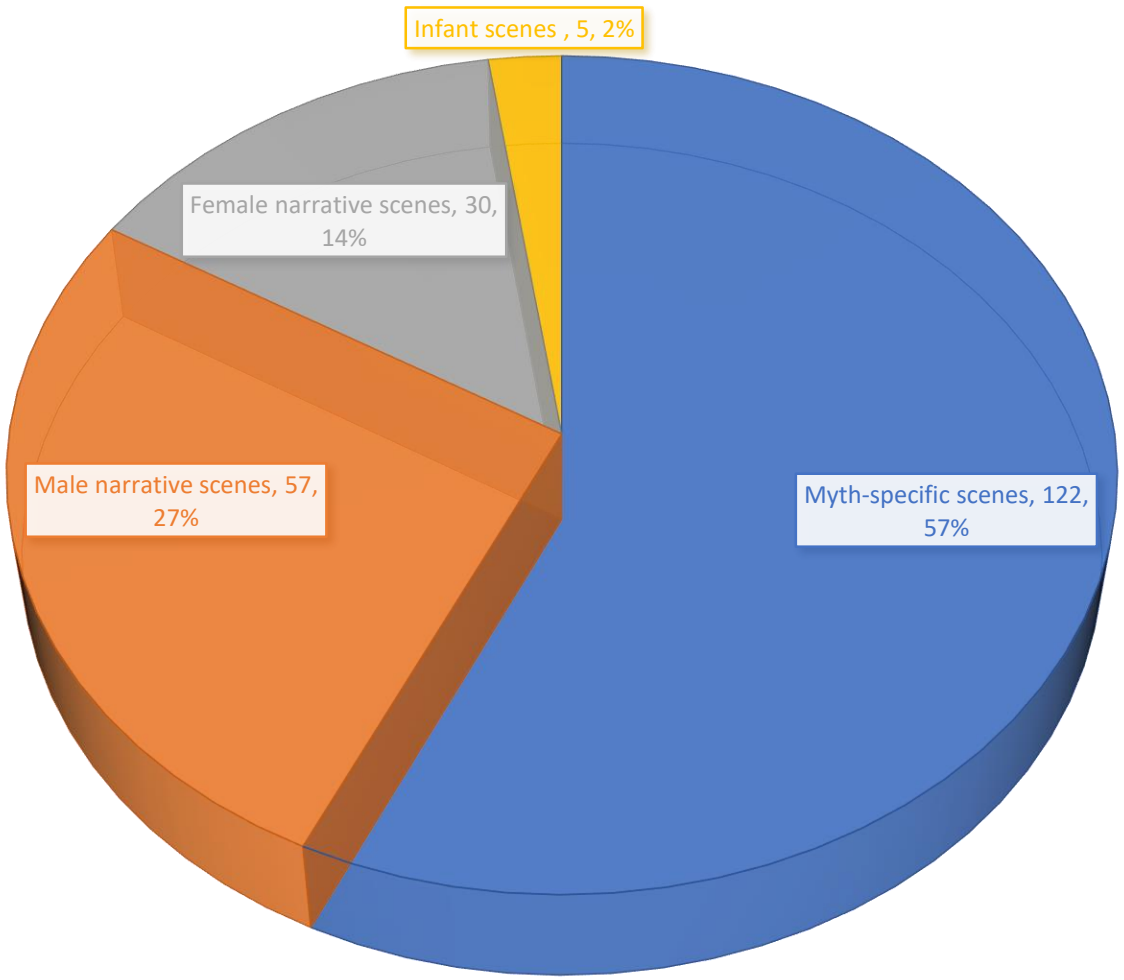


Fig.290 Total figural scenes from Fikellura cemetery [211].

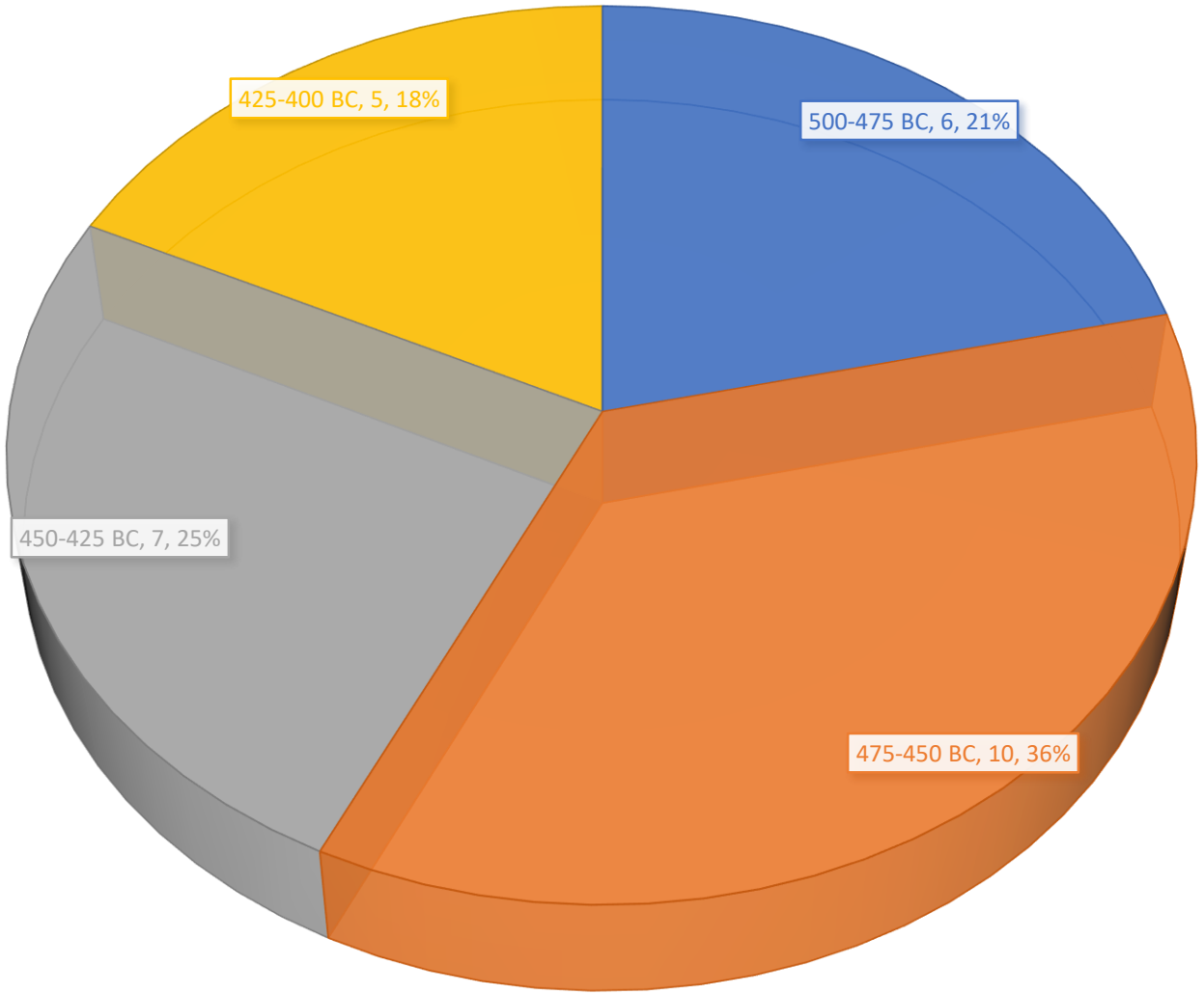


Fig.291 Dates of Fikellura graves containing female narrative scenes [28].

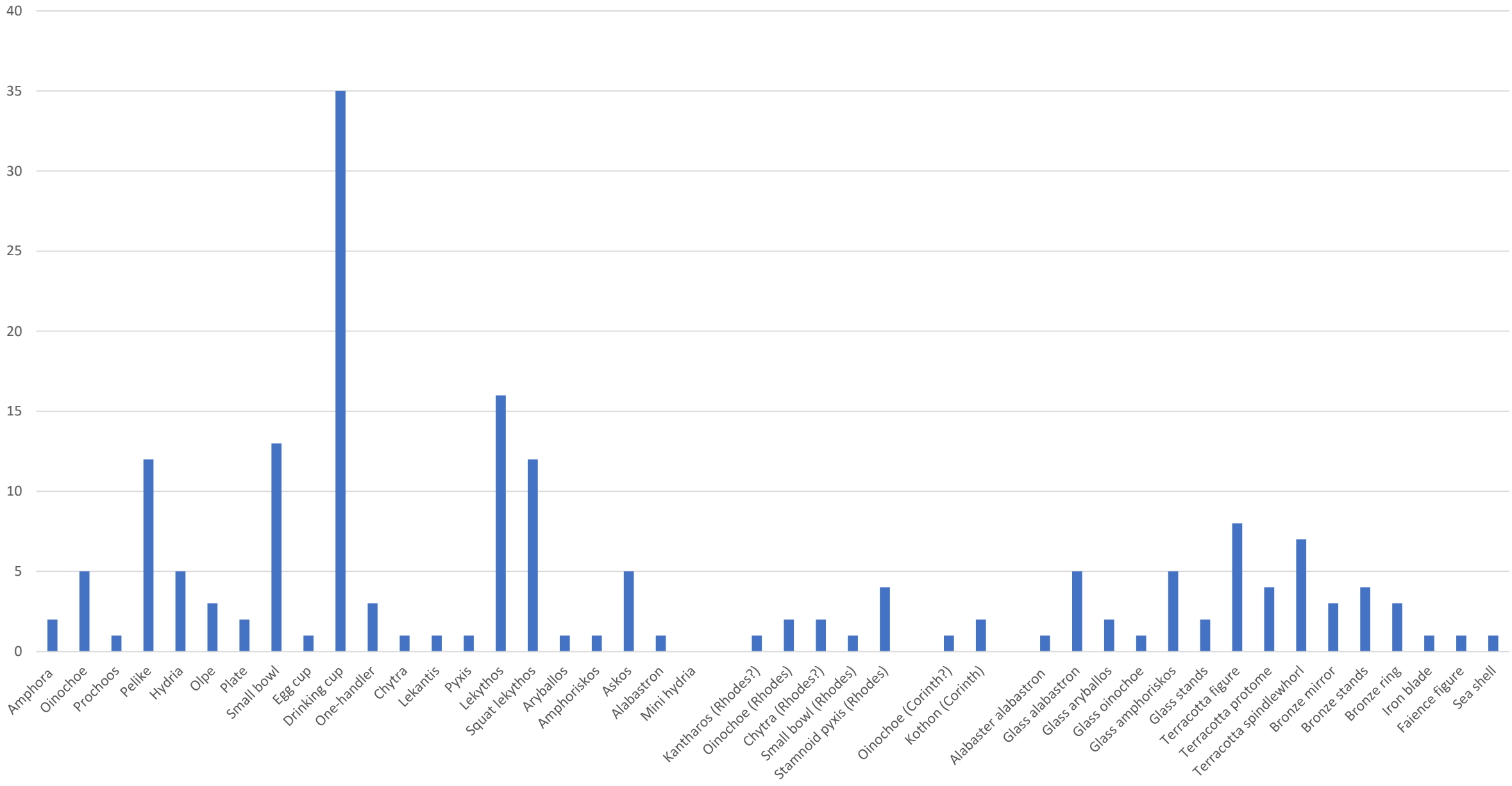


Fig.292 Contents of Fikellura graves containing female narrative scenes [182].

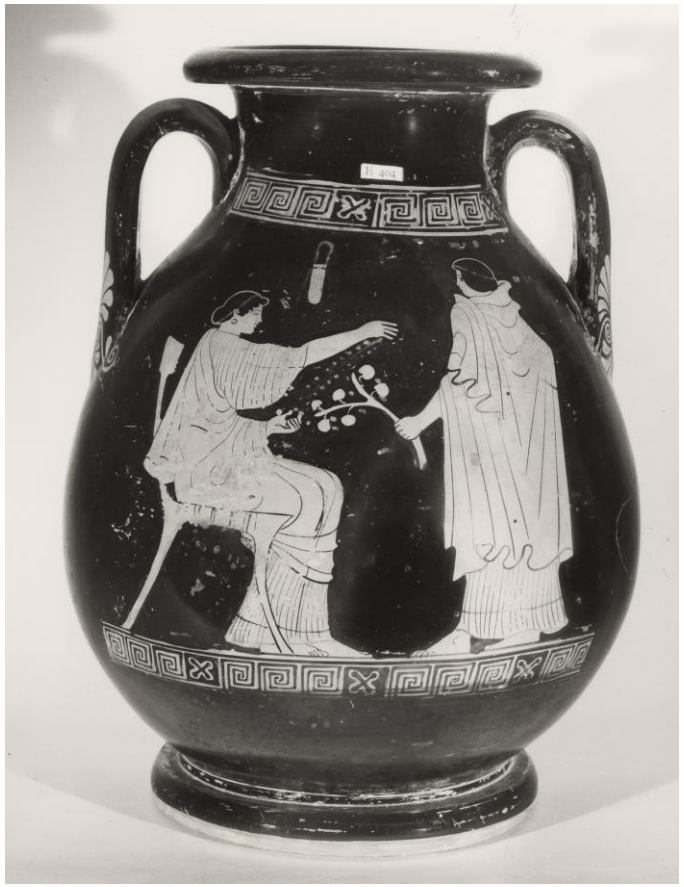


Fig.293 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.1677; H. 33 cm.

Fig.294 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.192; H. 17.78 cm.

Fig.295 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.107; H. 17.8 cm.

Fig.296 Glass stands; BM 1864,1007.2006-2007; H. 1.2 cm; Glass aryballos; BM 1864,1007.1198; H. 8.2 cm.

Fig.297 Bronze stands; BM 1864,1007.390-393; H. 1.2 cm.

Fig.298 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.119; H. 35.5 cm.

Fig.299 Kylix; BM 1864,1007.91; H. 10.1 cm.

Fig.300 Lekythos; RHODES 11966; H. 25 cm.

Fig.301 Bronze mirror; BM 1864,1007.344; H. 21 cm.

Fig.302 Glass alabastron; BM 1864,1007.1213; H. 11.7 cm.

Fig.303 Lekythos; BM 1864,1007.172; H. 9.5 cm.

Fig.304 Pelike; BM 1864,1007.189; H. 19 cm.

Fig.305 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.89; H. 8.25 cm.

Fig.306 Squat lekythos; BM 1864,1007.204; H. 8.25 cm.

Fig.307 ‘Temple boy’ figure; BM 1864,1007.1910; H. 7.6 cm.

Fig.308 ‘Temple boy’ figure; BM 1864,1007.1909; H. 9 cm.

Fig.309 Corinthian kothon; BM 1864,1007.324; H. 5.3 cm.

Fig.310 Corinthian kothon; BM 1864,1007.325; H. 5 cm.

GRAVE	DATE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
CHILD'S GRAVE	725-700 BC	BM 1864,1007.931 (faience bead); BM 1864,1007.1795; BM 1864,1007.2016 (ring); BM 1864,1007.1582; cf. *Lindos* I: 26 and 28, pl.35; Coldstream 2008: 265 (flask).
DEPOSIT		
KAMIROS WELL	720-580 BC	See section 3.3.2.1 for object references.
DEPOSIT D&E	650-550 BC	See section 3.3.2.2 for object references.

GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
1	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	BM 1864,1007.153; cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: nos. 342 and 343, pl. 59 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1237 (pithos); BM 1864,1007.1236 (pithos); BM 1864,1007.155 (lid); BM 1864,1007.2096; Cook and Dupont 1998: 29, fig. 7.1b.
2	CHAMBER TOMB	575-550 BC	BM 1864,1007.510 (bronze bowl); BM 1864,1007.1434 ; cf. Amyx 1988: 154, no. 2, pl. 61.1 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1305; Higgins 1614 (terracotta figure-vessel); BM 1864,1007.511 (lead cup); BM 1864,1007.378; Marshall 1172 (earring); BM 1864,1007.1433; cf. Amyx 1988: 154, no. 2, pl. 61.1 (aryballos).
3	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	BM 1864,1007.512; Marshall 1199 (gold ring); BM 1864,1007.377 (bronze pendant); BM 1864,1007.375 (gold band).
4	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	BM 1864,1007.1422 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1435 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.2093 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1420; Higgins 1649 (terracotta figure-vessel); BM 1864,1007.1419; Higgins 1620 (terracotta figure-vessel).
5	PITHOS	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.2011 (bronze ring); BM 1977,0118.1 (dish); BM 1864,1007.831 (terracotta figure-vessel); BM 1864,1007.965 (silver ring); BM 1864,1007.1965 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1156 (alabaster alabastron).
6	N/A	N/A	N/A
7	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	BM 1864,1007.1776; Bailey Q395 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.1778; Bailey Q381 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.1179; Bailey Q381 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.1782; Bailey Q393 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.363; Marshall 1120 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.364; Marshall 1134 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.365; Marshall 1135 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.366; Marshall 1132 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.367; Marshall 1133 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.368; Marshall 1136 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.369; Marshall 1185 (gold rosette); BM 1864,1007.1372; Marshall 1122 (gold plaque); BM 1864,1007.694-752 (bone plaques).
8	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	BM 1864,1007.132 (plate).
9	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	BM 1864,1007.1411; cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 387-8, cat. 344, pl. 60 (stemmed dish).
10	N/A	N/A	N/A
11	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.131; Villing and Mommsen 2017: 143, fig. 43 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1147 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1799 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1427; cf. Payne 1931: 309, cat. 966, fig. 150 (skyphos).
12	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.187; Walters E192; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.87,1 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1149 (alabaster alabastron)
13	CHAMBER TOMB	575-550 BC	BM 1864,1007.1423 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1430; Amyx 1988: 230, no.1 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1425 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1432 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1784 (dish); BM 1864,1007.1816 (lid).
14	STONE LINED CIST	500-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1393; Higgins 118 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.136; Higgins 233 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1390; Higgins 109 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1919; Higgins 277 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.146; Higgins 269; BM 1864,1007.1307; Higgins 924 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007; Higgins 155 (terracotta figure).
15	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	BM 1864,1007.891 (faience bead).
16	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	BM 1864,1007.1155 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1950,1027.1 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.2089 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.2092; cf. Neeft 1987: 275-289 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1148 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.211; cf. Amyx 1988: 93, pl. 43.1-2 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.149; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 13] pl.573,4; cf. Vroulia pl. 18.2a (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1173 (rock crystal bead); BM 1864,1007.1792 (oinochoe).

GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
1	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	BM 1864,1007.519 (silver bracelet); BM 1864,1007.757 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1424 (ring aryballos); BM 1864,1007.518 (silver bracelet); BM 1864,1007.1546 (cup); BM 1864,1007.1576 (oinochoe).
2	CHAMBER TOMB	700-675 BC	BM 1864,1007.1936 (cooking-pot); BM 1864,1007.170 (dish).
3	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.2026; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769 and 1775, pl.113 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.758 (aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1815 (skyphos).

GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
1	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.205; Walters E26 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.113; Walters E197; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britian 5] pl. 80,2 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1586; cf. *Agora* XII 859-60 pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1721; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1667; cf. *Agora* Vol XII 993, pl.35 (kyathos); BM 1864,1007.326; cf. Payne 1931: 335, nos. 1519-1526; Hopper 1949: 232, no. 5; Amyx 1988: 474 (kothon); BM 1864,1007.1806; Walters B558; cf. *CVA* Rhodes I (2007) 5108, p.114-5, pl.84 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.179; Walters B555; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1178-80, pl.86 (lekythos).
2	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	N/A
3	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1167 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.2117; cf. *Agora* XII 455, pl.21 (kylix).
4	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.216; Walters B563 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.266 (skyphos).
5	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	BM 1864,1007.1557 (skyphos).
6	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.93; Walters E217; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britian 6] pl. 89,9 (hydria)
7	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.329; cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl.175 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.2109; cf. *Agora* XII 436, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1426 (cup)
8	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.1522 (skyphos); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1588, pl. 105 (skyphos).
9	STONE LINED CIST	600-575 BC	BM 1952,0204.73 (skyphos).
10	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.228; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.60 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.180; BM 1864,1007.206; Walters B697 (kylix).
11	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1948,0502.13; Higgins 66 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1380; Higgins 67 (terracotta protome); BM 1948,0502.9; Higgins 66 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1376; Higgins 135 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1714; Walters B472 (olpe); BM 1949,0220.12 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1901; Higgins 65 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1371; Higgins 142 (terracotta protome).
12	PITHOS	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.35 (kylix); cf. *Agora* XII 456, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1534; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E48.1, pl.91 (kylix).
13	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1469 (phiale); BM 1955.1026.1 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1952,0204.75 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1471; cf. *Agora* XII 984, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1674; cf. *Agora* XII 311, pl.14 (skyphos).
14	N/A	N/A	N/A
15	STONE LINED CIST	400-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1487 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.1748 (amphora).
16	SARCOPHAGUS	450-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.51 (sarcophagus); BM 1864,1007.1711 (lekythos).
17	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1812 (unguentarium).
18	STONE LINED CIST	500-400 BC	BM 1955,1026.3 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.354 (mirror).
19	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1006.1367 (kantharos).
20	AMPHORA	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1807; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1486 (alabastron).
21	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1506; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.7, pl.51 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1476; cf. *Agora* XII 730 and 733, pl.30.
22	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.185; Walters E31; cf. *Agora* XXX 1587, pl.150 and *Agora* XII 440, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.261; Walters B559 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.106; Walters 698 (kylix); BM 1865,1007.1527; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E10.3, pl.85 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1899; Higgins 175 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.135; Higgins 72 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.245; Walters B495 (oinochoe).
23	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1531; cf. *Agora* XII 15, pl.1 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.96; Walters E358 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.1208; Harden 230 (glass aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1915; Higgins 188 (terracotta figure).
24	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1895; Higgins 172 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1890; Higgins 178 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1159 (alabaster alabastron).
25	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1955,1026.4 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1375; Higgins 137 (terracotta protome).
26	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.174 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1696; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769, pl.113 and *Agora* XII 420, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.236; Walters B516 (oinochoe).
27	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1910; Higgins 279 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1704 (cup); BM 1864,1007.221; Walters B473 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1910; Higgins 259 (terracotta figure).
28	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1220; Harden 112 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1312; Higgins 927 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007.116; Walters E559.
29	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.53; cf. *Agora* XII 978, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1952,0402.55; cf. *Agora* XII 854, pl. 33 (bowl); BM 1864,1007.1509 (lekythos); BM 1952,0402.7; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1563 (skyphos).
30	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1955 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1532; cf. *Agora* XII 15, pl.1 (pelike).
31	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.182; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britian 6] pl.98,10; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] (2007) pl.56 (hydria).
32	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.80; Walters E30 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.219; Walters B535 (lekythos).
33	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.183; Walters B363 (column krater); BM 1864,1007.359 (oinochoe).
34	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1951,0307.2; Higgins 145; Jones 1986: 668, table 8.8, no.19 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1903; Higgins 131 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1572; cf. *Agora* XII, pl.46 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1935; Higgins 236 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1723; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.7, pl.51 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1909; Higgins 258 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.198; Walters E143; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 29,1 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1712; Walters E762; cf. *Agora* XXX pls.109-111 (askos); BM 1864,1007.230; Walters B695 (oinochoe); BM 1952,0204.79 (hydria); BM 1949,0220.11; cf. *Agora* XII 962, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1291; Higgins 129 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1765; CVA British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.32,14 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1651; cf. *Agora* XII 1129-30, pl.38 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.129; Walters E354 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.1670; Bailey Q377 (lamp).
35	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1691; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1762 and 1769, pl.113 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.258 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.323 (pyxis).
36	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1956 (shell) BM 1864,1007.1958 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1715; *CVA* British Musuem 6 [Great Britiain 8] pl.98,12; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] (2007), pl.55 (hydria).
37	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1197; Harden 198 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.345 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.1996; Harden 98 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.232; Walters E662 (squat lekythos).
38	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.302 (olpe).
39	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.256; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 13] pl.578,5-6 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.268; Walters B371; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1567, pl.104 (skyphos);
40	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.47; cf. *Agora* XII, 341, pl.16 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1573 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1492; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10], pl.93 (lekythos).
41	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1859 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1774 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1201; Harden 216 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1481; cf. *Agora* Vol XII 222, pl.11 (mug); BM 1864,1007.1378; Higgins 294 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1289; Higgins 289 (terracotta figure); BM 1949,0220.13; cf. *Agora* XII 459, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.102; Walters E667 (squat lekythos).
42	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1709; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 5018 and 1344, pl.84-5 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1412 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.1814 (askos); BM 1952,0204.90; cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl.19 (kylix).
43	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1682 (oinochoe); BM 1863,1007.305; Walters E144; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.29; BM 1864,1007.1822 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.328; cf. *Agora* Vol XII 175, pl.10; BM 1949,0204.12; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1152 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.77; Walters D2 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.2116 (arcocup); BM 1864,1007.336 (chytra); BM 1864,1007.287; cf. *Agora* XII 1250-52, pl.42 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.191; Walters E643 (lekythos); BM 1952,0204.29; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.304; Walters E145; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.29,3 (skyphos).
44	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.214; Walters B570 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.296 (kylix); BM 1952,0204.44; cf. *Agora* XII 558, pl.24 (bolsal).
45	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1920; Higgins 78 (terracotta figure-vessel); BM 1864,1007.1626; cf. *Agora* XII 411, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1319; Higgins 157 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1756 (lopas); BM 1864,1007.1925; Higgins 170 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.158; Higgins 145 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.184; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98,7; cf. CVA Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 and pl.56 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1934; Higgins 169 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.214; Walters B570 (lekythos).
46	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1528; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E10,3, pl.85 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.263; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.85.
47	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	BM 1864,1007.1850; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 13] pl. 573,2 (amphoriskos).
48	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.339; cf. *Agora* XII 158, pl.9 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1160 (alabaster alabastron).
49	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1632; cf. *Agora* XII 1175-1176, pl.39 (askos); BM 1967,0829.1 (lid); BM 1864,1007.1637; cf. *Agora* Vol XII 868 and 871, pl. 33; BM 1952,0204.41 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1439; cf. *Agora* XII 848, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1442; cf. *Agora* XII 863, 867, 868-869, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1658 (oinochoe).
50	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.115; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.78,1; BM 1864,1007.1218; Harden 97 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.90; Walters E118 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1606; cf. *Agora* XII 534, pl.24 (kylix).
51	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1461; cf. *Agora* XII 810-811, pl. 32 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1590; cf. *Agora* XII 494, pl.23 (kylix).

52	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.79; Walters E29 (kylix).
53	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1482; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 261,1, pl.83; BM 1864,1007.283; Walters B356; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,8; BM 1864,1007.1517; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl.20 (kylix).
54	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.192; Walters E369 (pelike).
55	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1543; cf. *Kerameikos* XI grave 160,1, pl. 81 (kylix); BM 1864.1007.1705; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1541, pl.104 (skyphos).
56	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.78; *CVA* British Museum 4 pl.34,2 (kantharos); BM 1864,1007.127; Walters E368 9 (pelike); BM 1952,0204.95 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1850 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1665 (kantharos); BM 1955,1026.5 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1533; cf. *Agora* XII 47-48, pl. 1 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.1474; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 383, pl. 65 (one-handler); BM 1864,1007.1594; cf. *Agora* XII 469, pl 22; BM 1864,1007.1168 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1952,0204.31; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix).
57	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1525; cf. *Agora* XII 437 and 440, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.227; Walters B488 (oinochoe).
58	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.223; Walters B623 (oinochoe).
59	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1865,1007.175; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.84-5 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.250; Walters B624 (oinochoe).
60	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.210; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (hydria)
61	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1706; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1577, pl.105 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.229; cf. *CVA* Rhodes I [Greece 10] pl.64 (oinochoe)
62	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1475; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 383, p.97, pl. 65 (one-handler).
63	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1736 (amphora).
64	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1513; cf. *Agora* XII 16, pl.1 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.2106; cf. *Agora* XII 573, pl. 25 (kotyle).
65	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1389; Higgins 208 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1381; Higgins 244 (terracotta protome).
66	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1978,0512.1; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.85; BM 1864,1007.1694; cf. *Agora* XII 420, pl.20 (kylix).
67	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1952,0204.20; cf. *Agora* XII 409-10, pl.19 (kylix).
68	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.226; Walters B514; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.60 (oinochoe)
69	STONE LINED CIST	375-350 BC	BM 1864,1007.200 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1485; cf. *Agora* XII 1137, pl.38 (squat lekythos).
70	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.264; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.85 (lekythos).
71	STONE LINED CIST	375-350 BC	BM 1864,1007.1932; Higgins 253 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.88 (oinochoe); BM 18641,1007.1599; cf. *Agora* XII 494, pl.23 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1298; Higgins 133 (terracotta figure).
72	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1724; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769, pl.113 (kylix).
73	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1410 (marble bowl); BM 1864,1007.1569; cf. *Agora* XII 1220, pl.40 (lekanis); BM 1952,0204.50; cf. *Agora* XII 1270, pl.42 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1840 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1514; cf. *Agora* XII 184, pl.10 (oinochoe).
74	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.125; Walters E372 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.1914; Higgins 278 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.165 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1387; Higgins 205 (terracotta figure).
74 bis	N/A	450-425 BC	BM 1952,0204.86 (lekythos).
75	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1605; cf. *Agora* XII 572, pl.25 (skyphos).
76	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.275; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,3 (hydria).
77	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.181; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.63 (oinochoe).
78	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1662; cf. *Agora* XII 1197, pl.39 (feeder); BM 1864,1007.195; Walters E746; cf. *Agora* XXX 1153, pl.111 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1746; cf. *Agora* XII 819-20, pl. 32 (small bowl); BM 1952,0204.40; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1627; cf. *Agora* XII 1174-1176, pl.39 (askos).
79	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.2113; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix).
80	STONE LINED CIST	400-375 BC	BM 1864,1007.1484 (skyphos).
81	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1310; Higgins 926 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007.1304; Higgins 282 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1318; Higgins 232 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.62; Harden 261 (glass oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1685; Walters E73; *CVA* British Museum 9 [Great Britain 17] 58 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1620; cf. *Agora* XII 1026, pl.59 (plate).
82	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1463; cf. *Agora* XII 859-60, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1587 (dish); BM 1864,1007.1676 (askos).
83	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1545; cf. *Agora* XII 548-549, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1952,0204.67; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 300, pl.58 (small bowl).
84	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.244; Walters B517 (oinochoe).
85	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.156; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britiain 13] pl.571,1; BM 1864,1007.218; Walters B549; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 1344, pl.85 (lekythos).
86	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1722 (squat lekythos).
87	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.19; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1577, pl.105 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.352 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.171; Walters E669 (squat lekythos).
88	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.241; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.60 (oinochoe).
89	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1887 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.394 (bronze ring); BM 1864,1007.1619; cf. *Agora* XII 864-5, pl.59 (plate); BM 1864,1007.1962 (shell); BM 1864,1007.172; Walters E661 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.395 (bronze ring); BM 1864,1007.1213; Harden 113 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.396 (bronze ring); BM 1864,1007.344 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.2020; Harden 183 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1618; cf. *Agora* XII 1026, pl.59 (plate); BM 1864,1007.1638; cf. *Agora* XII 867, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1952,0204.92; cf. *Agora* XII 1174-1176, pl.39 (askos).
90	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1558 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1497; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.342 (bronze mirror); BM 1949,0220.21; cf. Agora XII 457, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.291; cf. Agora XXIII 1762, pl.113; BM 1864,1007.1556 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1897; Higgins 174 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1911; Higgins 193 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.330; cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl.175 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1574; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 92,7, pl.51; BM 1864,1007.272; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.72; BM 1864,1007.1930; Higgins 203 (terracotta model); BM 1864,107.1369; Higgins 140 (terracotta protome).
91	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1624; cf. *Agora* XII 414, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.122; Waters E531 (chous).
92	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1526; cf. *Agora* XII 419, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.255; *CVA* British Museum 8 [Great Britain 13] pl.580,2 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.297; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1762, pl. 113 (kylix).
93	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.28; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.163; Walters B346; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98 (hydria).
94	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1593; cf. *Agora* XII 464, pl. 21 (cup); BM 1864,1007.243 (oinochoe);
95	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.239; Walters B487; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.60 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.350 (bronze mirror).
96	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1477; cf. *Agora* XII 289-290, pl.31 (one-handler).
97	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,107.1762; Bailey Q380 (lamp).
97 bis	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1783 (amphoriskos).
98	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.109; Walters E412 (pelike).
99	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.6 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1490; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.284; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.97,12 (hydria).
100	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.347 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.65; Harden 245 (glass oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.318 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1146 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1592; cf. *Agora* XII 474, pl.22 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1719; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 graves 572 and 550, pl. 94 (lekythos);
101	N/A	N/A	N/A
102	N/A	N/A	N/A
103	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.215 (lekythos); BM 19652,0204.17; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E10.3, pl.85 (kylix).
104	"FOUND IN THE SOIL"	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1697; Walters B445; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769, pl.113 (kylix).
105	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1615; Walters B443; cf. *Agora* XII 978, pl.35 (stemmed dish).
106	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1301; Higgins 166 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1302; Higgins 167 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.265; Walters B529 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.262; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Grecce 10] pl.86 (lekythos).
107	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.269; Walters B682 (phiale).
108	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1495; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1707; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1577 pl.105 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1561; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 268.1 pl.79 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.58; cf. *Agora* XII 361-2, pl.17 (glaux); BM 1864,1007.1708; Walters B622 (oinochoe).

109	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1952,0204.21; cf. *Agora* XII 409-10, pl.19 (kylix).
110	PITHOS	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1894; Higgins 171 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1889; Higgins 179 (terracotta figure); BM 1952,0204.3; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 5108 and 1344, pl.84-5 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.138; Higgins 160 (terracotta figure); BM 1952,0204.2; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 5108 and 1344, pl.84-5 (lekythos).
111	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1926,0216.133; Bailey Q28 (lamp); BM 1952,0204.36; cf. Agora XII 455, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.285; *CVA* British Museum 6 [British Museum 8] pl.98,5; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (kylix).
112	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.58; cf. *Agora* XII 848, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1952,0205.45; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 162.5, pl.79 9 (skyphos).
113	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1414 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1684 (bowl).
114	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.295; Walters B437; cf. *Agora* XII 420, pl.20 (kylix).
115	CHAMBER TOMB	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1515 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.526 (bronze mirror).
116	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1502; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 88.3, pl.22; BM 1864,1007.151; Walters E359 (pelike).
117		475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.18; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1564-5 and 1567, pl.104 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1479; cf. *Agora* Vol XII 734-735, pl.30 (one-handler); BM 1864,1007.1217; Harden 119 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.123; Walters B260; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl.5,3 (amphora).
118	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1512 (hydria).
119	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1562 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.251; Walters B491 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1803; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.7 pl.51 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1539; cf. *Agora* XII 572-5, pl.25 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1564 (skyphos).
120	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1219; Harden 103 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1454; cf. *Agora* XII 844-5, pl. 33 (small bowl).
121	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.224; Walters B630 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.101; Waters E507 (calyx-krater).
122	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1663; cf. *Agora* XII 1197, pl.39 (feeder); BM 1864,1007.1547 (cup); BM 1949,0220.18; cf. *Agora* XII 863 and 871, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1949,0220.17; cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1949,0220.55; cf. *Agora* XII 583, pl.26; BM 1864,1007.1203; Harden 217 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1311; Higgins 910 (terracotta doll).
123	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1888; Higgins 177 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.145; Higgins 272 (terracotta figure); BM 1952,0204.97; cf. *Agora* XII 103, pl.5 (oinochoe); BM 1949,0601.18; Higgins 193 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1308; Higgins 925 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007.1523; cf. *Agora* XII 410, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1917; Higgins 275 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.142; Higgins 270 (terracotta figure).
124	PITHOS	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1285; Higgins 125 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1510; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 285, pl.56 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1283; Higgins 123 (terracotta figure).
125	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1598 (kylix); BM 1952,0204.33; cf. *Agora* XII 457, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1589; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1762 and 1769, pl.113 (kylix).
126	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.194; Walters E743; cf. *Agora* XXX 1167, pl.110 (askos); BM 1952,0204.16; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1567, pl.104 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1886 (terracotta spindle-whorl).
127	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.292; Walters B444 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1462; cf. *Agora* XII 816, pl. 32 (small bowl).
128	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1611; cf. *Agora* XII 1225, pl.41 (lekanis); BM 1864,1007.327 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1542; cf. *Kerameikos* XI grave 279.4, pl 81 and *Agora* XII 487 and 494, pl.23 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.70; Harden 187 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1622; cf. *Agora* XII 1150, pl.39 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.2114; cf. *Agora* XII 437-8, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1157 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.349 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.1202; Harden 167 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1668 (pyxis).
129	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1567; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 263.3, pl.80 (lekanis); BM 1864,1007.516 (iron spear); BM 1952,0204.24; cf. *Agora* XII 404 an 409, pl. 19 (kylix).
130	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1630; cf. *Agora* XII 1166-1172, pl.39 (askos); BM 1952,0204.93; cf. *Agora* XII 845, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1954 (shell).
131	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.2118; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E68, pl.93 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.337; cf. *Agora* XII 114, pl.6 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1617; cf. *Agora* XII 975, pl.35 (stemmed dish).
132	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1568 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.276 (hydria); Walters B348; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,2 (hydria).
133	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1205; Harden 233 (glass aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1552 (one-handler).
134	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1855 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.162; Walters B482 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.322 (bronze mirror).
135	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.353 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.1583 (cup); BM 1864,1007.1718; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1540, pl.104 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1210; Harden 221 (glass aryballos); BM 1864,1007.1295; Higgins 127 (terracotta figure).
136	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.121; Walters E556 (olpe).
137	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.119; Walters E376 (pelike).
138	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1656; cf. *Agora* XII 264-269, pl.13 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1233; Harden 129 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1607 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.340; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.62; BM 1952,0204.88; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1577, pl.105 (skyphos).
139	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.32; cf. Agora XII 461, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1446; cf. *Agora* XII 871 and 877, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.133; cf. *Agora* XII 103, pl.5 (oinochoe).
140	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1604; cf. *Agora* XII 453, pl.21 (stemless cup).
141	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1687; Walters B448
142	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.334 (oinochoe).
143	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.293; Walters B440; BM 1864,1007.120; Walters E364 (pelike).
144	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1519; cf. *Agora* XII 436-437, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.2108; cf. *Agora* XII 438, pl.20 (kylix).
145	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1642; cf. *Agora* XXX 987, pl. 96 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.2030 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.319 (pyxis).
146	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1443 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1169 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.343 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.1577 (olpe).
147	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1948,0601.20; Higgins 215 (terracotta figure); BM 1948,0502.4; Higgins 222 (terracotta figure); BM 1948,0502.1; Higgins 217 (terracotta figure); BM 1948,0501.5; Higgins 216 (terracotta figure); BM 1948,0502.8; Higgins 217 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1382; Higgins 221 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1229; Harden 94 (glass alabastron); BM 1948,0501.4; Higgins 213 (terracotta figure).
148	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.27; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.267; Walters B374 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.168; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.66,4; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pls.31-32 (neck amphora).
149	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.2105; cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1370; Higgins 141 (terracotta protome).
150	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.501 (strainer); BM 1864,1007.357 (ladel); BM 1864,1007.92; Walters E92; BM 1864,1007.356 (strainer); BM 1864,1007.502 (oinochoe).
151	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1451; cf. *Agora* XII 856-7, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.351 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.300 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1466; cf. *Agora* XII 942, pl.34 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.346 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.85; Walters E172; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.75,4 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1757 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.1653; cf. *Agora* XII 203, pl.11; BM 1864,1007.281; Walters B354; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,6 (hydria).
152	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.2107; cf. *Agora* XII 410, pl.19 (kylix).
153	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.51; cf. *Agora* XII 1124-5, pl.38 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1468; cf. *Agora* XII 816, pl.32 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1570; cf. *Agora* XII 1248, pl.42 (lekanis).
154	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1717; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1540, pl.104 (skyphos).
155	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1809; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.94 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1669; Bailey Q15 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.202; Walters B675 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1515; cf. *Agora* XII 438, pl.20 (kylix).
156	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.193; Walters E759; cf. *Agora* XXX 1158, pl. 110 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1457; cf. *Agora* XII 905-7, pl.34 (salt-cellar).
157	STONE LINED CIST	500-375 BC	BM 1952,0204.83 (alabaster alabastron).
158	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1613; cf. *Agora* XII 978, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.1520; cf. *Agora* XII 408, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1153 (alabaster alabastron).
159	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1698; Walters B439 (kylix).
160	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1498; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.213; Walters B527 (lekythos).
161	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.188; Walters E365 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.288 (kylix).
162	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1505; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.6, pl.51 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1507; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.7, pl.51.
163	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.52; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 239.3, pl.60 (mug); BM 1864,1007.1635; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pls.24 and pl.53 (bolsal).
164	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.294; Walters B441 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.139; Higgins 161 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1391; Higgins 113 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1501; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 88.3, pl.22 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.222; Walters B628 (oinochoe).
165	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.165; Walters B442 (kylix).

166	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1565 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1916; Higgins 189 (terracotta figure).
167	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1671; Bailey Q383 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.1738 (bowl); BM 1864,1007.1737 (bowl).
168	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.97; Walters E352 (pelike).
169	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.189; Walters E396 (pelike)
170	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.207; Walters E689 (squat lekythos).
171	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1392; Higgins 214 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1231; Harden 90 (glass alabastron); BM 1948,0502.5; Higgins 138 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1660; cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl.10 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1566; cf. *Agora* XII 361-2, pl.17 (glaux); BM 1864,1007.69; Harden 185 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.321 (pyxis).
172	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1621 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.11; Higgins 280; BM 1864,1007.1641; cf. *Agora* XII 869, pl. 33; BM 1964,1007.1952 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1648; cf. *Agora* XII 1129-30, pl.38; BM 1864,1007.1227; Harden 139 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.133; Higgins 615; Stilp 2006: 175-176, no. 28 (terracotta plaque); BM 1864,1007.1232; Harden 86 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.134; Higgins 614; Stilp 2006: 170-171, no. 21 (terracotta plaque).
173	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1749 (amphoriskos);
174	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.204; Walters B635 (lekythos).
175	N/A	N/A	N/A
176	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1950,0731.4; Higgins 190 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1385; Higgins 204 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.237 (oinochoe).
177	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1623; cf. *Agora* XII 1150, pl.39 (amphoriskos).
178	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.186; Walters E91 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.303 (skyphos).
179	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.190; Walters E347; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.68,2; BM 1864,1007.1503; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.6, pl.51; BM 1864,1007.1856 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.234; Walters E679 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1851; cf. Agora XII 1159, pl.39 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.231; Walters E527 (chous); BM 1864,1007.1368; Higgins 237 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.203; Walters E526 (chous); BM 1864,1007.235; Walters E680 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.83; Walters E530 (chous).
180	STONE LINED CIST	600-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.93; cf. *Agora* XII 845, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1163 (alabaster alabastron).
181	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1952,0204.63; cf. *Agora* XII 871, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.279; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98,1; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1444; cf. Agora XII, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1952,0204.39; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1686; Walters B446 (kylix).
182	STONE LINED CIST	425-400BC	BM 1864,1007.1927; Higgins 212 (terracotta figure); BM 1952,0204.70; cf. *Agora* XII 773, pl.31 (one-handler).
183	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.225 (oinochoe): BM 1864,1007.170; Walters E682 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1494; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93.
184	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.85; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 282, pl. 55 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.259 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1206; Harden 241 (glass aryballos); BM 1952,0204.89; cf. *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl. 45,5.
185	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.325 (kothon); BM 1864,1007.1550; cf. *Agora* XII 750-751, pl.31 (one-handler); BM 1864,1007.1549; cf. *Agora* XII 464, pl.21 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.103; Walters E745; cf. *Agora* XXX 1158-1160, pl.110 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1759; cf. *Agora* XII, part 1 (1970) 819, pl.32 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.107 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.505 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.1603; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.98; Walters E371 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.1448; cf. *Agora* XII 872, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1655 (chytra); BM 1864,1007.1671; Walters E364 (chytra).
186	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1300; Higgins 255 (terracotta figure).
187	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1554; cf. *Agora* XII 494, pl.23 (kylix).
188	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1952,0204.54; cf. *Agora* XII 981, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1952,0204.26; cf. *Agora* XII 420, pl. 20 (kylix).
189	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.10; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 630.5, pl.98 (lekythos); BM 1952,0204.81; Harden 101 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.130; Walters E557 (olpe); BM 1952,0204.82; Harden 99 (glass alabastron).
190	PITHOS	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1575; cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl.10 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1487; cf. *Kerameikos* IX, pl. 24,5,55; 24.1; 36.10; 40.6 (alabastron).
191	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	N/A
192	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1516; cf. *Agora* XII 438, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1530; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E10.3, pl.85 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.240; Walters B520 (oinochoe).
193	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1880 (lead spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1837 (lead spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1878 (lead spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1879 (lead spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1881 (lead spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.249; Walters B629; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10], pl.62 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.197; Walters E720 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1877 (lead spindle-whorl).
194	STONE LINED CIST	N/A	BM 1864,1007.1953 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1970 (shell); BM 1864,1007.1961 (shell).
195	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.277; *CVA* British Musuem 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98,3; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.196; Walters E152; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.32,10 (glaux).
196	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.111; Walters E373 (pelike).
197	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1166 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1952,0204.22; cf. *Agora* XII 403-4, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.208; Walters B358; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.97,10; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55 (hydria).
198	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.144; Higgins 260 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1898; Higgins 274 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.242 (oinochoe).
199	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1640; cf. *Agora* XII 867-868, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1848 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1646; cf. *Agora* XII 1126, pl.38 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.81; Walters E99; *CVA* British Museum 9 [Great Britain 17] pl.17 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.63; Harden 257 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.2112; cf. *Agora* XII 435, pl.20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.233 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.112; Walters E188; *CVA* British Museum 6 pl.85,2; BM 1864,1007.1838 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.322 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1857 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1548; cf. *Agora* XII 548, pl.24 (kylix).
200	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1893; Higgins 192 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1810; cf. *Agora* XII 19, pl.1 (pelike).
201	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.247; Walters B627 (oinochoe); BM 1952,0204.5; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1664 (feeder).
202	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1493; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1472; cf. *Agora* XII 981-2, pl.35 (stemmed dish).
203	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.271; Walters B480; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece] pl. 72 (olpe).
204	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1355 (lekythos).
205	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1677; Walters E404 (pelike); BM 1952,0204.59; cf. *Agora* XII 857, pl.33 (small bowl).
206	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1292; Higgins 124 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1222; Harden 146 (glass alabastron); BM 1964,1007.1923; Higgins 105 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.141; Higgins 159 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1933; Higgins 98 (terracotta figure-vessel); BM 1864,1007.1924; Higgins 104 (terracotta figure).
207	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1353 (jug); BM 1952,0204.8; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93 (lekythos); BM 1952,0204.13; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (lekythos).
208	N/A	N/A	N/A
209	N/A	N/A	N/A
210	N/A	675-550 BC	BM 1952,0204.69 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.78 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.77 (pyxis); BM 1952,0204.71 (olpe).
211	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1200; Harden 176 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1500; cf. *Kerameiko*s VII,2 grave 15.4, pl.8 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.178; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1162-1176, pl.86 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1299; Higgins 128 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1690 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.159; Higgins 152 (terracotta figure).
212	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.100; Walters E344; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.69,1 (neck-amphora); BM 1952,0204.49; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 163.1, pl.79 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1491; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1284; Higgins 121 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1535; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E48.1, pl.91 (skyphos).
213	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.2110; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl.20 (kylix).
214	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.280; Walters B355; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,7; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.5 (hydria); BM 1952,0204.57; cf. *Agora* XII 859-60, pl. 33 (small bowl).
215	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.248; Walters B626 (oinochoe).
216	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.278; Walters B350; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.96,4 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.199; Walters E123 (kylix).
217	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1445; cf. *Agora* XII 860, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1804; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 518, pl.90 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1437; cf. *Agora* XII 845, p.296, pl. 60 and *Kerameikos* IX grave 228, pl. 60 (small bowl).
218	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1663; cf. *Agora* XII 1170-1171, pl.39 (askos).
219	STONE LINED CIST	N/A	BM 1864,1007.1854 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1836 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1860 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1835 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1876 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1875 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1839 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1852 (terracotta spindle-whorl).

220	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1395; Higgins 248 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1296; Higgins 228 (terracotta figure).
221	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.299; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1762, pl. 113 (kylix).
222	N/A	N/A	N/A
223	N/A	N/A	N/A
224	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1948,0601.26; Higgins 192 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1398; Higgins 286 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1399 (terracotta figure).
225	CHAMBER TOMB	350-325 BC	BM 1864,1007.164; Walters E755; cf. *Agora* XXX 1164 and 1171, pl.110 (askos); BM 1952,0204.60; cf. *Agora* XII 876, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.87; Walters E751 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1465; cf. *Agora* XII 838, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1952,0204.84 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1551; cf. *Agora* XII 769, pl.30 (one-handler); BM 1977,0404.3 (iron blade); BM 1864,1007.1609; cf. *Agora* XII 621, pl.27 (skyphos); BM 1952,0204.43; cf. *Agora* XII 556, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1952,0204.38; cf. *Agora* XII 455, pl.21 (skyphos); BM 1977,0404.4 (iron knife); BM 1864,1007.1600; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1447; cf. *Agora* XII 883, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1977,0404.5 (iron knife); BM 1952,0204.61; cf *Agora* XII 872, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.86; Walters E756; cf. *Agora* XXX 1173 and 1174, pl. 111 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1597; cf. *Agora* XII 461, pl.21 (kylix).
226	STONE LINED CIST	550-375 BC	BM 1864,1007.1760 (bowl); BM 1864,1007.68; Harden 206 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1207; Harden 238 (glass aryballos).
227	STONE LINED CIST	550-375 BC	BM 1864,1007.1216; Harden 152 (glass alabastron); BM 1952,0204.74 (hydria).
228	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	BM 1952,0204.23; cf. *Agora* XII 402, pl.19 (kylix).
229	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.233; cf. *Agora* XXX 955 and 959, pl.94 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1488; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 400.10, pl.68 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.348 (bronze mirror); BM 1864,1007.204; Walters E683 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.89; Walters E681 (squat lekythos).
230	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1666; cf. *Agora* XII 633, pl.27 (kantharos); BM 1952,0204.64; cf. *Agora* XII 855, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1483; cf. *Agora* XII 265, pl.13 (olpe); BM 1952,0204.72 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1455; cf. *Agora* XII 899, p.300, pl.34 and *Kerameikos* IX grave 95.2, pl.51 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.176; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.87 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.165; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.45,4 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1428; cf. *Agora* XII 859, pl.33 (small bowl).
231	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.166; Walters E568; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1188, pl.87 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.74; Harden 179 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.335; cf. *Agora* XII 100, pl.5 (oinochoe).
232	N/A	N/A	N/A
233	N/A	N/A	N/A
234	STONE LINED CIST	470-460 BC	BM 1864,1007.1678; Walters E374 (pelike).
235	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.209; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98,6 (hydria); BM 1949,0220.16; cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1949,0220.15; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave E68, pl.93 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.72; Harden 196 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1388; Higgins 209 (terracotta figure).
236	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.84; Walters E171; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.75,3 (hydria); BM 1952,0204.34; cf. *Agora* XII 1459, pl.21 (kylix).
237	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1952,0204.68 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1504; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 88.3, pl.22 (lekythos).
238	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1413 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1758 (bowl).
239	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.65; cf. *Agora* XII 858-860, pl.33 (small bowl).
240	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1679; Walters E558 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1541; cf. *Agora* XII 469, pl.22 (kylix).
241	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.2111; cf. *Agora* XII 438, pl.20 (kylix).
242	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1949,0220.14; cf. *Agora* XII 864-5, pl.59 (plate); BM 1864,1007.1297; Higgins 227 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.61; Harden 258 (glass oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1851 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.1540; cf. *Agora* XII 469, pl.22 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1912; Higgins 252 (terracotta figure).
243	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1688; Walters B447 (kylix).
244	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.332 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1681; Walters E666; cf. *Agora* XXX 949, pl.93.
245	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1456; cf. *Agora* XII 911, pl.34 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,1007.338; cf. *Agora* XII 100, pl.5 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.1579 (kantharos).
246	STONE LINED CIST	375-350 BC	BM 1952,0204.91; cf. *Agora* XII 558, pl.24 (bolsal).
247	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.82; Walters E302; *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl.53,2 (neck-amphora); BM 1864,1007.1629; cf. *Agora* XII 1166-1172, pl.39 (askos); BM 1952,0204.30; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix).
248	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.99; Webb 1978: 99.
249	N/A	N/A	N/A
250	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1695 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.2115; cf. *Agora* XII 435, pl. 20 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.301 (kylix).
251	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.290 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.114; Walters E191; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.86,2 (hydria); BM 1864,1007.1518; cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl.20 (kylix).
252	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1949,0220.10; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1199; Harden 204 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.309; Higgins 913 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007.1865 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1864,1007.91; Walters E87 (kylix); BM 1955,1026.2 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1313; Higgins 928 (terracotta doll); BM 1864,1007.1286; Higgins 225 (terracotta figure); BM 1949,0220.9; cf. CVA Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1374; Higgins 146 (terracotta protome); BM 1949,0220.8; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 91.3, pl.23 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1294; Higgins 120 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1394; Higgins 151 (terracotta figure).
253	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1221; Harden 120 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1906; Higgins 264 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1905; Higgins 262 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1384; Higgins 220 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1496; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.110; Walters E355 (pelike).
254	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.67; Harden 191 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1198; Harden 199 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.2006; Harden 454 (glass stand); BM 1864,1007.2007; Harden 455 (glass stand); BM 1864,1007.105; Walters E594 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.2027 (kantharos); BM 1864,1007.1478 (one-handler); BM 1864,1007.1499; cf. Kerameikos VII,2 grave 63.4, pl.16 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.126; Walters E363 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.289 (kylix).
255	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1616; cf. *Agora* XII 978, pl.35 (stemmed dish).
256	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1595; cf. *Agora* XII 469, pl 22 (kylix); BM 1952,0204.46; cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 268.1, pl.79 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1452; cf. *Agora* XII 856, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1470; cf. *Agora* XII 987, pl.35 (stemmed dish).
257	CHAMBER TOMB	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1639; cf. *Agora* XII 872, pl. 33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1288; Higgins 290 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1596 (stemless cup); BM 1864,1007.1937 (chytra); BM 1864,1007.1458; cf. *Agora* 905, pl.34 (salt-cellar); BM 1949,0220.19; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 161, pl.30 (salt-cellar); BM 1949,0220.22; cf. *Agora* XII 1174-1176, pl.39 (askos); BM 1864,1007.522 (iron rod); BM 1864,1007.2029 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.1602; cf. *Agora* XII 545, pl.53 (terracotta spindle-whorl); BM 1952,0204.42; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1287; Higgins 288 (terracotta figure); BM 1865,1007.1754 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.173; Walters D44 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.521 (iron saw).
258	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.117; Walters E147; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.29,5 (skyphos).
259	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.331; cf. *Agora* XII 175, pl.10 (olpe).
260	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.390 (bronze stand); BM 1864,1007.73; Harden 180 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1386; Higgins 206 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.391 (bronze stand); BM 1864,1007.1659 (prochoos); BM 1949,0220.20; cf. *Agora* XII 856, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.1631; cf. *Agora* XII 1166-1172, pl.39 (askos); BM 1864,1007.104; Walters E96 (kylix); BM 184,1007.392 (bronze stand); BM 1864,1007.393 (bronze stand); BM 1864,1007.1716; *CVA* British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8] pl.98,8; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.56 (hydria).
261	STONE LINED CIST	600-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1751 (amphoriskos).
262	STONE LINED CIST	600-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1753 (olpe).
263	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.64; Harden 256 (glass oinochoe); BM 1952,0204.62; cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1952,0204.9; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 630.5, pl.98 (lekythos); BM 1952,0204.25; cf. *Agora* XII 410, pl.19 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1553 (one-handler).
264	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1720; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 543, pl.93 (lekythos); BM 1952,0204.2; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.84-5 (lekythos).
265	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.515 (iron knife); BM 1864,1007.1769 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1644; cf. *Agora* XII 1123, pl.38 (squat lekythos); BM 1952,0204.76 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1772 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1770 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1643; cf. *Agora* XII 1123, pl.38 (squat lekythos).
266	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1763; Bailey Q376 (lamp); BM 1864,1007.1537; cf. *Agora* XII 567 and 578, p.276, pl.25 and *Kerameikos* IX grave 63.1, pl.80 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1744; cf. *Agora* XII 890 and 899, pl.34 (salt-cellar); BM 1864,107.253; Walters B673 (alabastron).

267	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.150; Walters E506 (bell krater).
268	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1215; Harden 114 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1610; cf. *Agora* XII 389-90, pl.18 (kylix); BM 1948,0501.59; Higgins 126 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.270; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl.44,2 (pelike).
269	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1379; Higgins 240 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.1657; cf. Agora XII 158, pl.9 (olpe); BM 1864,1007.260 (pyxis); BM 1864,107.1850; cf. *Agora* XII 1129-30, pl.38 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1372; Higgins 243 (terracotta protome); BM 1864,1007.360 (pyxis); BM 1864,1007.1634; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.95 (squat lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1649; cf. *Agora* XII 1129-30, pl.38 (lekythos); BM 1864,1007.1652; cf. *Agora* XII 1144, pl.48 (lekythos); BM 1864.1007.1601; cf. *Agora* XII 548-551, pl.24 (bolsal); BM 1864.1007.169; Walters E659 (squat lekythos).
270	STONE LINED CIST	600-500 BC	BM 1864,1007.1980 (glass bead); BM 1864,1007.1984 (glass bead); BM 1864,1007.1979 (chalk); BM 1864,1007.1981 (stone weight); BM 1864,1007.1982 (faience); BM 1864,1007.1983 (faience); BM 1864,1007.1978 (chalk).
271	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1290; Higgins 293 (terracotta figure).
272	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	BM 1864,1007.1654; cf. *Agora* XII 203, pl.11 (mug).
273	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.94; cf. *Agora* XXX 963, pl.94 (squat lekythos).
274	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.254; Walters B192; *CVA* British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5] pl.44,1 (pelike); BM 1864,1007.1689 (kylix).
275	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1536; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1564-5 and 1567, pl.104 (skyphos); BM 1864,1007.1538; cf. *Agora* XII 567, pl.25 (skyphos).
276	N/A	N/A	N/A
277	STONE LINED CIST	550-375 BC	BM 1864,107.1228; Harden 92 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1224; Harden 145 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.71; Harden 201 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1209; Harden 236 (glass aryballos).
278	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1230; Harden 85 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.355 (bronze mirror).
279	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1952,0204.11; cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 518, pl.90 (lekythos).
280	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	BM 1952,0204.14; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1685, pl.110 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1154 (alabaster alabastron);
281	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	BM 1864,1007.1415 (stemmed dish); BM 1977,1108.1; Walters B396; *CVA* British Museum 2 [Great Britain 2] pl.16,10; cf. *Agora* XXIII 1700, pl. 111 (band-cup).
282	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.362; cf. *Agora* XII 1166-1172, pl.39 (askos); BM 1864,1007.1436; cf. *Agora* XII 859 and 860, pl.33 (small bowl).
283	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	BM 1952,0204.92 (kothon); BM 1864,1007.177; Walters B579; BM 1864,1007.1429; cf. *Agora* XII 848, pl.33 (small bowl); BM 1864,1007.212; Walters B172; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4] pl.45,4; cf. *Agora* XXIII 692-694, pl. 67 (amphora); BM 1864,1007.1204; Harden 162 (glass amphoriskos); BM 1952,0204.94 (kothon); BM 1864,1007.177; Walters B579 (lekythos).
284	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1225; Harden 130 (glass alabastron); BM 1864,1007.1441; cf. *Agora* XII 860, pl.33 (small bowl).
285	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1864,1007.1614; cf. *Agora* XII 980, pl.35 (stemmed dish); BM 1864,1007.298 (kylix); BM 1864,1007.1800 (oinochoe).
286	STONE LINED CIST	600-400 BC	BM 1864,1007.1823 (alabaster alabastron); BM 1864,1007.504 (bronze stylus); BM 1864,1007.503 (silver cyathus).
287	STONE LINED CIST	300-100 BC	BM 1864,1007.1811 (unguentarium); BM 1864,1007.1750 (amphoriskos); BM 1864,1007.1672; Bailey Q399 (lamp); BM 1952,0204.96; Bailey Q400 (lamp).
288	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	BM 1864,1007.1808; Walters B671 (alabastron); BM 1864,1007.217; cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.85 (lekythos).

GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
1	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	BM 1968,0628.53 {small bowl); BM 1968,0628.37 (bolsal); BM 1864,1007.1802 (lopas).
2	STONE LINED CIST	375-350 BC	BM 1968,0628.36 (glaux); BM 1864,1007.1212; Harden 233 (glass aryballos); BM 1948,0502.11; Higgins 265 (terracotta figure); BM 1864,1007.1907; Higgins 266 (terracotta figure).

MACRI LANGONI CEMETERY	GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	PUBLICATION	BIBLIOGRAPHY
	1 (1)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 43, fig. 12.	cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 335, pl. 55 and cat. 340, pl 58 (stemmed dish).
	3 (3)	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 43-50, figs. 13-21.	cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 343, pl. 59 (stemmed dishes); cf. Coulié 2014a: 115-118, cat. 16 (Milesian oinochoai); cf. Amyx 1988: 140, pl. 56.1 (Corinthian oinochoai); cf. Amyx 1988: 92, pl. 42.2a-bv (Corninthian alabastra); cf. Amyx 1988 52, pl. 17.4 1a-b (Corinthian aryballos).
	4 (4)	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 51-52, figs. 22-24.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 115-118, cat. 16 (oinochoe); cf. Neeft 1987: 275-289 (aryballos).
	5 (5)	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 52-58, figs. 25-33.	cf. Amyx 1988: 140, pl. 56.1 (Corinthian oinochoe); cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60 (Ionian cup); cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 335, pl. 55 and cat. 340, pl 58 (stemmed dish).
	6 (6)	CHAMBER TOMB	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 58-63, figs. 34-39.	cf. BM 1864,1007.260 and Louvre A 335; Pottier 1896: pl. 13 (stamnoid pyxis); cf. *Agora* XII 1217 and 1219, pl. 40 (lekanis); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 63, 1-2 and 3-4; ABV 532, 12-13. Clark 1992: 1944-1945 (oinochoai); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 94, 1-3; *CVA* Rhodes 2 [Italy 10], pl. 1, 2-4; Haspels 1936: 167, 189, 263 no. 11; cf. Badinou 2003: 166 A62, pl. 58 (black-figure alabastron); cf. *Agora* XII 982, pl. 35 (stemmed dish).
	7 (7)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 63, fig. 40.	cf. *Agora* XII 962, pl. 35 (stemmed dish); cf. *Agora* XII 1123 and 1126, pl. 38 (lekythos).
	8 (8)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 64-65, fig. 41-44.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.31-33 (black-figure amphora); cf. *Agora* XII 265, pl. 13 (olpe).
	9 (10)	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 65-69, fig. 45-47.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 93-94, pl. 68 (olpe); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cups).
	10 (11)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 69-74, figs. 48-52.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 78 (black-figure lekythos).
	11 (12)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 74-76, figs. 53-54.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1697, 1700 and 1708, pl.111 (band cup).
	12 (13)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 77-78, figs. 57-59.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 78 (black-figure lekythos) cf. Amyx 1988: 448-489, pl. 32 (olpe).
	13 (14)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 78, fig. 60.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (cup).
	14 (15)	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 78, fig. 62-63.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1498, pl. 102 (skyphos); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 78 (black-figure lekythos);
	15 (16)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 80-81, fig. 64-66.	cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 335, pl. 55 and cat. 340, pl 58 (stemmed dish); cf. Neeft 1987: 275-289 (aryballoi).
	16 (223)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 82, fig. 67.	cf. Käufler 2004; 91, no. 13 (SiAld).
	17 (247)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 83-88, fig. 68.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.19 (black-figure amphora).
	18 (253)	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 88, fig. 75.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1697, 1700 and 1708, pl.111 (band cup).
	19 (20)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 90, fig. 76.	cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl. 33 (small bowl).
	20 (21)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 90, fig. 77.	cf. *Agora* XII 203, pl. 11 (mug); cf. *Agora* XII 457, pl. 21 (kylix).
	21 (26)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 91-93, fig. 78.	cf. *Agora* XII 481, pl. 22 (kylix) Cf. *Agora* XII 214, pl. 11 (mug).
	22 (33)	STONE LINED CIST	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 93, fig. 80.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1697, 1700 and 1708, pl.111 (band cup).
	23 (38)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 94, figs. 81-82.	cf. Amyx 1988: 473-474 (kothon); cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl. 33 (small bowl); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.61 (oinochoe).
	24 (43)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 95-96, figs. 83-84.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.62,1-2 (oinochoe).
	25 (52)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 96-104, figs. 85-88.	cf. Higgins 210-214 ('standing goddess' terracotta figures).
	26 (54)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 104-107, figs. 89-95.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (pelike); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 33.1 (black-figure kylix).
	27 (63)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 107-108, figs. 96-97.	cf. *Agora* XXX 603, pl. 65 (hydria).
	28 (66)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 108-110, figs. 98-99.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 92,4 (Haimon painter); cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Ionian amphoriskos).
	30 (84)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 110-113, figs. 101-103.	cf. *ARV²* 1539, 14 ('Cook Class' oinochoe); cf. *Agora* XII 981-982, pl.35 (stemmed dish); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 91,5-6 (black-figure lekythos).
	31 (87)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 113, figs. 106-107.	cf. *Agora* XXX 868, pl. 88 (red-figure lekythos); cf. *Agora* XII 436, pl. 20 (kylix); cf. *Kerameikos* IX grave 224.2, pl. 82 (small bowl).
	33 (124)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 114, fig. 108.	cf. Croissant 1983: 155-180, pl.51–64 (terracotta protomai).
	36 (138)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 116-125, fig. 109-118.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (red-figure pelike); cf. *CVA* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7] pl. 53,2 (red-figure neck-amphora).
	38 (159)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 127, figs. 120-121.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 146, fig.23.1.
	39 (168)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* 128-130, figs.122-123.	cf. BM 1886,0401.828 and Boardman 1978: figs. 177-178 (eye-cup); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 78 (black-figure lekythos).
	40 (170)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* 131, figs. 124-125.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	41 (179)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 131-133, fig. 126-127.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.94 (black-figure alabastron).
	42 (182)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 133-134, figs. 128-130.	cf. *CVA* British Musuem 1 pl.3,2 (panathenaic amphora).
	44 (184)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 134-135, figs.131.	cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix).
	47 (188)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 137-138, figs. 132-133.	cf. *Agora* XXX 603, pl. 65 (hydria).
	54 (211)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 140-146, figs. 136-145.	cf. *Agora* XII 437, pl. 20 (kylix).
	55 (212)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 146-149, figs. 146-147.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 60,3-4 (oinochoe); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix); cf. *Agora* XII 856-857, pl.33 (small bowl).
	56 (213)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 149-154, figs. 146, 149, 150.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup).
	57 (231)	STONE LINED CIST	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 154-155, figs. 151, 152.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.31-33 (black-figure amphora).
	58 (234)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 155-156, figs.153-154.	cf. Harl-Schaller 1972-1975 (lebets gamikoi).
	59 (235)	STONE LINED CIST	400-375 BC	*ClRh* IV 156-157, figs. 155.	cf. *Agora* XII 550, pl. 24 (kylix); cf. *Agora* XII 1197, pl. 39 (feeder).
	61 (250)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 158, fig. 156.	cf. *Agora* XXX pls.109-111 (askos); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 276.6, pl. 51 (white-ground lekythos).
	62 (256)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 158-159, figs. 157-158.	cf. *Agora* XXX 1587, pl. 150 (kylix)
	63 (177)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 159-163, figs. 159-160.	cf. *Agora* XXX 603, pl. 65 (hydria); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 93,1-2.
	65 (155)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 163-164, fig. 161.	cf. *Agora* XII 103, pl.5 (oinochoe); cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Ionian amphoriskos).
	66 (123)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 164-166, figs.162-164.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (pelike); cf. *Agora* XII 858, pl. 33 (small bowl).
	68 (9)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 166, fig. 166.	cf. *Agora* XII 1159, pl. 39 (amphoriskos); cf. *Agora* XXX 1167, pl. 110 (aksos); cf. *Agora* XII 872, pl. 33 (small bowl).
	69 (42)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 167, figs. 167-168.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 60,3-4 (oinochoe); cf. *Agora* XII 905-907, pl. 34 (salt cellar).
	70 (61)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 167, figs. 169-171.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1769 and 1775, pl. 113 (black-figure kylix).
	71 (64)	STONE LINED CIST	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 168-169, figs.172-173.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (pelike).
	72 (67)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh IV 169-170, figs.174-176.*	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup).
	73 (72)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 170, figs. 177-178.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2 grave 33.1 (black-figure kylix); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.87 (black-figure lekythos).
	74 (94)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 170-172, fig. 179.	cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	75 (99)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 172-174, figs. 180-186.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 152-153, cat. 34; Wascheck 2008: 55-56, cat. M7 (oinochoe); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pls. 48-49 (stamnos); cf. *Agora* XII 402-403, pl. 19 (kylix); cf. *Agora* XII 923, pl. 34 (saltcellar); cf. *Agora* XII 992, pl. 35 (egg cup); cf. *Agora* XII 975, pl. 35 (stemmed dish).
	76 (104)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 174-178, fig. 187.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 56,1-2; cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	77 (107)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 178-179, fig. 188-189.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	78 (109)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 179, figs. 190-192.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Ionian amphoriskos).
	79 (126)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 179, fig. 193.	cf. *Agora* XII 420, pl. 20 (kylix); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 55 (hydria)
	80 (135)	STONE LINED CIST	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 180-181, fig. 194.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (pelike); cf. *Agora* XII 1123, pl. 38 (squat lekythos).
	81 (137)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 181-182, fig. 195-197.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup).
	84 (162)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 183-184, figs. 198-199.	cf. BM 1864,1007.269; Walters B682 (six technique).
	85 (163)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 184-186, fig. 200.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.70,1-2 (black-figure pelike).

	86 (164)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 187-188, figs. 201-202.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 163, cat. 40 (amphoriskos); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1597, pl. 105 (black-figure skyphos).
	87 (165)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 188, fig. 203.	cf. Croissant 1983: 155-180, pl.51–64 (terracotta protome);
	88 (167)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 188-189, figs. 204-205.	cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 55,3-4 (black-figure pelike).
	89 (169)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 189-191, fig. 206.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora).
	93 (200)	STONE LINED CIST	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 193, figs. 208-209.	cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.4,2-3 (black-figure amphora).
	96 (207)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 196, fig. 210.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora); cf. *Agora* XII 420, pl. 20 (kylix) ; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.77,4-6 (black-figure lekythos).
	98 (221)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 197-198, fig. 211.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (black-figure kylix).
	99 (224)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 198, fig. 212.	cf. *Agora* XXX 1422, pl. 133 (red-figure kylix).
	100 (237)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 198-201, figs. 213-215.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] (black-figure pelike); cf. Coulié 2014a: 163, cat. 40 (amphoriskos).
	102 (251)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 202-203, fig. 216.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (black-figure kylix); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.42 (black-figure amphora).
	104 (225)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 203-204, fig. 217.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (amphora).
	105 (217)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 204-209, figs. 217-220.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.53 (black-figure hydria).
	106 (24)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 210-211, figs. 221-222.	cf. *Agora* XII 869, pl. 33 (small bowl).
	107 (25)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* IV 211-214, figs. 223-230.	cf. *Agora* XII 1159, pl. 39 (amphoriskos); cf. *ARV²* 1539, 14 ('Cook Class' oinochoe); cf. *Agora* XII 1123, pl. 38 (squat lekythos); cf. *Agora* XXX pls.109-111 (askos).
	108 (238)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 214-215, fig. 231.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.42 (black-figure amphora).
	109 (32)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 215-226, figs. 232-249.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 161-161, cat. 38 (amphora); cf. RHODES 5110; *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 72 (olpai).
	110 (181)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 226, fig. 250.	cf. Wascheck 2008: 57 (amphoriskos).
	113 (18)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 227, figs. 251-252.	cf. BM 1886,0401.828 and Boardman 1978: figs. 177-178 (eye-cup); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.85 (black-figure lekythos); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.69,1-2 (black-figure pelike); *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.65 (black-figure choes).
	115 (46)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 232-236, figs. 261-268.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 161-161, cat. 38 (amphora); cf. BM 1886,0401.828 and Boardman 1978: figs. 177-178 (eye-cup); cf. Coulié 2014a: 163, cat. 40 (amphoriskos).
	116 (55)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 236-239, figs. 269-270.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1498, pl. 102 (skyphos); *Kerameikos* IX E 11.1, pl. 85 (lekythos); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); cf. *Agora* XXIII 692, pl. 67 (olpe); Payne 1931: 334, cat. 1517, fig. 181b (kotyle); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (kylix).
	117 (53)	UNLINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 239-240, fig. 271.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (black-figure kylix); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 93-94, pl. 68 (black-figure skyphos); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.77,1-3 (black-figure lekythos).
	118 (97)	UNLINED CIST	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 240, fig. 272.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.80,3-4 (black-figure lekythos).
	119 (128)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 241-242, fig. 273.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 161-161, cat. 38 (amphora); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	121 (149)	UNLINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 246-249, fig. 275.	cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 118-119, fig.373 (cup); cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 343, pl. 59 (stemmed dish); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	122 (216)	UNLINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 249, fig. 276.	cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	126 (39)	OSSUARY	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 250-253, fig. 277-279.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 161-161, cat. 38 (amphora); cf. Wascheck 2008: 57 (amphoriskos); cf. *Agora* XII 404, pl. 19 (kylix).
	127 (160)	OSSUARY	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 253-256, fig. 280-282.	cf. *Agora* XXX 39, pl. 12 (red-figure pelike).
	128 (189)	OSSUARY	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 256-258, fig. 283-285.	cf. *CVA* British Musuem 1 [Great Britian 1] pl. 3,2 (panathenaic amphora).
	131 (17)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 261, fig. 286.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 71,1-2 (black-figure lekythos).
	132 (27)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 261-263, figs. 287-289.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl. 68 (black-figure olpe).
	133 (28)	PITHOS	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 263-265, figs. 290-293.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 163, cat. 40 (amphoriskos); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] 93-94, pl. 68 (black-figure skyphos) ; cf. *Kerameikos* VII, grave 21a.1, pl.11.
	134 (29)	PITHOS	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 265-268, figs. 294-295.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.92,1-2 (black-figure lekythos).
	135 (34)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 268, fig. 296.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.73,1-2 (black-figure olpe).
	142 (49)	PITHOS	450-425 BC	*ClRh* IV 270, figs. 298-300.	cf. *Agora* XXX 949, pl.93 (red-figure squat lekythos).
	143 (58)	PITHOS	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 271-272, figs. 301.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 [variant IV] (bird bowl).
	144 (62)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 272, fig. 302.	cf. discussion Semi-slipped wares in Section 4.4.4.
	146 (76)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 272, fig. 303.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.70,3-4 (black-figure pelike).
	147 (81)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 273, fig. 304.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.63,1-2 (black-figure oinochoe).
	151 (98)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 273, fig. 305.	cf. discussion Semi-slipped wares in Section 4.4.4.
	152 (108)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 276, fig. 307.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 190, cat. 55 (segment plate); Payne 1931: 291, no. 641, fig 127; Amyx 1988: 125-126, pl. 50.5-6 (ring-aryballos).
	153 (110)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 277, fig. 309.	cf. Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.62 (black-figure oinochoe).
	154 (115)	PITHOS	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 277-278, figs. 310-312.	cf. discussion Semi-slipped wares in Section 4.4.4.
	158 (134)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 280, fig. 313.	cf. Payne 1931: 219, no. 638, fig. 126 (alabastron).
	160 (144)	PITHOS	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 281-282, figs. 314-315.	cf. Villing et al 2013-2015 GO.382 (Samian lekythos).
	162 (150)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 283, fig. 317.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1498, pl. 102 (skyphos); cf. *Kerameikos* IX E 11.1, pl. 85 (lekythos); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup); cf. *Agora* XXIII 692, pl. 67 (olpe); cf. Payne 1931: 334, cat. 1517, fig. 181b (kotyle); cf. *Agora* XXIII 1786, pl. 114 (kylix).
	165 (172)	PITHOS	475-450 BC	*ClRh* IV 286, figs. 319-322.	cf. *Agora* XXX 1422, pl. 133 (red-figure kylix); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.68,1-2 (black-figure olpe).
	167 (227)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 287, figs. 323-324.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.68,1-2 (black-figure olpe); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.89 (black-figure lekythos).
	169 (254)	AMPHORA	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 287-291, figs. 323-330.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.68 (olpe).
	170 (260)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 294-295, figs. 332-333.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.68,1-2 (black-figure olpe).
	172 (50)	PITHOS	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 297-301, figs. 335-337.	cf. Webb 1978: 61, cat. 216 (faience aryballos); cf. *Agora* XII 402, pl.19 (kylix).
	175 (100)	PITHOS	575-550 BC	*ClRh* IV 304-305, figs. 339-340.	cf. Payne 1931: 219, no. 638, fig. 126; Payne 1931: 303, no. 803, pl. 31,5-6 (alabastra).
	176 (101)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 305, figs. 241-342.	cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	180 (147)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 324-327, figs. 358-361.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 62-63 (amphoriskos); cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93,1-3 (black-figure lekythos).
	187 (176)	PITHOS	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 334-335, figs. 368-369.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.55,1-2 (black-figure hydria); cf. Payne 1931: 334, cat. 1517, fig. 181b (kotyle).
	188 (89)	CREMATION	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 335, fig. 370.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10] pl.93,1-3 (black-figure lekythos).
	189 (102)	CREMATION	525-500 BC	*ClRh* IV 335, fig. 371.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 132-133 (Chian amphora).
	191 (116)	CREMATION	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 337, figs. 373-373.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 80-81, cat. 5 (Milesian oinochoe).
	192 (158)	CREMATION	575-550 BC	*ClRh* IV 338, fig. 374.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (Fikellura amphora); cf. Amyx 1988: 154, no. 2, pl. 61.1 (aryballos).
	198 (174)	CREMATION	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 340, fig. 375.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (Fikellura amphora).

FIKELLURA CEMETERY	GRAVE	BURIAL FORM	DATE	PUBLICATION	BIBLIOGRAPHY
	71 (2)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 179, fig. 210.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Fikellura amphoriskos).
	73 (3)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 179-182, fig. 211.	cf. *Agora* XII 1174-1176, pl.39 (askos).
	74 (6)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 183, fig. 212.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (Fikellura amphoriskos).
	75 (8)	CHAMBER TOMB	500-475 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 213-214, figs. 213-214.	cf. *Agora* XXX 1587, pl.150 (kylix).
	76 (9)	CHAMBER TOMB	450-425 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 184-186, figs. 215-219.	cf. *Agora* XXX 933, pl.92 (red-figure squat lekythos).
	77 (10)	STONE LINED CIST	425-400 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 186, fig. 220.	cf. *Agora* XXX 53, pl.13 (red-figure pelike).

	79 (13)	STONE LINED CIST	525-500 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 188, fig. 221.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 162-163, cat. 39-40 (amphoriskos).
PAPATISLURES CEMETERY	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	2 (2)	STONE LINED CIST	575-550 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 18-19, figs. 3-10.	cf. Stager, Master and Schloen 2011: 239, cat. 268 (dated to MileA Id); Kalaitzoglou 2008: 387-8, cat. 344, pl. 60; Coulié 2014a: 145, cat. 30 (stemmed dishes).
	3 (3)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 19-21, figs. 11-15.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (Fikellura amphora); cf. *Agora* XXIII 692, pl. 67 (olpe).
	4 (4)	CHAMBER TOMB	575-550 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 21-23, figs. 16-19.	Käufler 2004: 108, no.35 (oinochoe); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	5 (7)	CHAMBER TOMB	525-500 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 23-26, figs. 20-28.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 158-159, cat. 37 (Fikellura amphora); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cups).
	6 (8)	CHAMBER TOMB	575-550 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 26-31, figs. 29-32.	cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron); cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60 (cup).
	7 (9)	PITHOS	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 32-34, figs. 33-36.	cf. RHODES 13693 to BM 1864,1007.255 from Fikellura 92, which also contained two Attic black-figure kylixes (BM 1864,1007.297; BM 1864,1007. 1526).
	8 (10)	PITHOS	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 35-38, figs. 37-42.	cf. Coldstream 2008: 267, pl.59h (flask); cf. Coldstream 2008: 284, pl.62b (aryballos).
	10 (12)	CREMATION	675-650 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 42-44, figs. 43-46.	cf. pyxis in Drakidis 257, which also includes Ionian bird-bowl Kerschner 1995: 14, figs 26-32.
	11 (13)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 45-51, figs. 47-59	cf. Käufler 2004: 90, fig. 29 (oinochoe); cf. discussion of Protovroulian wares in Section 4.4.2 (cup).
	12 (16)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 51-56, figs. 60-65.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 [variant IV] (bird bowl); cf. Käufler 2004: 90, fig. 29 (oinochoe).
	13 (17)	PITHOS	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 56-57, figs. 66-69.	cf. Payne 1931: 283, no. 376, fig. 121b (alabastron); Kerschner 1995: 20, fig. 57, variant IVc (bird bowl).
	14 (18)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 58-60, figs. 70-72.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 (variant IV) (bird bowl).
	20 (25)	AMPHORA	325-300 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 70-72, figs. 79-80.	cf. *Agora* XII 1975, pl. 95 (lopas); cf. Agora XII 943, pl. 34 (small bowl).
	21 (26)	AMPHORA	425-400 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 72-73, fig. 81.	cf. *Agora* XII 1310 (pyxis); cf. *Agora* XII 534, pl.24 (bolsal).
	22 (27)	PITHOS	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 73-74, figs. 82-84.	cf. Coldstream 2008: 280, pl.61f (oinochoe); cf. Coldstream 2008: 271, pl.59h.
	24 (29)	AMPHORA	675-650 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 79, fig. 85.	cf. Payne 1931: 279, cat. 191-200 (kotyle).
	25 (31)	UNLINED CIST	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 79-80, fig. 86-88.	cf. Coulié 2014b: 303, cat. 168 (kantharos); Coldstream 2008: 281-286, pls. 62-63 (Rhodian Late Geometric).
	27 (35)	CHAMBER TOMB	600-575 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 84-98, figs. 90-104.	cf. Käufler 2004: 90, fig. 29 (oinochoe); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	28 (36)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 99-101, figs. 105-109.	cf. Payne 1931: cat. 38-38, pl. 10 no.3 and 118-131, pl. 13 no. 4; Hopper 1949: 235-236, no. 4. (oinochoe); cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: 386, cat. 339, pl. 57; Coulié 2014a; 146, cat. 31 (cup).
KECHRAKI CEMETERY	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	30 (30)	CHAMBER TOMB	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 104, figs. 116-119.	cf. Schlotzhauer and Kerschner 2005: 9-16; Käufler 2004: 85-8 (oinochoe); cf. Neeft 1987: 275-289 (aryballos); cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 335, pl. 55 and cat. 340, pl 58 (stemmed dish).
	31 (31)	CREMATION	600-575 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 104-109, figs. 120-121.	cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	32 (32)	CREMATION	600-575 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 111-114, figs. 122-123.	cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60 (Ionian cup); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos).
	33 (33)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 115, fig. 124.	cf. Käufler 2004: 55, fig. 19 (oinochoe); cf. discussion of Protovroulian wares in Section 4.4.2 (cup).
	34 (34)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 115-116, fig. 125.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 [variant IV] (bird bowl).
	199 (1)	STONE LINED CIST	500-475 BC	*ClRh* IV 341, figs. 376-378.	cf. *CVA* Rhodes 1 (Greece 10] pl. 44 (black-figure amphora); cf. *Kerameikos* VII,2, 33.1, pl. 11 (flower cup).
	200 (2)	CREMATION	725-700 BC	*ClRh* IV 342-345, figs.379-382.	cf. Coldstream 2008: 200, pl.61f.
	201 (4)	CREMATION	575-550 BC	*ClRh* IV 345-348, figs. 384-389.	cf. Cook and Dupont 1998: 26-28; Kerschner 1995: 20 [variant IV] (bird bowl).
	202 (5)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 348-349, figs.389-391.	cf. discussion of Protovroulian wares in Section 4.4.2 (cup).
	203 (6)	CREMATION	725-700 BC	*ClRh* IV 349-350, figs.392-394.	cf. Coldstream 2008: 241-243, pls.52c and 53h.
	204 (7)	CHAMBER TOMB	550-525 BC	*ClRh* IV 350-352, figs. 395-397.	cf. *Agora* XXIII 1697, 170 and 1800, pl. 111 (band cups).
	205 (8)	CREMATION	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 352-359, figs. 398-403.	cf. Payne 1931: 269, no. 6, pl. 1; Amyx 1988: 50, pl. 17.2 (alabastron).
	207 (12)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 359-360, fig. 404.	cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	208 (13)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 360-361, figs. 405-407.	cf. Schlotzhauer 2001: 208, fig. 60 (Ionian cup); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos).
	209 (14)	CREMATION	625-600 BC	*ClRh* IV 361-362, fig. 408	cf. Kalaitzoglou 2008: cat. 335, pl. 55 and cat. 340, pl 58 (stemmed dish).
	210 (16)	PITHOS	575-550 BC	*ClRh* IV 362-364, figs. 409-411.	cf. Payne 1931: 319, cat. 1200, fig. 159 (alabastron).
	211 (17)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 364-366, figs. 412-414.	cf. Amyx 1988: 140, pl. 56.1 (oinochoe).
	213 (19)	PITHOS	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 367-370, figs. 416-417.	cf. Coulié 2014a: 190, cat. 55 (segment plate).
	214 (20)	AMPHORA	600-575 BC	*ClRh* IV 370-371, figs. 418-419.	cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 805, fig. 139 (aryballos); cf. Payne 1931: 303, no. 794, fig. 138 (alabastron).
	216 (23)	PITHOS	575-550 BC	*ClRh* IV 372-373, figs. 420-422.	cf. *Agora* XXII 1697, 1700 and 1708, pl.111 (band cup).
PATELLES CEMETERY	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	39 (5)	CREMATION	750-725 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 119-121, figs. 133-134.	cf. Coldstream 2008: 275, pl.62a (pyxis); Coulié 2014b: 302-303, cat. 170.
	40 (6)	UNLINED CIST	750-725 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 126-127, figs.138-140.	cf. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 27, cat. 121-123, pl. 4.
	43 (9)	AMPHORA	900-850 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 128-130, figs. 144-146.	Coldstream 2008: 266, pl.58a (amphora).
	45 (11)	CREMATION	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 130-132, figs. 148-151.	cf. Coulié 2014b: 305, cat. 174 (aryballos).
KAMIROS ACROPOLIS	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	80	CHAMBER TOMB	775-750 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 190-192, figs. 223-231.	Coldstream 2008: 267, pl.59h (flask); pl.59f (lekythos); pl. 59e (oinochoe).
TEMPLE A	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	82 (2)	CHAMBER TOMB	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 193-201, figs. 232-239.	Coulié 2014b: 245, cat. 82.1 (skyphos); Coldstream 2008: 272, pl. 60d (cup); cf. Coldstream 2008: 273, pl.60e (krater).
	83 (3)	CHAMBER TOMB	775-750 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 201-202, figs. 240-241.	cf. Coulié 2014b: 244, cat. 80 (skyphos).
	84 (4)	PITHOS	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 202-203, fig. 242	cf. Coulié 2014b: 298, cat. 166 (amphora).
	85 (5)	CREMATION	725-700 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 203, fig. 243.	Coulié 2014b: 302-303, cat. 170 (pyxis).
KAMIROS ACRPOLIS (VOTIVES)	**GRAVE**	**BURIAL FORM**	**DATE**	**PUBLICATION**	**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
	N/A	N/A	720-550 BC	*ClRh* VI-VII 279-365, figs. 1-114.	cf. material from Kamiros well and Deposit D&E discussed in Section 3.3.2.1-3.3.2.2.

APPENDIX 3: FIKELLURA GRAVES CONTAINING PAIRS OF GRAVE GOODS

GRAVE	DATE	NUMBER OF PAIRS	OBJECT NAME
1	475-450 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1852,0204.56; BM 1864,1007.1586).
22	475-450 BC	3	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1527; BM 1864,1007.1529); Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.261; BM 1952,0204.1); Attic oinochoai (BM 1864,1007.245; BM 1864,1007.246).
25	500-475 BC	1	Alabaster alabastra (BM 1864,1007.1144; BM 1955,1026.4).
29	475-450 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.1509; BM 1952,0204.7).
37	425-400 BC	1	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.1197; BM 1864,1007.1996).
39 bis	475-450 BC	1	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.75; BM 1953,1022.1).
43	450-425 BC	3	Attic skyphoi (BM 1864,1007.304; BM 1864,1007.305); Attic pyxides (BM 1864,1007.286; BM 1864,1007.287); Alabaster alabastra (BM 1864,1007.1152; BM 1864,1007.1822).
78	425-400 BC	1	Attic askoi (BM 1864,1007.195; BM 1864,1007.1627).
81	425-400 BC	1	Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.1303; BM 1864,1007.1304).
89	425-400 BC	1	Attic plates (BM 1864,1007.1618; BM 1864,1007.1619).
99	475-450 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.1490; BM 1952,0204.6).
106	500-475 BC	2	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.1301; BM 1864,1007.1302); Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.262; BM 1864,1007.265).
110	500-475 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1952,0204.3; BM 1952,0204.4).
119	500-475 BC	1	Corinthian miniature skyphoi (BM 1864,1007.1562; BM 1864,1007.1564).
122	450-425 BC	2	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1547; BM 1949,0220.25); Attic small bowls (BM 1949,0220.17; BM 1949,0220.18).
123	475-450 BC	1	Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.142; BM 1864,1007.145).
124	475-450 BC	1	Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.1283; BM 1864,1007.1285).
125	425-400 BC	1	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1598; BM 1952,0204.33).
128	425-400 BC	1	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.70; BM 1864,1007.1202).
135	475-450 BC	1	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.1210; BM 1864,1007.1211).
144	475-450 BC	1	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1519; BM 1864,1007.2108).
145	425-400 BC	1	Rhodian stamnoid pyxides (BM 1864,1007.316; BM 1864,1007.2030).
151	450-425 BC	1	Bronze mirrors (BM 1864,1007.346; BM 1864,1007.351).
155	475-450 BC	1	Attic alabastra (BM 1864,1007.202; BM 1864,1007.1809).
156	450-425 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1453; BM 1864,1007.1457).
160	500-475 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.213; BM 1864,1007.1498).
162	500-475 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.1505; BM 1864,1007.1507).
172	425-400 BC	2	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.1227; BM 1864,1007.1232); Terracotta plaques (BM 1864,1007.133; BM 1864,1007.134).
181	425-400 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1444; BM 1952,0204.63).
185	425-400 BC	2	Attic pelikai (BM 1864,1007.98; BM 1864,1007.107); Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1448; BM 1864,1007.1759).
207	475-450 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1952,0204.8; BM 1952,0204.13).
211	475-450 BC	1	Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.178; BM 1864,1007.1500).
217	475-450 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1437; BM 1864,1007.1445).
225	400-375 BC	2	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1600; BM 1952,0204.43); Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1447; BM 1952,0204.60).
226	400-375 BC	1	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.68; BM 1864,1007.1207).
235	475-450 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1949,0220.15; BM 1949,0220.16).
242	475-450 BC	1	Attic small bowls (BM 1864,1007.1467; BM 1949,0220.14).
250	475-450 BC	1	Attic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.301; BM 1864,1007.1695).
252	500-475 BC	2	Attic lekythoi (BM 1952,0220.9; BM 1952,0220.10); Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.1309; BM 1864,1007.1313).
253	475-450 BC	1	Terracotta figure (BM 1864,1007.1905; BM 1864,1007.1906).
254	475-450 BC	2	Glass unguent vessels (BM 1864,1007.67; BM 1864,1007.1198); Glass stands (BM 1864,1007.2006; BM 1864,1007.2007).
257	425-400 BC	3	Attic drinking cup (BM 1864,1007.1596; BM 1864,1007.1602); Attic askoi (BM 1864,1007.1628; BM 1949,0220.22); Terracotta figures (BM 1864,1007.1287; BM 1864,1007.1288).
265	425-400 BC	1	Attic squat lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.195; BM 1864,1007.1643; BM 1864,1007.1644).
269	425-400 BC	4	Atttic drinking cups (BM 1864,1007.1601; BM 1864,1007.1634); Attic lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.1649; BM 1864,1007.1640); Attic squat lekythoi (BM 1864,1007.95; BM 1864,1007.169); Rhodian stamnoid pyxides (BM 1864,1007.316; BM 1864,1007.260; BM 1864,1007.360).
275	425-400 BC	1	Attic skyphoi (BM 1864,1007.1536; BM 1864,1007.1538).

APPENDIX 3: FIKELLURA GRAVES CONTAINING PAIRS OF GRAVE GOODS